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MEMOIRS

OF

MISSIONARY PRIESTS,

AND OTHER

CATHOLICS OF BOTH SEXES,

THAT HAVE

SUFFERED DEATH IN ENGLAND ON RELIGIOUS ACCOUNTS,

FROM

THE YEAR 1577, TO 1684.

BY BISHOP CHALLONER, V. A. L.

VOL. I.

Carefully collected from the Accounts of Eye-witnesses, cotemporary Authors, and Manuscripts kept in the English Colleges and Convents abroad.

Philadelphia:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN T. GREEN.
1839.

J. Crissy, Printer, No. 4, Minor Street.

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As the names and number of other catholics, as well of the clergy as of the laity, who, under this same reign, were either deprived of their livings, or suffered loss of their estates, imprisonments, banishments, &c., for their religion; it is impossible to set them all down. Dr. Bridgewater, in a table published at the end of *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, gives us the names of about twelve hundred, who had suffered in this manner, before the year 1588; that is, before the greatest heat of the persecution; and yet declares, that he is far from pretending to have named all, but only such whose sufferings had come to his knowledge. In this list, there are three archbishops (taking in two of Ireland); bishops consecrated, or elected, eighteen; one abbot; four whole convents of religious; thirteen deans; fourteen archdeacons; sixty prebendaries; five hundred and thirty priests; forty-nine doctors of divinity; eighteen doctors of the law; and fifteen masters of colleges; one queen; eight earls; ten lords; twenty-six knights; three hundred and twenty-six gentlemen; and about sixty ladies and gentlewomen. Many of these died in prison; and several under sentence of death.

We shall here add, by way of conclusion of this first part, the names of those (who were not executed,) whose sufferings for religion are briefly touched on in our memoirs.

Ailworth, an Irish gentleman, perishes in prison.
Arundel, Sir John, is cast into prison.
Arundel, Philip, Earl of, died in prison under sentence of death.
Barnet, Mr., is condemned to die.
Bennet, John, priest, is imprisoned and tortured, and at last sent into banishment.
Bishop, William, priest, is imprisoned, and afterwards banished.
Bosgrave, James, priest, S. J. is sentenced to death, afterwards banished.
Canfield, Bennet, capuchin, imprisoned, afterwards banished.
Catholics, prisoners in York castle, dragged to protestant sermons.
Chaplain, William, priest, dies in prison.
Clifton, Thomas, priest, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment.
Cooper, John, perishes through cruel treatment in the Tower.
Colins, John, bookseller, condemned to die.
Cornish gentlemen cast into a premunire.
Cotesmore, Thomas, priest, perishes in prison.
Crowthar, Thomas, priest, dies in prison.
Dymock, Esq., champion of England, perishes in prison.
Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, dies in prison.
Fenn, Robert, priest, suffers prisons, racks, and banishment for his faith.
Harrison, John, priest, dies in prison.
Hart, John, priest, is condemned with father Campion, is cruelly used in prison, and afterwards banished.
Hatton, Richard, priest, is condemned to perpetual imprisonment.
Holmes, Robert, priest, perishes in prison.

Hunt, Eleanore, is sentenced to die for harbouring a priest.
Jenks, Roland, is condemned to lose his ears.
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Norton, Mrs., is sentenced to death for relieving a priest.
Orton, Mr., is condemned with father Campion, afterwards banished.
Pounds, Thomas, Esq., a great sufferer for catholic religion.
Pole, Edward, priest, dies in prison.
Priests, seventy, banished in 1585.
——— more banished in 1603.
——— thirty committed prisoners to Wisbich castle.
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Pugh, Henry, gent., is cruelly tortured.
Rishton, Edward, priest, is condemned with father Campion.
Shelley, Esq., dies in the Marshalsea.
Sherton, Martin, priest, dies in prison.
Steile, James, priest, is banished and cruelly treated.
Tesse, Ann, is condemned to be burnt, for persuading a minister to become a catholic.
Thimbleby, Gabriel, gent., dies in prison.
Tregian, Thomas, Esq., is stripped of a plentiful estate, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment.
Thyrwhite, William, Esq., is hurried to prison under a violent fever, and dies in two days.
Typper, Mark, gent., is whipped through the city of London, and has his ears bored through with a hot iron.
Vaux, Lawrence, warden of Manchester, dies in prison.
Wakeman, Roger, priest, perishes in prison.
Watson, Christopher, with twenty other catholics, perishes in York jail.
Watson, Richard, priest, is cruelly treated in Bridewell.
——— escapes by the help of Mrs. Margaret Ward.
Wells, Mrs., dies, under sentence of death, in prison.
Williamson, Thomas, priest, is condemned to prison for life.
Wiseman, Mrs., is condemned to die.
Yates, Edward, Esq., with six other catholic gentlemen is taken with father Campion, and cast into prison.

PREFACE.

The following sheets are presented to the reader as a supplement to English history, which appeared to the publisher, by so much the more wanting, by how much the less, the trials and executions of catholics, on religious accounts, have been taken notice of by the generality of English historians; and which, he flattered himself, would not be disagreeable to the lovers of history, of what persuasion soever they might be in matters of religion; for, if men of all persuasions read with pleasure the history of the lives and deaths, even of the most notorious malefactors; not that they are delighted with their crimes, but because they there meet with an agreeable scene of stories unknown before; and often discover a surprising boldness and bravery in their enterprizes; how much more may it be expected that every generous English soul should be pleased to find in the following memoirs, so much fortitude and courage, joined with so much meekness, modesty, and humility, in the lives and deaths of so many of his countrymen, who have died for no other crime but their conscience.

The first and most necessary quality that ought to recommend history, is truth: and this, we can assure our reader, we have been careful to follow to a nicety; and therefore we have given nothing upon hearsays, or popular traditions, but upon the best authorities, either of grave cotemporary writers, informed by such as were upon the spot, or themselves eye-witnesses of what they write; or of records and manuscript memoirs, penned by such as were eye-witnesses, or otherwise perfectly instructed in the things they deliver; and withal, men, as we had reason to be convinced, of the strictest veracity. And we have always taken care in the beginning of every life, to acquaint the reader from whence we have had our informations, concerning the persons we are treating of.

We pretend not to make panegyrics of any of these brave men, but merely to deliver short memoirs of what we find most remarkable in their lives, and particularly in their deaths; and, as we had so many to treat of, we have been sometimes forced to be shorter than could have been wished, and to pass many things over, that we might be able to bring the whole into compass, which has chiefly happened with relation to those whose lives have been published at large, and might singly suffice for a just volume, as those of father Campion, father Walpole, &c. For as for some others, we have been obliged to be much shorter than we would, for want of proper lights, having been able to find little else of them, than that they died at such a time and place, and for the cause of their religion. We cannot but lament our being left so much in the dark, with regard to several; but shall not pretend to determine whether this has happened by the iniquity of the times, or the negligence of our fore-fathers, in not committing to writing the particulars of those gentlemen's lives and deaths: or, perhaps, the memoirs then written, have since been lost, as we know some have, at least so far as not to have come as yet to our hands. Where we think it proper to advertise our reader, that if he knows of any such memoirs, and will be so good as to furnish us with them, or with any other materials relating to the sufferings of catholics, we shall frankly acknowledge the favour, and insert them by way of a supplement in our second volume, which we are preparing for the press.

As to the odious imputation of treason, which was laid at these gentlemen's door; though we pretend not to act the apologist, but only the historian; yet we must acquaint our reader that we have inserted no one's name in our list, without being first fully convinced that his religion and conscience was his only treason; which was certainly the case of all who suffered under the penal statutes of Elizabeth 27, viz: either for being made priests by Roman authority, and exercising their functions in England; or for harbouring and relieving such priests; and it no less certainly was the case of those who suffered for denying the spiritual supremacy, or for being reconciled to the catholic church; a thing the more evident, because there was not a man of them all, but might have saved his life, if he would but have conformed in matters of religion.

As to father Campion, and his companions, to whom their adversaries pretended to impute treasons of another kind, viz: I know not what conspiracies formed at Rhemes and Rome, we are fully persuaded

that they were no more traitors than the rest, and that the true cause of their death was the hatred of their religion; and therefore we have given them a place with the rest in these memoirs.

And, indeed, it seems to have been the more common opinion of the nation, at that time, and even of the queen herself, if we believe Mr. Camden, in his Elizabeth, that these men were not guilty of those pretended conspiracies; which they, for their part, notwithstanding all their rackings and torturings, all, to a man, constantly denied, both in life and death, though they had their lives offered them, if they would own themselves guilty; which thing alone, to every thinking man, must be a full demonstration of their innocence. To pass over other considerations, as for instance, that several of them had never been in their lives at the places where they were pretended to have been plotting; or, if they had ever been there, were not there at least at the time of the pretended plot; several of them had never been seen in their lives, by the perjured witnesses that deposed against them, nor had ever seen one the other, (though they were accused to have plotted together,) till they all met at the bar to take their trials; which, with many other arguments too long to be here inserted, prove abundantly, that they were, indeed, no plotters, and that their only guilt was their religion.

Hence our English catholics have ever looked upon them, no less than the others, as martyrs of religion; and so has the greatest part of christians abroad, French, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, as appears by the honours showed to the relics of the one sort, no less than of the other, by people of all these nations, which they have earnestly sought, diligently preserved, and highly esteemed; and have attributed many miraculous cures to them, insomuch, that some of the most celebrated authors abroad have employed their pens in writing their history, as of great and glorious martyrs, as the truly learned and pious Diego de Yepez, bishop of Tarrasona, and father Ribadaneira, have done in Spanish, Polinus in Italian, &c. They are also recorded amongst the most famous martyrs, by father Lewis de Granada, in his catechism; and by Bozius, the learned orotorian, in his excellent work, *de Signis Ecclesiæ*, lib. 12, sect. 517, they are likewise mentioned with the highest honour, by Cardinal Baronius, in his annotations upon the Roman martyrologie, Dec. 29. It is true, the apostolic see, has not, as yet, thought fit, by any solemn decree, to declare them martyrs; yet has not been entirely silent, in their regard. Gregory XIII., as we learn, from

the bishop of Tarrasona, in his *history of the English Persecution*, l. 2, c. 5, allowed in 1582 their relics to be used in the consecration of altars: and his successor,* Sextus V., in his bull, which begins, *afflictæ et crudeliter vexatæ Anglorum reliquiæ*, directed to the whole church, as an exhortation to assist the college then residing at Rhemes, makes an honourable mention of them as glorious martyrs. Paul V. also allowed the same college to sing a solemn mass of thanksgiving, upon occasion of the death of any one of the priests executed in England, for religion: and a plenary indulgence to such as having confessed and received were present at that mass. To say nothing of other grants of the same nature, made to other colleges and convents.

Some will, perhaps, be surprised, to find in these memoirs, such frequent mention of the racking and torturing of priests, and others, that suffered in queen Elizabeth's reign; because these things are not usual in this kingdom, nor supposed to be agreeable to our laws. I am not lawyer enough, to decide how far these violences may be justifiable by our constitution; certain it is, they are not now in use: but we must be utterly strangers to the history of that reign, and must contradict all kinds of monuments, and innumerable cotemporary writers, if we deny that they were in use in those times. This is what Cecil himself, in his book, entitled, *The Execution of Justice in England*, written in vindication of the proceedings of the government against catholics, offers not to deny, though he would have his reader believe that these rackings were not for matters of religion, but treason; and were not so severe as catholics pretended; but Cardinal Allen, in his *Sincere and Modest Defence of the suffering Catholics*, written in answer to the aforesaid book, confutes both these assertions, p. 10, 11, &c., whose words I shall here set down:

'The place serveth here to say somewhat of their racking of catholics; which they would have strangers believe never to be done for any point of religion. As for example, (say they, in the addition to the end of the libel,) none is asked by torture, *what he believeth of the mass, or of transubstantiation, or such like.* Whereas, indeed, it no less concerneth religion, to demand and press us by torture, to declare *where*,

* 'Sixtus V. Bulla afflictæ, &c. ex sancto illo anglorum seminario multos fere quotidie prodire audimus, qui deo juvante in Angliam ad confirmandos catholicorum, animos redeuntes, gloriosis, et apud posteros quoque illustribus futuris martyris, suam erga catholicam fidem, et hanc sanctam sedem devotionem usque ad sanguinis et spiritus effusionem testentur.' Bullar. t. 2, p. 346.

in whose houses, what days and times, we say or hear mass: how many we have reconciled; what we have heard in confession; who resort to our preachings; who harbour catholics and priests; where such a jesuit, or such a priest is to be found; where catholic books are printed, &c., which things being demanded of evil intent, and to the annoyance of the catholic cause, of God's priests, and of innocent men; no man may, by the law of God and nature, disclose, &c.

'Yet, these were the interrogatories for which the famous confessor, Mr. Briant, was tormented with needles thrust under his nails; racked, also, otherwise in cruel sort, and especially punished by two whole days and nights famine, &c. The like demands were put to the blessed martyrs, Campion, Sherwine, and others, upon the torture; and, of this latter, was asked, where Father Parsons and Campion were; and whether he had said mass in Mr. Roscarock's chamber; and what money he had given him. Mr. Thomson, a venerable and learned priest, was put to torments, only to get out of him, to what end he kept certain portable altars, and where he intended to bestow them. And the young man, Carter, was examined upon the rack; upon what gentleman, or catholic ladies, he had bestowed, or intended to bestow, certain books of prayers, and spiritual exercises, and meditations, which he had in his custody; which may suffice to refute the adversaries' asseveration; *that none have been tormented for other matter than treason.*

'But the words of Mr. Thomas Cottam, uttered in sense, at the bar, and thus, verbatim, left in writing, discover the case more plainly, &c.

'Thus, therefore, he spoke, and avouched openly, in the presence of the rack-masters; indeed, quoth he, you are searchers of secrets; for you would needs know of me, what penance I was enjoined by my ghostly father, for my sins committed; and I acknowledge my frailty, that, to avoid the intolerable torment of the rack, I confessed, God forgive me, what they demanded therein. But, when they further urged me to utter also what my sins were, for which that penance was enjoined me: I then answered, that I would not disclose my offences, saving to God, and to my ghostly father alone. Whereupon, they sore tormented me, and still pressed me with the same demand; and I persisted, that it was a most barbarous and inhuman question; and that I would not answer, though they tormented me to death.

'Thus spoke Mr. Cottam at his arraignment, wherewith the enemies being ashamed, the lieutenant of the Tower, there present, began to deny the whole: whereunto, Mr. Cottam replied again thus; and is not this true? Here is present, Dr. Hammond, with the rest of the commissioners that were at my racking; to whose consciences I appeal, God is my witness, that it is most true; and you know, that Sir George Carie did ask me those unnatural questions; deny it if you can.

'As for the moderation, which, by your libel, you would have the world believe, her majesty's ministers have ever used in giving the torment to the persons aforesaid, and to other catholics: the poor innocents, have felt it, and our Lord God knoweth the contrary, &c. Look in your records, what suspicion of treasons, or great matters, you could have in young Sherwood, who was the first in our memory, that was put to the rack for matters of conscience, when no man dreamed of any of these new-feigned conspiracies.

'How often have you, by famine, and filthy dungeons, tormented the happy young confessor, Mr. John Hart; which could not now be, after his condemnation, for any thing else, but for his religion; and because he would not yield to one Reinolds, a minister, with whom you appointed him to confer? For what other cause did you threaten the torture to Mr. Osburne, but to make him confess that he had said mass before the true noble confessors of Christ, my lord Vaux, and Sir Thomas Tresham? &c. We speak nothing of the pitiful extremities you have brought divers unto, by horrible fetters, stocks, dungeons, famine, "Thomson, Borschoe, Henslow, Clifton," or of the death of well near twenty happy catholics, at once infected and pestered in York prison, &c. Of all which inhuman dealing we will not impeach the superior magistrate, much less the sovereign: but surely the inferior ministers of that pretended justice cannot be excused of most cruel and sacrilegious dealing towards God's priests, and other innocent persons.

And as for the particular handling of Father Campion and Mr. Briant, (whom the libellers make example of their mild and gentle entertainment upon the torture,) we refer all indifferent readers to the said Briant's own Latin epistle of that matter: and for the other, "Father Campion," they say true, indeed, that after his first racking,

and the time of the protestants' disputes with him in the Tower, he was not so bereaved of his hands, but he might, with pain, write or subscribe his name: but afterwards, upon his second or third racking, he was so benumbed, that he could neither take the cup and lift it to his mouth, nor draw off his cuff at the bar, &c., nor many days following, had he any feeling or use of his limbs, &c. The like we could prove of Mr. Paine's, the priest, tormenting, and divers others.' So far the cardinal.

Out of whom I shall add some few things more relating to the sufferings of the catholics in those days, cap. 3. p. 38. He complains of 'the infinite spoil of catholic men's goods, honours, and liberty, by robbing them for receiving priests, hearing mass, retaining catholic school-masters, keeping catholic servants, mulcting them by 20*l.* a month, (which, by their cruel account, they make thirteen score a year,) for not repairing to their service; by which a number of ancient gentlemen fall to extremity, &c.' He adds, 'the taking of their dear children from them by force, and placing them, for their seduction, with heretics, (which violence cannot be done, by the law of God, even to infidels,) the burning of priests in the ears, the whipping and cutting off the ears of others, carrying some in their sacred vestments through the streets, putting our chaste virgins into infamous places appointed for strumpets; and other unspeakable villainies, not inferior to any of the heathenish persecutions.

Page 39. 'They have pined,' says he, 'and smothered in their filthy prisons, above thirty famous prelates; above forty excellent and learned men; of nobles, gentlemen, and matrons, a number; whose martyrdom is before God, as glorious, as if they had, by a speedy violent death, been despatched. Every dungeon and filthy prison in England, is full of our priests and brethren; and all provinces and princes christian, are witnesses of our banishment, &c.

Page 54. 'And yet this good writer "of the Execution of Justice in England," to colour over their cruelty towards catholic gentlemen, setteth down the matter as if cases of conscience, of religion, or of the see apostolic, were but lightly punished, &c., when he and all the world knoweth, that they may, and do, by those wicked laws, disinherit, put to perpetual prison, and to death, divers of the laity. We refer them to the worshipful Mr. Tregian's case, who liveth in prison

so many years of alms, after the spoil and rapine of so goodly possessions. We refer them to the laymen put to death of late at Winchester and Andover; to so many fled for religion, of the best nobility and gentry, wholly sacked and spoiled of all they possessed; and so many hundreds more, vexed, pillaged, and spoiled at home, so as not to have wherewithal to expel famine from themselves and families: and, which is yet more, we tell you, that there can never a catholic nobleman in the realm, (if by any show of religion, he gives the enemy the least suspicion in the world of his good affection that way,) be sure of life, lands, and state one day; for by one false pretence and calumny or other, they will entrap him, imprison him; and, in fine, they will overthrow him and his whole family, and transfer all his honours, sometimes, to his chiefest enemies, &c.

In fine, page 1. 'We appeal, says he, to the conscience and knowledge of all the catholics and protestants within the realm, who of their equity, will never deny, that most prisons in England are full at this day, and have been for divers years, of honourable and honest persons, not to be touched with any treason or other offence in the world, other than their profession and faith.' So far he. All which points we find confirmed by many other testimonies; and this may suffice, by way of preface; which, it is hoped, will give no offence to our present governors, whose milder ways of proceeding with catholics, they will ever thankfully acknowledge.

N. B. That in these memoirs we have omitted James Leyburn Esq., who suffered at Lancaster, in 1583; because his case was different from that of all other catholics who suffered at those times: for both at his arraignment, and at his death, he denied the queen to be his lawful sovereign, as we learn from Cardinal Allen and other cotemporary writers.

INTRODUCTION.

QUEEN MARY being dead, her sister Elizabeth was immediately proclaimed queen, November 17, 1558. This princess, who had before professed herself a catholic, now took off the mask, and, by degrees, brought about a total change of the religion of the kingdom. In order to this, great industry was used to have a parliament returned that might come into the queen's measures; and she succeeded so far, that the pretended reformation was by law established, though not without great opposition, in both houses; and in the house of commons, only by the plurality of six voices, notwithstanding the queen was present to encourage her party.—*See* Howes upon Stow, in his preface to queen Elizabeth.

As for the clergy, all the bishops then sitting, opposed the change; and the whole convocation, which met at the same time with this queen's first parliament, declared against it, and drew up five memorable articles, touching the real presence; transubstantiation; the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead; the supremacy of St. Peter, and his successors; and the authority of the pastors of the church, exclusive of the laity, in matters relating to faith and church discipline. Which articles they addressed to the bishops, to be by them laid before the lords in parliament; and both the universities sent a writing at the same time, declaring their concurrence in the same doctrine, so that the new religion was settled by this parliament, not only without the concurrence of the clergy, but, indeed, in opposition to the whole body of the clergy of the nation.—*See* Fuller, 1, 6, &c., and Dr. Heylin's Hist. Reform., p. 285, 286.

Religion being thus changed, and the *common prayer* established instead of the mass, the bishops, and as many of the clergy as could not be brought to acknowledge the queen's church headship, and receive the new liturgy, were deprived of their livings, and either cast into prison, or forced into banishment. Kitchin of Landaff was the only one among the prelates who complied; who, having changed with every turn, was resolved now, to be no changling; so that, what with the deprivation of great numbers of the catholic clergy, and the death of a great many more, carried off not long before by an epidemical distemper, the queen was put upon the necessity of having her new church supplied with an *ignorant and illiterate clergy*, as Dr. Heylin complains, whose learning went no further than the liturgy, or book of homilies.

The removal and imprisonment of the catholic clergy, joined to the precautions that were taken to exclude catholics from the universities,

and from all means of qualifying themselves by learning, for the functions of the priesthood, would, in a short time, have left this nation quite destitute of pastors to administer the sacraments to such as still adhered to the old religion; the old priests daily dying off, and no new ones coming to succeed in their places; had not the divine wisdom prevented so great an evil, by inspiring Dr. William Allen (afterwards cardinal) to institute seminaries abroad for training up English scholars in virtue and learning, to be in proper time made priests, and to return into their native country, there to labour in the vineyard of their Lord. This learned and pious divine, at that time regius professor of divinity in the university of Douay, instituted, by the authority of that holy pope, St. Pius V., a seminary in Douay, in 1568, which was not only the first of the English nation, and the parent of all the rest, but also the first, as it is believed, in the whole Christian world, instituted according to the model of the council of Trent., Sess. 23, cap. 10. This seminary or college counts amongst her alumni, or such as have been some time her members; one cardinal, one archbishop, twelve bishops, two other bishops elect, three archpriests with episcopal faculties, eighty doctors of divinity, seventy writers; many of the most eminent men, of divers religious orders; and what is most glorious of all, above one hundred and fifty martyrs, besides innumerable others who have either died in prison for their faith, or, at least, have suffered imprisonments, banishments, &c., for the same. The first amongst the sons of this seminary that were presented to the holy order of priesthood, were Richard Bristow, afterwards D. D. Gregory Martin, chief author of the translation of the Rhemes Testament, Thomas Ford, and Thomas Robinson; they were ordained at Brussels, in 1573. But none were sent upon the mission till 1574, when Lewis Barlow, Henry Shaw, Thomas Metham, and Martin Nelson, were sent, with apostolic faculties, into the vineyard of their Lord.

The great success which followed these beginnings, engaged pope Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., not only to settle a yearly pension upon the seminary of Douay, but also to found another seminary in Rome, in the ancient hospital of the English nation. To this purpose Mr. Allen, by orders of his holiness, sent to Rome, in 1576, William Holt, priest, John Atkins, deacon, Ralph Standish, clerk, Thomas Bell, John Mush, and William Low; he also sent Mr. Gregory Martin to help to model this new colony. These were followed, in 1577, by Martin Aray, Ralph Sherwin, Edward Rishton, and Leonard Hide, all priests; William Harrison, deacon, and Arthur Pitts: and in the beginning of 1578, by Richard Haydock and George Birket, priests; Thomas Burscough, Edward Gratley, Christopher Owen, and Cæsar Clement, students. In the mean time, the tumults of the Low Countries in this year, 1578, obliged the seminary to remove from Douay to Rhemes, in France, after it had sent fifty-two priests into the mission: and from Rhemes it sent twelve more that same year, and twenty others in the following year, 1579.

The first missioner from Rome, was John Atkins, above mentioned, who was sent in 1579, and was followed that same year by Jonas Meredith, Richard Haydock, Martin Aray, and Leonard Hide, all made

priests before in Douay college. These were followed, in 1580, by three others, made priests before at Douay, and twenty-nine from Rhemes. In which same year the priests of the society of Jesus first entered upon the mission. Their two first missioners were those eminent divines, Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons.

The fruits that these missions produced in England were surprisingly great; for the generality of the missioners were men who were neither to be wearied with labours, nor frightened with dangers, and as the sequel shewed, were prepared to meet death in all its shapes. So that it is not to be wondered, that whereas, in the first ten years of the queen's reign, few had the courage to refuse to join in a schismatical communion, now, by the preaching of these missioners, thousands in all parts of the kingdom, and many of the first rank, were reconciled to God and his church, although their *recusancy*, as it was called, exposed them to heavy fines of 20*l.* a month, and other severe penalties; and the prisons throughout the whole nation were filled with their persons.

But the loss of liberty and goods not being thought a sufficient punishment for men whose conscience was their only crime, more severe laws were enacted, by which it was made high treason to be reconciled to the catholic church, or to persuade any one to that religion, or to be otherwise instrumental in the reconciling any one. High treason to procure, publish, or put in use any bull, writing, or instrument from the bishop of Rome. High treason for Roman Catholic priests to remain in this kingdom; and felony for any one to harbour, relieve, or assist them. By which laws, as these memoirs will abundantly demonstrate, great numbers, both of the clergy and laity, have been executed in most parts of this kingdom; though sometimes our adversaries have strove to hide their shame, by pretending I know not what plots and treasons of their own contrivance, and charging them upon catholics, whom they were resolved to make away with in hatred to their religion: as in the case of the pretended conspiracy of Rome and Rhemes, 1580, and that which is commonly called *Oates's plot*, in 1679. But truth has still prevailed, in spite of all their stratagems, insomuch that their own writers have been since forced to acknowledge, that these men were not guilty of the treasons charged upon them. So that as these really suffered in hatred of their religion, we have reason to rank them amongst the martyrs of religion.

In the mean time, notwithstanding all these laws, and the vigorous execution of them, the number of catholics still increased, and new colleges or seminaries were erected, to supply them with pastors, at Seville and Valladolid, in Spain, in 1589, and another college at St. Omer's, for the education of youth, in 1594. And in the beginning of the following century, the monks of the venerable order of St. Benedict entered also upon the mission, and were not long after followed by the friars of the holy order of St. Francis, &c., not to speak of the college instituted at Lisbon, in 1622.

Our memoirs of the sufferings of our English catholics, begin with the year 1577, the nineteenth of queen Elizabeth. Because from this year we may properly date the beginning of the great persecution, but little blood having been shed by her before, at least for matters purely

religious. And it is very remarkable, that this same year, a few months before the execution of the protomartyr of the seminaries, Mr. Cuthbert Maine, God Almighty seems to have warned the nation against this spirit of persecution, by a judgment (for I can call it nothing else) which can scarce be paralleled in all history; and as to the substance of the matter of fact, is attested by all kinds of records, and acknowledged by protestants as well as catholics.

This was in the case of the memorable trial of Roland Jenks, a catholic bookseller, in Oxford, who, for speaking some words against the queen's religion, was condemned, in the assizes held at Oxford, in July 1577, to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and to deliver himself by cutting them off with his own hands. Which sentence was no sooner passed, when immediately, upon the spot, a strange mortal distemper, the like of which, as to its symptoms, has never been heard of before or since, seized upon the judges, justices on the bench, sheriffs, jurymen, and hundreds of others that were present at the trial, and carried them off in a very short time. Let us hear Mr. Wood, the protestant historian of the university of Oxford, his account of this history, in his *Historia and Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, l. 1. p. 294. His words, translated from the Latin, are as follows:

'It was ordered, therefore, in the convocation held on the 1st of May, 1577, that the criminal, Roland Jenks, should immediately be apprehended; and being put into irons, should be sent up in order to be examined before the chancellor of the university, and the queen's council. In the mean time, all his goods are seized, and in his house are found bulls of popes, and libels reflecting upon her majesty. He was examined at London, in presence of the persons aforesaid, and then was sent back to Oxford, there to be kept in prison till the next assizes, which began on the 4th of July, in the Old Hall in the Castle Yard, and lasted for two days.

'He was brought to the bar and was arraigned for high crimes and misdemeanors; and, being found guilty, was condemned by a sentence in some manner *capital:* for he was to lose his ears. At which time (though my soul dreads almost to relate it) so sudden a plague invaded the men that were present (the great crowd of people, the violent heat of the summer, and the stench of the prisoners, all conspiring togegether; and, perhaps, also, a poisonous exhalation breaking suddenly, at the same time, out of the earth) that you might say, *death* itself sat on the bench; and by her definitive sentence, put an end to all the causes—for great numbers immediately dying upon the spot, others struck with death, hastened out of the court as fast as they could, to die within a very few hours. A mournful ditty was shortly after published on this subject by a young university man, which, for brevity sake I shall omit. But it may not be amiss to set down the names of the persons of greatest note, who were seized by that plague, and breathed out their souls. These were Sir Robert Bell, chief baron of the exchequer, and Nicholas Barham, serjeant at law, both great enemies of the popish religion; which, perhaps, the romanists will lay hold on as an argument for their cause; but I desire them to remember, not to search too narrowly into the secret judgments of God, when

we are at a loss to account even for those things which the Almighty has revealed in holy writ. To the above named must be added, Sir Robert Doyley, the high-sheriff of Oxford, Mr. Hart, his deputy, Sir William Babington, Messieurs Doyley, Wenman, Danvers, Fettyplace, and Harcourt, justices of the peace; Kirley, Greenwood, Nash, and Foster, Gentlemen: to whom are to be joined, to say nothing of others, almost all the jurymen, who died within two days.'

He adds, out of the register of Merton college, the following account of the symptoms of this strange disease.

"Some getting out of bed (agitated with I know not what fury, from their distemper and pain,) beat and drive from them their keepers with sticks; others run about the yards and streets like madmen; others jump head foremost into deep waters. The sick labour with a most violent pain, both of the head and stomach: they are taken with a phrenzy; are deprived of their understanding, memory, sight, hearing, and other senses. As the disease increases, they take nothing; they get no sleep; they suffer none to tend or keep them; they are always wonderfully strong and robust, even in death itself; no complexion or constitution is spared, but the choleric are more particularly attacked by this evil, of which the physicians can neither find the cause nor cure. The stronger the person is, the sooner he dies. Women are not seized by it, nor the poor, neither does any one catch it that takes care of the sick, or visits them. But as this disease was strangely violent, so it was but of a short continuance; for within a month it was over." So far the register.

The substance of this history may be found also in Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, and in Fuller's Church History, book 9, page 109. To say nothing of the catholic writers, in whom I have found it, who are F. Parsons, *Epist. de Persecutione Angl.* published in 1581. Mr. Rishton, *de Schismate Angl.* l. 3. Ribadaneira, in his appendix to Dr. Saunders's History, cap. 13. Yepez, bishop of Taragona, in his Spanish history of the persecution, l. 2. cap. 9., who relates also, cap. 11. some other examples of the like judgments upon the persecutors, &c. I find also the same history had reached Douay by the following month, where I find it recorded in the register, or diary of the college, August, 1577. Mr. Jenks survived his punishment many years, for I find by the same diary he was at Rhemes in 1587.

But neither this remarkable warning, nor any other ensuing judgments, hindered the unhappy politicians of those days from beginning and carrying on the intended tragedy, which afforded the nation so many scenes of blood, for the many remaining years of that long reign; and all for fear lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation.

As to the priests and others, who suffered in these persecutions, of whom we are now going to speak, though we make no question of their religion having been their only crime, yet we have abstained from giving them the title of Saints or Martyrs, that we might not seem to run before the church of God, which has not as yet thought proper to declare them such; to whose wholesome and wise decrees we desire in all things to conform ourselves. And for the same reason we have been

[redacted] in mentioning miracles, visions, or revelations, shown in favour of any of these champions of God's truth: for such things, by the decrees of the see apostolic, ought not to be published till they have been first duly examined, and approved by the ordinaries. On which account we think it necessary to advertise our readers in this place, that what little is found of that nature in the following sheets, is not to be taken as having the weight of church authority, or any authentic declaration to support it; but only as historical facts, delivered by grave and credible vouchers.

As to the number of those that have suffered for religion in this reign, from 1577 to 1603, I find them to have been in all, priests, 124, laymen and women 63. The first was Mr. Cuthbert Maine, of whom we shall now speak.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CUTHBERT MAINE, PRIEST.—1577.

He was the first missionary priest that suffered in England for religious matters, and the protomartyr of Douay college, and all the seminaries. I have a short account of his life and death in English, published in 1582: I have also a more ample account of him in a Latin manuscript of Douay college. I shall present the reader with an abstract of the former, in the very words of the author, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Maine; choosing rather to offend the ears with the old language of the writer, than, by new modelling the narration, to lessen its authority, or spoil its amiable simplicity. I shall here and there add some things out of the Latin manuscript, which, for distinction sake, I shall enclose within these marks " ".

'Cuthbert Maine was born in Barnstaple, "or rather in the parish of Yalston, three miles from Barnstaple," in Devonshire. He had an old schismatical priest to his uncle, that was well beneficed; who being very desirous to leave his benefice to this his nephew, brought him up at school, and when he was eighteen or nineteen years old, got him made minister: at which time (as Mr. Maine himself, with great sorrow and deep sighs, did often tell me) he knew neither what ministry nor religion meant. Being sent afterwards to Oxford, he heard his course of logic in Alborn-hall, and there proceeded bachelor of arts.

'At that time St. John's college wanted some good fellow to play his part at the communion table; to play which part Mr. Maine was invited and hired. In which college and function he lived many years, being of so mild a nature, and of such sweet behaviour, that the protestants did greatly love him, and the catholics did greatly pity him; insomuch that some dealing with him, and advertising him of the evil state he stood in, he was easily persuaded that "the new" doctrine was heretical, and, withal, was brought to lament and deplore his own miserable state and condition. And so being in heart and mind a persuaded catholic, "he unhappily, nevertheless," continued yet in the same college for some years, and there proceeded master of arts.

'Some of his familiar friends, "particularly Mr. Gregory Martin and Mr. Edmund Campion," being already beyond the seas for their conscience, did often solicit him by letters to leave that function of the ministry, and invited him to come to Douay. One of these letters, by chance, fell into the hands of the bishop of London, who despatched a

pursuivant straight to Oxford for Mr. Maine and some others: the rest appeared and were sent to prison; but by chance Mr. Maine was then in his country, and being advertised by his countrymen and friend, Mr. Ford, (then fellow of Trinity college, in Oxford, and of late martyred) that there was process out for him, he took shipping on the coast of Cornwall, and so went to Douay, when the seminary there was but newly erected.

'Here, "being taken into the church," falling to divinity, and keeping the private exercises within the house diligently, and doing the public exercises in the school with commendation, after some years he proceeded bachelor of divinity, and was made priest. And desirous partly to honour God in this sacred order, and to satisfy for that he had dishonoured him by taking the sacrilegious title of ministry; partly inflamed with zeal to save souls, he returned to England, "being sent by Dr. Allen, afterwards cardinal, first president of Douay college," together with Mr. John Payne, who was since martyred, "where he arrived safely," anno 1576. Mr. Maine placed himself in his own country, with a catholic and virtuous gentleman, Mr. Tregian, "of Volveden, or Golden, five miles from Truro, in Cornwall, passing in the neighbourhood for his steward."

'In the year 1577, in the month of June, the bishop of Exeter being in his visitation at Truro, was requested by "Mr. Greenfield," the sheriff of the county, and other busy men, to aid and assist them to search Mr. Tregian's house, where Mr. Maine did lie. After some deliberation, it was concluded, that the sheriff and the bishop's chancellor, with divers gentlemen and their servants, should take the matter in hand. As soon as they came to Mr. Tregian's house, the sheriff first spoke to him, saying, that he and his company were come to search for one Mr. Bourne, who had committed a fault in London, and so fled into Cornwall, and was in his house, as he was informed. Mr. Tregian answering, that he was not there, and swearing by his faith, that he did not know where he was; further telling him, that to have his house searched, he thought it great discourtesy; for that he was a gentleman, and that they had no commission from the queen. The sheriff being bold, for that he had a great company with him, swore by all the oaths that he could devise, that he would search his house, or else he would kill, or be killed, holding his hand upon his dagger, as if he would have stabbed it into the gentleman.

'This violence being used, he had leave to search the house. The first place they went to was Mr. Maine's chamber, which being fast shut, they bounced and beat at the door. Mr. Maine came and opened it (being before in the garden, where he might have gone from them.) As soon as the sheriff came into the chamber, he took Mr. Maine by the bosom, and said to him, What art thou? he answered, I am a man. Whereat, the sheriff being very hot, asked if he had a coat of mail under his doublet? and so unbuttoned it, and found an *Agnus Dei* case about his neck, which he took from him, and called him traitor and rebel, with many other opprobrious names.

'They carried him, his books, papers and letters, to the bishops, who, when he had talked with him, and examined him about his religion,

confessed that he was learned, and had gathered very good notes in his book, but no favour he showed him. Thence the sheriff carried him from one gentleman's house to another, till he came to Launceston, where he was cruelly imprisoned, being chained to his bed posts, with a pair of great gives about his legs, and strict commandment given that no man should repair unto him.

'Thus he remained in prison, from June to Michaelmas; at which time the judges came their circuit. The Earl of Bedford was also present at Mr. Maine's arraignment, and did deal most in the matter.' "Several heads of accusation were exhibited against him at his trial, as,

"1st. That he had obtained from Rome a bull, containing matter of absolution of the queen's subjects. This was no other than a printed copy of the bull of jubilee of the foregoing year, which they had found amongst his papers.

"2dly. That he had published this bull at Golden, in the house of Mr. Tregian.

"3dly. That he had maintained the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and denied the queen's supremacy.

"4thly. That he had brought into the kingdom an *Agnus Dei*, and delivered it to Mr. Tregian.

"5thly. That he had said mass in Mr. Tregian's house.

"There were no sufficient proofs of any of these heads of the indictment. And as to the bull, it being only a printed copy of the grant of the jubilee of the past year, now of no force, and no ways procured from Rome by Mr. Maine, but bought at a bookseller's shop at Douay, out of curiosity to see the form of it, it was very certain that the case was quite foreign both to the intent and to the words of the statute. Yet judge Manhood, who behaved himself very partially in the whole trial, directed the jury to bring him in guilty of the indictment, alledging, *that where plain proofs were wanting, strong presumptions ought to take place;* of which, according to his logic, they had a good store in the cause in hand, knowing the prisoner to be a popish priest, and an enemy of the queen's religion."

'The jury that went upon him were chosen men for the purpose, and thought him worthy of death, whether there came any proof against him or no, because he was a catholic priest; such is their evangelical conscience. After the twelve had given their verdict, '*guilty*' "judge Manhood gave sentence on him, in the usual form, as in cases of high treason; which Mr. Maine heard with a calm and cheerful countenance, and lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, answered, *Deo gratius*, thanks be to God. He was to have been executed within fifteen days, but his execution was deferred until St. Andrew's day; upon what occasion I know not, says my author; but the Latin manuscript says the occasion was, that judge Jeffries being dissatisfied with the proceedings of his colleague; and the privy council, informed of all that had passed, they thought proper to have all the judges meet upon the matter; that, accordingly, they met, but disagreed in their sentiments, several of the older and wiser of them being of judge Jeffries's opinion. However, such was the iniquity of the times, that the council concluded that the prisoner should be executed for a terror to the papists. My

author says, the sheriff, who went to court, and was there made a knight for his late service in this cause, was the man that procured the dead warrant to be signed for Mr. Maine's execution, which he sent into the country, to the justices there."

'Three days before he was put to death, there came a serving-man unto him, and willed him to prepare for death; *for*, saith he, *you are to be executed within these three days at the farthest.* Which kind admonition, Mr. Maine took very thankfully, and said to the serving-man, that if he had any thing to give, he would rather bestow it upon him than on any other; for he had done more for him than ever any man did. After that advertisement he gave himself earnestly to prayer and contemplation until his death. The second night after he gave himself to these spiritual exercises, there was seen a great light in his chamber, between twelve and one of the clock, insomuch that some of the prisoners that lay in the next rooms, called unto him to know what it was (for they knew very well that he had neither fire nor candle.) He answered, desiring them to be quiet, for it did nothing appertain unto them.

'At the day of his execution many justices and gentlemen came to see him, and brought with them two ministers, who did dispute with him, whom he confuted in every point; but the justices and gentlemen, who were blind judges, would hear nothing of that; but they affirmed that the ministers were much better learned than he. Although they confess he died very stoutly, whereat they did much marvel, telling the ignorant people, that he could avouch no scripture for his opinion, which was most untrue; for I know by the report of honest men that were present, that he did confirm every point in question with testimonies of scriptures and fathers; and that abundantly.'

"It was upon this occasion, (according to the Latin manuscript) that his life was offered him, if he would renounce his religion; which when he refused to do, they pressed him at least to swear upon the bible, that the queen was the supreme head of the church of England, assuring him of his life if he would do this; but if he refused it, he must then be hanged, drawn and quartered, according to sentence. Upon this" 'he took the bible into his hands, made the sign of the cross upon it, kissed it; and said, the queen neither ever was, nor is, nor ever shall be, the head of the church of England.'

'He was to be drawn a quarter of a mile to the place of execution, and when he was to be laid on the sledge, some of the justices moved the sheriff's deputy, that he would cause him to have his head laid over the car, that it might be dashed against the stones in drawing; and Mr. Maine offered himself that it might be so, but the sheriff's duputy would not suffer it.

'When he came to the place of execution, "which was the market-place of the town, where they had on purpose erected a gibbet of unusual height, being taken off the sledge," he kneeled down and prayed; when he was on the ladder, and the rope about his neck, he would have spoken to the people, but the justices would not suffer him, but bid him say his prayers, which he did very devoutly. And as the hangman was about to turn the ladder, one of the justices spoke to him in this manner:—Now villian and traitor, thou knowest that thou shalt

die, and therefore tell us whether Mr. Tregian and Sir John Arundel did know of these things which thou art condemned for; and also what thou dost know by them? Mr. Maine answered him very mildly: I know nothing of Mr. Tregian and Sir John Arundel, but that they are good and godly gentlemen; and as for the things I am condemned for, they were only known to me, and to no other. Then he was cast off the ladder saying, in *manus tuas*, &c., and knocking his breast.

'Some of the gentlemen would have had him cut down strait way, that they might have had him quartered alive; but the sheriff's deputy would not, but let him hang till he was dead.' The Latin manuscript says, "he was, indeed, cut down alive, but falling from the beam, which was of an unusual height, with his head upon the side of the scaffold, on which he was to be quartered, he was by that means almost quite killed; and therefore but little sensible of the ensuing butchery. His quarters were disposed of, one to Bodwin, one to Tregny, one to Barnstable, and the fourth to remain at Launceston castle: his head was set upon a pole at Wadebridge, a noted highway. The hangman, who embrued his hands in his innocent blood, in less than a month's time became mad, and soon after miserably expired. And it is particularly remarked, that not one of those whom Mr. Maine reconciled to the church, could ever be induced to renounce the catholic truth, which they had learned from so good a master. Mr. Tregian, the gentleman who had entertained him, lost his estate, which was very considerable, for his religion, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and several of his neighbours and servants were cast in a premunire as abettors and accomplices of Mr. Maine: Sir John Arundel was also persecuted and cast into prison upon this occasion.

"Mr. Maine suffered at Launceston, in Cornwall, Nov. 29, 1577, of whom, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his chronicle of this year:"—'Cuthbert Maine was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Launceston, in Cornwall, for preferring Roman power.'

The persons that were condemned with Mr. Maine, and cast in a premunire, were Richard Tremayne, gent., John Kemp, gent., Richard Hoar, gent., Thomas Harris, gent., John Williams, M. A. John Philips, yeoman, John Hodges, yeoman, and James Humphreys, yeoman; all neighbours or servants to Mr. Tregian.

JOHN NELSON, PRIEST.—1578.*

John Nelson was the son of Sir N. Nelson, knight, and was born at Shelton, near York. Being come to near forty years of age, and hearing of the college lately established at Douay, in Flanders, he went over thither, in the year 1574, in order to qualify himself there, by virtue and learning, for the priestly ministry, by which he might be of service to his native country, in reclaiming sinners from the errors of

* From a printed account by an eye-witness of his death; and from an old Latin manuscript of Douay college.

immoderate tears and lamentations, that he was somewhat moved therewith, but stayed and repressed nature by-and-by, and so dismissed them: and they were no sooner gone, but two ministers came in, seeking to remove him from his faith, but in vain; for he utterly refused to have any talk with them, desiring them to let him be in quiet, and so they did, and departed from him.

'When he was brought forth of the prison, and laid upon the hurdle, some of the officers exhorted him to ask the queen's majesty, whom he had highly offended, forgiveness: he answered, I will ask her no pardon, for I never offended her. At which words the people that stood about him raged, saying, then he should be hanged like a traitor as he was. Well, said he, God's will be done; I perceive that I must die, and surely I am ready to die with a good will; for better is it to abide all punishment, be it ever so grievous, here, than to suffer the eternal torments of hell fire.

'Being come to the place of execution, and put into the cart, the first words he spoke were, *in manus tuas Domine, &c.* Then he besought such of the standers by as were catholics, to pray with him, and for him, saying, either in Latin or in English, the pater, ave and creed, which he himself said in Latin, adding thereto the confiteor, and the psalms *miserere and de profundis;* which being finished, turning himself round about to all the people, he spoke to them in this sort, I call you all this day to witness, that I die in the unity of the catholic church; and for that unity do now most willingly suffer my blood to be shed: and therefore I beseech God, and request you all to pray for the same, that it would please God, of his great mercy, to make you, and all others that are not such already, true catholic men; and both to live and die in the unity of our holy mother the catholic Roman church. At which words the people cried out, away with thee and thy catholic Romish faith: but this notwithstanding, he repeated the same prayer again.

'Then he requested to be forgiven of all men, as well absent as present, if he had offended any; protesting that he forgave all his enemies and persecutors, desiring God also to forgive them. Here again he was willed to ask the queen's forgiveness; which he refused to do for a while: at last he said, if I have offended her, or any else, I ask her and all the world forgiveness, as I forgive all: and so the hangman being ordered to despatch, Mr. Nelson prayed a little while to himself, and then requested all such as were catholics to pray with him, that Christ, by the merits of his bitter passion, would receive his soul into everlasting joy. When the cart was drawn away, a great multitude cried with a loud voice, Lord receive his soul.

'He was cut down before he was half dead, and so dismembered and ripped up: and, as the hangman plucked out his heart, he lifted himself up a little, and, as some that stood near, report, spoke these words, *I forgive the queen, and all that were causers of my death:* but I, though I saw his lips move, yet heard not so much: and the hangman had three or four blows at his head before he could strike it off. His quarters were hanged on four of the gates of the city, and his head set upon London bridge.' So far my old English author.

Mr. Nelson suffered at Tyburn, February 3, 1577-8. Of him Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, writes thus: 'John Nelson, for denying the queen's supremacy, and such other traitorous words against her majesty, was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled and quartered. One Sherwood was also hanged for the like treason, February 7.

THOMAS SHERWOOD, SCHOLAR.*

Thomas Sherwood was born at London, of pious and catholic parents, and by them brought up in the true faith, and in the fear of God. But being desirous to improve himself in virtue and learning, he went over to the English college, founded not long before, in the university of Douay, in Flanders, where I find him, in the diary of the house, a student, in 1576. Not long after this, he returned to London, in order to settle his affairs, and procure money to help him to carry on his studies.

Whilst he was in London, he frequented the house of lady Tregony, a virtuous catholic, who had a son named Martin, whose faith and manners were widely distant from those of his mother. This young spark suspected that mass was sometimes privately said in his mother's house; and this, as he imagined, by the means of Mr. Sherwood; which was the occasion of his conceiving an implacable hatred against him; insomuch, that one day meeting him in the streets, he cried out, *stop the traitor, stop the traitor;* and so causing him to be apprehended, had him before the next justice of peace. Where, when they were come, Mr. Tregony could alledge nothing else against Mr. Sherwood, but that he suspected him to be a papist. Upon which the justice examined him concerning his religion; and in particular, what his sentiments were concerning the queen's church-headship, and the pope's supremacy.—To which Mr. Sherwood candidly answered, that he did not believe the queen to be the head of the church of England; and that this pre-eminence belonged to the pope. And being further asked concerning the queen's religion, he made the like answers as we have seen above, Mr. Nelson did. Upon which he was immediately committed, and cast into a dungeon in the Tower. In the mean time his lodgings were searched and plundered of all that he had, and between 20 and 30*l.* of money, borrowed for the use of his poor afflicted father, were carried off by these harpies with the rest.

In the Tower he was most cruelly racked, in order to make him discover where he had heard mass. But he suffered all their tortures with a greatness of soul not unequal to that of the primitive martyrs, and would not be induced to betray or bring any man into danger. After this, he was thrust into a dark, filthy hole, where he endured very much from hunger, stench, and cold, and the general want of all things, no one being allowed to visit him, or afford him any comfort. Inso-

* From Mr. Bridgewater's Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, Raissius, his catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college, and a Latin MS. in my hands.

much, that when a catholic gentleman, "Mr. Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas More," pitying his extreme sufferings, had, by the means of another prisoner, conveyed to Mr. Sherwood's keeper some money for the use of his prisoner, the money was by the keeper returned the next day, because the lieutenant of the Tower would not suffer the prisoner to have the benefit of any such alms. And all that he could be prevailed upon to do, was to lay out one poor sixpence for a little fresh straw for him to lie upon.

In fine, after about six months' suffering in this manner, with invincible patience, and gloriously triumphing over chains, dungeons, and torments, during which he often repeated these words, Lord Jesu, O! I am not worthy that I should suffer these things for thee! much less am I worthy of those rewards which thou hast promised to give to such as confess thee; he was brought out to his trial, and condemned to die for denying the queen's supremacy; and was executed according to sentence, being cut down whilst he was yet alive, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered.

He suffered at Tyburn, February 7, 1577–8.

This year, 1578, the English seminary was obliged to leave Douay (after having sent from thence fifty-two priests, upon the English mission, besides others sent to Rome,) and to repair to Rhemes; where they remained till 1594. The first of those that were ordained at Rhemes, who suffered in England for religious matters, was

EVERARD HANSE, PRIEST.—1581.*

Mr. Hanse was born in Northamptonshire, and performed his higher studies in the university of Cambridge; then was made a minister, and promoted to a good fat benefice. 'But, by God's great providence and mercy towards him,' "he had not been above two or three years in that state, before he" 'fell into a grievous sickness, in which, as well by that chastisement, as by some special miraculous admonitions from above, he began to consider of his former life, and the damnable state and function he was in. Whereupon, calling for a catholic priest,' "the manuscript says it was his own brother, William Hanse, who was a priest of Douay college, with whom before he had many disputes," 'he reconciled himself to the church, forsook the ministry, abandoned his wrongfully-begotten benefice, and so passed over to Rhemes. Where, having lived near two years in most zealous and studious sort, and being by that time, through continual exercise, well instructed in cases of conscience, and all duties of priesthood, he was, for the unspeakable desire he had to gain both others, but especially some of his dearest friends, to the unity of the church and salvation, much moved to be made a priest, and to return home.

'He had his intent,' "being made priest, March 25, 1581, by the bishop of Chaalon, in the church of the blessed virgin, with ten others

* From a Douay MS. But chiefly from the same author from whom we have transcribed the martyrdoms of Mr. Maine and Mr. Nelson.

of the same college. He said his first mass on the 2d of April, of the same year, and was sent upon the mission on the 24th of the same month, in the company of Mr. Freeman, Mr. Finglie, and Mr. Henry Clinch.'

"Mr. Hanse being therefore now lawfully sent," came into England; where he had not been long, when venturing one day to visit certain prisoners in the Marshalsea, he was there apprehended,' "upon suspicion of his being a priest," 'and being examined by an officer what he was, and from whence he came? he, without more ado, confessed boldly himself to be a catholic, and a priest of the seminary of Rhemes; whereupon he was cast into Newgate amongst thieves, and loaded with irons. And a few days after, when the jail delivery of that prison was holden, he was brought to the bar, July the 28th, where Mr. Fleetwood, the recorder, sitting in judgment, asked him, where he was made priest? what was the cause of his coming into England? and the like. The man of God, without fear or dissimulation, told him, that the cause of his return was to gain souls; and that he was made priest at Rhemes.

'Recorder. Then you are a subject to the pope?

'Mr. Hanse. So I am, Sir.

'Recorder. Then the pope hath some superiority over you?

'Mr. Hanse. That is true.

'Recorder. What! in England?

'Mr. Hanse. Yea, in England; for he hath as much authority and right in spiritual government in this realm as ever he had; and as much as he hath in any other country, or in Rome itself.

'Upon which most plain and sincere confession, the heretics, (as their fashion is to falsify all things, and, by contrived slanders, to make the servants of God odious,) gave out afterwards in print, that he should say, that princes had not any supremacy or sovereignty in their own realms, but the pope only; which was far from his and every catholic man's mind. But upon his former answer, to bring him, by course of questions, into the compass of some of their new statutes of treason, they asked him farther, whether he thought the pope could not err? to which, though he expressly answered, that in life and manners he might offend, as also err in his private doctrine or writing, but that in judicial definitions, and in deciding matters of controversy, he did never err. This plain speech, notwithstanding, the enemies gave out that he should say, the pope could not sin.

'Then they proceeded with him further, and demanded whether the pope had not judicially proceeded in the deposition of the queen? And, thereupon they read a piece of the bull of Pius Quintus; those words especially in which he declared her to be an heretic, and a fautor of heretics, and deprived her of all regal authority, and pretended right of these dominions, &c. Did he not err, said they, in this? I hope, said Mr. Hanse, he did not. Which term, I hope, he used on purpose in this matter, because Pius Quintus his act was, in this case, not a matter of doctrine, but of fact; wherein he did not affirm that the pope could not err,' "or even grievously sin, though it is certainly the part of Christian charity to hope that he did not."

'But to go one step forward, and to bring him into the compass of the first statute of the last parliament, upon which they intended to indict him, Mr. Recorder asked whether he spoke the foresaid thing to persuade other men that heard him to be of his mind? Mr. Hance replied, I know not what you mean by persuading; but I would have all men to believe the catholic faith, as I do.

'This being done and said on each side, order was given to one present, that was learned in the law, to draw up an indictment of treason against Mr. Hanse, upon the new statue made in the last parliament, which was out of hand done. The effect whereof was, that the said Hanse being one of the pope's scholars, and made priest beyond the seas, was returned to seduce the queen's majesty's subjects from their obedience, and that he had affirmed the pope to be his superior here in England, and had as much authority in spiritual government, within this realm, as ever he had before; saying further, that he hoped Pius Quintus erred not in declaring her to be an heretic, excommunicating and deposing her majesty, and acknowledging that he uttered so much to have others think therein as he did, &c., which indictment being openly read, and Mr. Hanse thereon arraigned, he was ordered to hold up his hand; he held up his left hand, whereupon the recorder blamed him, attributing it to some pride or superstition, that, being a priest, he would not vouchsafe, or might not hold up his anointed right hand; but the truth was, he did it because his right hand was occupied in easing himself, by holding up the great bolts wherewith the blessed man was exceedingly laden; for being admonished, he forthwith stretched forth his right hand.

'And being asked whether he was guilty of the things contained in the indictment, after a few words, wherein he said he was not altogether guilty in those things as they were set down, he yet acknowledged the substance and the sense thereof, with great courage and constancy. Whereupon the sentence of death was pronounced against him in the form well known to all men. This done, he was returned to the prison from whence he came, where minister Crowley, and others, came to attempt to overcome his constancy; but after much talk, and many persuasions to relent in some points of religion, and to acknowledge his fault towards her majesty; when they saw they could not prevail against the blessed confessor, they forged, to his disgrace, and to make him odious, that he should affirm to them in talk, that treason to the queen was no sin before God. Which slander they were not ashamed to put out in print.

'He was condemned upon the 28th of July, 1581; and upon the last day of the same month he was drawn to Tyburn; where being put into the cart, he, with a cheerful countenance, preferred himself to be a catholic priest, and most glad to die for testimony thereof. And being willed to ask the queen's mercy, and demanded whether he took her for his sovereign, he answered, that he did take her for his queen, and that he never offended her majesty otherwise than in matters of his conscience, which their new made statutes had drawn to matters of treason. And whereas, said he, I understand it has been given out, that I should say, treason was no offence to God, I protest I neither meant nor said any more, but that these new made treasons, which are nothing

else, indeed, but the confession of the catholic points of religion, were no offences to God.

'Then the ministers called upon him to pray with them, and to desire the people to assist him: He answered, that he might not pray with heretics; but desired humbly all catholics to pray for him and with him, And so whilst he was praying devoutly to himself, the cart was drawn away; and before he was half dead, the rope was cut, and he bowelled alive, and afterwards quartered; a spectacle of great edification to the good, and a wonder to every one that looked upon it.'

"The Douay manuscript, and Raissius in his printed catalogue of martyrs of the English college, add, * that when the executioner had his hand upon his heart, Mr. Hanse distinctly pronounced these words, *O! happy day!* And that it was the current fame, that his heart being cast into the fire, leaped of itself out of the flames; and being flung in again, and covered with a faggot, it sprung up again with so much force, as visibly to raise the faggot out of its place, and hold it as it were, for a short time, quivering in the smoke."

Mr. Hanse, the day before his death, wrote the following letter to his brother, who was a priest of the same college.

BROTHER,

'I pray you be careful for my parents, see them instructed in the way of truth, so that you be careful for your own state also; what you shall take in hand that way, think no other, but God will send good success; my prayers shall not be wanting to aid you by God's grace. Give thanks to God for all that he hath sent; cast not yourself into dangers wilfully, but pray to God, when occasion is offered, you may take it with patience.

'The comforts at the present instant are unspeakable; the dignity too high for a sinner; but God is merciful. Bestow my things, you find ungiven away, upon my poor kinsfolks. A pair of pantoffles I leave with M. N. for my mother. Twenty shillings I would have you bestow on them from me, if you can make so much conveniently; some I have left with M. N. I owe ten shillings and two shillings, I pray you see it paid. M. N. will let you understand how, and to whom. If you want money to discharge, it send to my friends, you know where, in my name. *Summa Conciliorum*, I pray you restore to M. B. the other books, you know to whom.

'Have me commended to my friends: let them think I will not forget them. The day and hour of my birth is at hand, and my master saith, *Tolle Crucem tuam & sequere me. Vale in Domino.*

Yours,

Pride obitus. EVERARD HANSE.

* Cumque Carnifex cor ejus adhuc palpitans manibus attrectaret, in hanc supremam prorupit vocem, O diem felicem! Imo quod magis mirere, cor ejus in ignem missum magno impetu exiliisse habet fama consentiens, cumque rursus fasce coopertum ligneo in ignem conjectum esset, secundo tanta vi delatum contra fascem ascendisse, ut illum tum loco moveret, tum in fumo ipso herere tremulum faceret. Raissius in Catalogo, p. 14, 15, ex Diario Collegii Anglorum.

It was expected, that Mr. Thomas Clifton, another priest of Douay college, a native of Kent, should have been the next to follow Mr. Hanse, of whom a certain missioner, in a letter recorded by Mr. Rushton, l, 3. *de Schismate*, p. 320, writes as follows, 'Mr. Hanse suffered his conflict with an invincible patience. It seems, that Mr. Clifton, priest, is to be the next to succeed him; who has already, for some months, suffered so much from the heretics, by cold, hunger, and the load of his chains, in a dungeon amongst felons, that his being yet alive seems a miracle. This man when, of late, he was led through the streets, loaded with heavy irons, to the bar, in the company of theives, his companions sighing, and almost all the people being moved to commiseration; he alone was cheerful, and dragged his chains along with a smiling countenance. And when one asked him, why he, more than the rest, should laugh, his case being so deplorable as it was? He answered, *because I look for greater gain than they from my sufferings; and it is just they should laugh that win.*'

He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and immediately, upon hearing his sentence, fell upon his knees, and with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven said, *allelujah, allelujah.* He was sent back to Newgate, and there fed with the bread of sorrow, having his hands, feet, and neck chained in such sort, that he could neither sit down, nor stir out of his place all the day; and every night being put down into a horrid and darksome dungeon. Douay diary, ad annum, 1581.

Of Mr. Hanse, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his annals or chronicle, anno 1581. 'Everard Hanse, a seminary priest, was in the Sessions-Hall, in the Old Bailey, arraigned, where he affirmed, that himself was subject to the pope in ecclesiastical causes, and that the pope hath now the same authority here in England, that he had an hundred years past, with other traitorous speeches; for the which he was condemned and executed.' So Mr. Stow, who adds, that, 'at the same sessions, were brought from the Fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, and the Counters, sundry prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to the church; all which, being convicted by their own confession, had judgment accordingly, to pay twenty pounds for every month of such their wilful absence from the church.'

But this was not the only, nor the greatest severity that the English catholics endured in this persecution, which raged without any intermission for the twenty-five last years of queen Elizabeth's reign. About this very time that Mr. Hanse suffered, or a little before, we find many instances of an extraordinary nature of the sufferings of catholics, recorded by Dr. Bridgewater in his collections, published under the title of *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ:* Some of which we will here set down.

I. William Tyrwhite, son to Sir Robert Tyrwhite, accused for having heard mass, at his sister's wedding, was carried prisoner to the Tower, notwithstanding he was actually sick of a high fever; and the physicians declared, that he was a dead man if they removed him to prison in that condition: His friends offered any bail for his appearance, as soon as he should recover; but all in vain; he was hurried away,

sick as he was, and died within two days. His brother, Robert Tyrwhite, was also, for the same cause, cast into prison, and there died.

II. Mr. John Cooper, a hopeful young man, of a good family, brought up under Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, designing to leave England for the sake of his religion and to follow his studies abroad, and having, for that purpose, gathered together what money he could, was stopped at the seaside upon a discovery of his design, and sent back to London, where he was plundered of all he had, and committed close prisoner to Becheam Tower: here, partly through hunger and cold, and partly through the nastiness and stench of the place, he contracted a disease, by which he appeared something disturbed in the head and delirious.—This being told to the lieutenant of the tower, he ordered his bed to be taken away, which some friends had sent him in, that he might lie for the future upon the bare floor; which addition to his former sufferings brought him quickly to his end: and for a token that he perished through their barbarous usage, when they pulled off his slippers, in order to bury him, his flesh stuck to them, and came off by pieces from the bones.

III. Mr. Dimock, champion of England, and son-in-law to the Earl of Lincoln, having been a paralytic for some years, so that he could neither go out of doors, nor move himself one step, without help, was accused to the bishop of the diocese, of being a Roman catholic: upon this, he is cited to make his appearance before his lordship, and excuses himself by reason of his palsy. The bishop, therefore, comes to his house, sees his condition, but is nothing moved with it, orders him to be carried to prison, where, in a short time, he dies. But neither would they let him die quietly, but sent in their ministers to perplex him, and force their prayers upon him, though, to the last gasp, he refused their assistance, and died in the faith of his renowned ancestors.

IV. Mr. Christopher Watson, and about twenty other catholics, of both sexes, imprisoned in like manner for their religion, perished also about this time in York Castle.

V. Mark Typer, a young gentleman, who had been some time student in Douay college, was condemned by Mr. Fleetwood, the recorder of London, to be whipped through the city, and to have his ears bored through with a red hot iron: which sentence was accordingly executed upon him for his religion. We pass over many other instances of extraordinary severity against the catholics, which were but the preludes of more cruel treatment, which we shall meet with by and by.

EDMUND CAMPION, PRIEST.—S. J.*

Edmund Campion was born in London, where he had his first education in Christ Church Hospital. From whence he was sent to Ox-

* His life has been published by Bombinus, and several others. What we here give, is an extract out of the old English author, from whom we had our account of Mr. Hanse, &c., whom we prefer to all the rest, as being more ancient, and personally acquainted with Mr. Campion, and an eye-witness to his death. His account was published in 1582.

ford, 'where he was brought up in St. John's college, being very much beloved for his excellent qualifications, by Sir Thomas White, of worthy memory, the founder of that house, at whose burial he made an excellent oration in Latin, having made the like before in English, at the funeral of my lady Dudley, late wife of the Earl of Leicester; where, after he had passed with great applause through all such exercises, degrees, and offices as the university yieldeth to men of his condition, by the importunate persuasions of some of his friends, that were desirous of his worldly honour and advancement, he suffered himself to be made deacon after their new fashion.

'But for all that, our Lord mercifully withheld him from that ambitious course, which is the gulf in which many great wits have perished in these days. Therefore, having spent some more time in study, and travelled into Ireland (the history of which country he wrote truly and eloquently) hearing that there was a seminary not long before begun in Douay, he went over thither, "where, under the conduct of Dr. Allen, first president of the college, he applied himself with great diligence, as well to the study of divinity, as to the acquiring the knowledge of God and himself, the true science of the saints: And" 'after many exercises, done both in the house and in the public schools, he proceeded bachelor of divinity, to his great commendation, and the honour of our nation.

'Nevertheless, all this while (especially being now more advanced in devotion, zeal, learning, and judgment than before) the continual thought of that schismatical deaconship which he had taken, did so sorely oppress his mind, and the conceit of the greatness of that sin so burthened his conscience, that no counsel of learned friends could give him satisfaction, till he entered into religion to wipe away the same by penance and holy profession. So, making his choice of the society of Jesus, "which has ever since regarded him as one of her brighest lights, he went to Rome, where he was admitted by the general of the order, anno, 1573," and after one month's stay in that city, was sent to Bohemia, where he abode "about seven years" and was made priest at Prague, continually "during this time" teaching, preaching, catechising, writing, and labouring for the church of God; whereby he became so famous, that not only other principal states, but the imperial majesty was contented often to hear him preach; till, at length, at the suit o. such as knew his great talent in dealing with heretics for their conversion, his general called him thence to be bestowed upon his own country.

In his return towards England, he called at Rhemes, where the college was now translated, having father Robert Parsons in his company; 'where, beside other communication, appertaining to the reduction of our country to the catholic faith, he demanded of Dr. Allen, whether he thought that any service he could do in England (the times being as they were) were likely to be worth all these long labours and hazards past and to come, or might countervail the wants that those should seem to have by his absence from whence he came. To which Dr. Allen answered,—Father, said he, first, whatever you did there, may be done by others, one or more of your order. Secondly, you owe

more duty to England than to Bohemia, and to London than to Prague. Though I am glad you have made some recompense to that country for the old wound it received from us," "in Wickliff's time; from whom the Hussities of Bohemia learnt their heresies." 'Thirdly, the recovery of one soul from heresy is worth all your pains, as I hope you will gain many: because the harvest is both more plentiful and more ripe with us than in those parts. Finally, the reward may be greater; for you may be martyred for it at home, which you cannot easily obtain there. So he was satisfied. And of this communication I have heard him often speak.

'At last he happily landed at Dover, the day after Midsummer, anno, 1580, being, by God's great goodness, delivered out of the searchers' and officers' hands, who detained him with them, upon suspicion, for some hours, upon deliberation to have sent him to the council. Coming therefore to London, he preached there his first sermon upon St. Peter and St. Paul's day, at which I myself was present, where he had a full audience, and that of persons of distinction. But afterwards, both there and in sundry other parts of the realm, far greater, through the fame and experience of his manifold virtues, and great eloquence and learning, many protestants of good nature being, at sundry times, to hear him; who, ever afterwards, contemned their vulgar pulpit-men, in comparison of him.

'He preached once a day, at the least, often twice, and sometimes thrice; whereby, through God's goodness, he converted several in most counties of the realm, of the best sort, besides young gentlemen students, and others of all conditions.' "And by the experience he had of the good that came of preaching, he particularly recommended to Everardus Mercurianus, the general of his order, in a letter written from England, that such of the society as should be sent upon the English mission, should be able preachers. In which letter he also acknowledged the good offices done him and the society, by the missioners of the secular clergy, who had cultivated this vineyard for many years before his coming."

'At his first entrance into the kingdom, he made his proffer of disputation; for such causes as he alledged in the same; and more at large afterwards, in his eloquent and learned book to both the universities, whereby the protestant preachers and prelates found themselves so deeply wounded in their doctrine and credit, notwithstanding they had patched up a few pamphlets against him, that they instigated her majesty's council to alter the question from controversy in religion, to the cause of the queen, and matter of state, that so they might maintain, by force and authority, what they could not do by their learning and divinity.

'Thereupon it was given out, by divers speeches and proclamations, that great confederacies were made by the pope and foreign princes, for the invasion of the land; and that the jesuits and seminary priests, were sent in, forsooth, to prepare their ways, and such like trumpery, to beguile and incense the simple against them. Then all exquisite diligence was used for the apprehension of others, but more particularly of father Campion, whom they called the *Pope's Champion*.

'At length, after he had laboured in God's harvest near thirteen months, being betrayed by one George Eliot, after long search, and much ado, by God's permission, he fell into the persecutor's hands the 17th of July, 1581, being found in a secret closet, in a catholic gentleman and confessor's house, called Mr. Yates, of Lyford, two godly priests, Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington, being with him, all lying, when the enemy discovered them, upon a bed, their faces and hands lifted up to heaven. He offered his two companions in the search, that if they thought all that ado was for him, and that his yielding himself up might acquit them, he would give himself up; but they would not suffer this in any-wise: but hearing one another's confession, expected God's good will together, every one having penance enjoined to say three times, *thy will be done, O Lord!* and *St. John Baptist pray for me.* Which blessed saint they particularly invoked, for that father Campion was delivered, as he took it, out of the searcher's hands at Dover, by the intercession of that holy prophet, his special patron.

'Father Campion being now in the power of the traitor Eliot, and the officers, and made a show and matter of mockery to the unwise multitude, and the ungodly of all sorts, showed such remarkable modesty, mildness, patience, and Christian humility, in all his speeches and actions, that the good were exceedingly edified, and the enemies much astonished. After he had been two days in the custody of the sheriff of Berkshire, he was carried with the rest, as well priests as gentlemen and others, apprehended in that place, towards London.—At Abington, among others, divers scholars of Oxford came to see the man so famous, of which being told by one Mr. Lydcot, he said, *he* was very glad; himself being once of that university, and asked, whether they would hear a sermon; there, at dinner, Eliot said to him, Mr. Campion, you look cheerfully upon every body but me: I know you are angry with me in your heart for this work: God forgive thee, Eliot, said he, for so judging of me: I forgive thee, and in token thereof, I drink to thee; yea, and if thou wilt repent and come to confession, I will absolve thee; but large penance thou must have.

In his way to London, 'besides the tying of his legs under his horse, and binding his arms behind him, which was done to the others also, the council appointed a paper to be set upon his hat with great capital letters, CAMPION THE SEDITIOUS JESUIT; and gave orders that they should stay at Colebrook a good part of Friday, and all the night, that thence they might bring him and his companions upon Saturday, in triumph through the city, and the whole length thereof, especially through such places, where, by reason of the markets of that day, the greatest concourse of the common people was; whom in such matters their policy seeks most to please; which was executed accordingly, all London, almost, beholding the spectacle; the mob gazing and with delight beholding the novelty: but the wiser sort lamenting to see our country fallen to such barbarous iniquity, as to abuse in this manner, a religious man, so honourable in all nations for his learning, and of so innocent a life: so that day, which was the 22d of July, he was delivered up to the lieutenant of the Tower.

Here, besides the ordinary miseries incident to that kind of imprison-

ment, doubled by the inhuman dealing and deep hatred to catholics, of the chief officer of the place, after sundry examinations, terrors, and threats, by the lord chancellor, and others of the council and commission, he was divers times racked, to force out of him, by intolerable torments, whose houses he had frequented, by whom he was relieved, whom he had reconciled, when, which way, for what purpose, and by what commission, he came into the realm; how, where, and by whom he printed and dispersed his books, and such like.

At his first racking, they went no further with him: but afterwards, when they saw he could not be won to condescend somewhat at least in religion, which was the thing they most desired, they thought good to forge matter of treason against him, and framed their demands accordingly; about which he was so cruelly torn and rent upon the torture, the two last times, that he told a friend of his that found means to speak with him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack, he used to fall down at the rack-house door, upon both knees, to commend himself to God's mercy; and upon the rack he called continually upon God, repeating often the holy name of Jesus. He most charitably forgave his tormentors, and the causers thereof. His keeper asking him the next day, how he felt his hands and feet? he answered, not ill, because not at all.

The enemies, not contented with this, and many other accustomed ways of torture, secretly, as it is said, used towards him to afflict his body, added a thousand devices and slanderous reports to wrong him in his fame, opening all the mouths of the ministers to bark against him; sometimes publishing that there was great hope he would become a protestant; sometimes that he had been at church and service: another while, that he had uttered upon the rack all that ever he knew; yea, sometimes, that he had therefore killed himself in prison; which, no doubt they would have further avouched, if he had died by racking, as it was very like he should have done.

The lieutenant of the tower, at the beginning, hoping that he might be gained to their side in some points, either by sweet words, great promises of promotions, or extreme torments, extolled the man exceedingly, affirming divers times, that he was such a man as England never brought forth before: and surely, said he, it is God's singular goodness that he returned home; no doubt her majesty will prefer him to great livings. And that he might want no good pretence to yield to their desires, they often brought to him such divines as they had, to confer with him, and to persuade him privately to relent somewhat to their sect; but not prevailing that way, they caused, under colour of satisfying his former challenge of disputation, divers public disputes, or rather certain light skirmishes, to bark at him and bait him. Four or five of the contrary side, all provided as well as they could, were set out against one destitute of all proper helps, "and brought almost to the brink of death by the rack," 'now one snatching, now another; and sometimes all biting together. The masters of the game, in the mean time, when they saw father Campion, in answering and defending himself (for he was never suffered to oppose) to gripe the adversaries hard, parted them with their tipstaves, commanding him to silence, and threatening him

with laws, authority, and punishment. Thus they disputed three several times with the man of God, shewing nothing but barbarous despite, malice, and so deep ignorance in divinity, that divers of the protestants themselves were ashamed thereof, and marvelled exceedingly at the other's learning, meekness, patience, and humility.

'And now, by this time, falling from all hope of his yielding to them, and so from all pity and good nature towards him, they practised how to make him and his companions away by some shew or justice, and that not for the new made treasons; that is to say, for mere religion, but for matters of treason so called of old, against her majesty and the state; forging things for this purpose, and finding out three or four false fellows that would not stick to swear the same against a man whom they never knew, or saw in their life, before his apprehension. So they caused an indictment to be drawn up against him, and a number more of most godly, learned priests, comprising him and them all together, that so whatsoever might colourably be avouched or witnessed of the rest, or of any one of them all, either present or absent, all might seem to the simple, and to the jury (deeply biased by fear and authority) to touch him also, and every one of the others.

'The 14th day of November, anno 1581, he, and seven others were brought from the Tower to the King's Bench bar, and a bill of their indictment was read in the hearing of father Campion and the rest, how that, in the 22d year of the reign of our sovereign lady the queen, on the last day of May, in the parts beyond the seas, they had practised the queen's deposition and death; and the stirring up of rebellion within, and invasion of the realm from abroad, and such like stuff. Whereupon he was arraigned with the others, and commanded, as custom is in such cases, to hold up his hand; but both his arms being pitifully benumbed by his often cruel racking before, and he having them wrapped in a furred cuff, he was not able to lift his hand so high as the rest did, and was required of him; but one of his companions, kissing his hand so abused for the confession of Christ, took off his cuff, and so he lifted up his arm as high as he could, and pleaded not guilty, as all the rest did. I protest, said he, before God and his holy angels, before heaven and earth, before the world and this bar whereat I stand, which is but a small resemblance of the terrible judgment of the next life, that I am not guilty of any part of the treason contained in the indictment, or of any other treason whatsoever. Then lifting up his voice, he added, is it possible to find twelve men so wicked and void of all conscience in this city, or land, that will find us guilty together of this one crime, divers of us never meeting, or knowing one the other, before our bringing to this bar?

'Nothing more was done that day, only a jury was impaneled for the next Monday, being the 20th of the same month: but three of the first of that impanel being esquires, doubting that justice should have no free course that day, in these mens' cases, whose blood was so earnestly thirsted after, appeared not when the day came. In the mean time, Mr. Campion and his fellow confessors were carried back to the prisons from whence they came.' "The seven that were arraigned, together with Mr. Campion, were Mr. Ralph Sherwine, Mr. Luke Kirby, Mr. Thomas

Cottam, Mr Robert Johnson, and Mr. Edward Rishton, all priests of Douay college; Mr. James Bosgrave, a young jesuit, who, coming over for his health, had fallen into their hands, and Mr. Orton, a lay gentleman. And the next day, in like manner, were arraigned, Mr. John Collington, or Colleton, Mr. Laurence Richardson, Mr. John Hart, Mr. Thomas Ford, Mr. William Filby, Mr. Alexander Brian, and Mr. John Shert, all priests, educated in the same college, though Mr. Shert was made priest at Rome."

'On the 20th day of November before mentioned, Mr. Campion and his companions were brought back again to receive judgment; where, notwithstanding what commandment soever, or order taken to the contrary, there was such a presence of people, and that of the more honourable, wise, learned, and best sort, as was never seen or heard of in that court, in our or our fathers' memories before us. So wonderful an expectation there was of some to see the end of this marvellous tragedy, containing so many strange and divers acts of examining, racking, disputing, subornations of false witnesses, and the like: of others, to behold whether the old honour of law and justice, wherein our nation hath, of all the world, had the praise, could, or durst, now stand its ground, notwithstanding any violent impression of power and authority to the contrary. Whether there were any Markhams in the land that would yield up coiffe, office, and life, rather than give sentence against such as they knew, in conscience, to be innocent, and, in truth, not touched by any evidence whatsoever. But this one day gave that assembly, and all the world, full proof of the sad fall of equity, law, conscience, and justice, together with the catholic faith in our poor country.

'For nothing there said by the queen's attorney, solicitor, or other councellors, by any of those that were at their racking, or by the suborned false witnesses,' "Eliot, Cradock, Sledd, and Munday," could in any well-informed man's conscience, touch any of them all, as every one of the rest, and especially father Campion, did, point by point, prove and declare as clear as the sun; and his innocence, in particular, was so plain in all men's sight, that what colour soever might be made for the condemnation of the others, yet for father Campion's, none at all: insomuch, that whilst the jury were gone forth, divers wise and well-learned lawyers, and others, conjecturing and conferring one with another what should be the verdict, they all agreed, that whatever might be concluded as to some of the rest, it was impossible to condemn father Campion.

'But it was father Campion that especially was designed to die, and for his sake, the rest; and therefore no defence could serve: and the poor jury did that which they understood was looked for at their hands, and brought them in all *guilty*. Mr. Popham, the attorney-general, having plainly signified to them, that it was the queen's will it should be so. The most unjust verdict, says my author, that ever, I think, was given up in this land, whereat already not only England, but all the Christian world, doth wonder, and which our posterity shall lament and be ashamed of. Upon this, sentence followed, that all these holy men should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as in cases of high treason, and so that doleful day was spent. Father Campion,

and his happy associates, rejoiced in God, using divers holy speeches of scripture to their own comfort, and the great edification of others, and so were sent back to their prisons again, where, being laid up in irons for the rest of their time, they expected God's mercy, and the queen's pleasure.'

"The following day, the other priests, who, as we have seen above, were arraigned for the same fictitious plot, received the same unjust sentence, Mr. Colleton only excepted, who was acquitted by the testimony of Mr. Lancaster, witnessing, that he was with him in Gray's Inn, the very day that he was charged with plotting at Rhemes; where, indeed Mr. Colleton, who was sent missioner from Douay, had never been in his life. He was afterwards transported into banishment, and lived to be the first dean of the English chapter, erected by the bishop of Chalcedon.

As to the innocence of all the rest of these gentlemen, with regard to the treasons laid to their charge, and the barefaced injustice used in the condemning of them, my author, in his preface to his accounts of their deaths, has set it in so clear a light, that it seems to be out of all dispute, that the true cause of their execution was not any treason, but their religion. And we learn from Mr. Camden, in his Elizabeth, that for the greatest part of them, the queen herself did not believe them guilty. *Plerosque tamen ex misellis his sacerdotibus exitij in patriam conflandi conscios fuisse non credidit.* p. 327, edit. 1615."

The time that passed between judgment and execution, which was from the 20th of November till the 1st of December, father Campion spent in preparing for his end, by godly spiritual exercises; shewing so much patience, and using such sweet speeches to his keeper and others that had to deal with him, that the same keeper, having afterwards, one Norton in his custody (who had been a violent persecutor of Mr. Campion and his companions) and comparing together the different behaviours of his prisoners, declared, *that he had a saint in his keeping before, but now he had a devil.*

In the mean time, the protestants did not desist to tempt Mr. Campion, with proffers of life and liberty, to go over to their side, or at least to make some steps towards them; insomuch, that the lieutenant of the Tower told Mr. Campion's sister, who came to see her brother, three days before his death, *that if he would but yield to change his religion, he would secure him a* 100*l. a year;* but Mr. Campion had too well studied that great lesson: *what will it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?* to be moved by any such offers.

On the morning of the 1st of December, he was brought to Mr. Sherwine and Mr. Brian, who were to be his companions in death, who waited for him in the Coleharbor prison: and after mutual embraces, they were all three led out to the hurdles prepared for them; father Campion saluting the people, at his coming out, with these words, *God save you all, God bless you, and make you all good catholics.* 'They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, says my author, there to be martyred for the catholic faith and religion. Father Campion was alone on one hurdle, and the other two together, on another, all mo-

lested by ministers and others, calling upon them by the way for their subversion; and by some also, as opportunity served, comforted; and father Campion especially consulted by one in some cases of conscience and religion; and the mire, wherewith he was all spattered, most courteously wiped off his face.

'When they were come to the place of execution, where divers of her majesty's honourable counsel, with many other persons of honour, besides an infinite multitude of people, attended their coming, father Campion was first brought up into the cart; where, after some small pause, he began to speak upon that text of St. Paul, 1. Cor. iv. 9, *we are made a spectacle to the world, &c.*, but was interrupted by Sir Francis Knowles, and the sheriffs, urging him to confess his treason against her majesty, and to acknowledge himself guilty: to whom he answered, For the treasons which have been laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for, I desire you all to bear witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent.

'Whereupon, answer was made to him by one of the counsel, that he might not seem to deny the objections against him, having been proved by sufficient evidence. Well, my lord, said he, I am a catholic man, and a priest; in that faith have I lived, and in that faith do I intend to die: and if you esteem my religion treason, then am I guilty; as for any other treason, I never committed, God is my judge: but you have now what you desire; I beseech you to have patience, and suffer me to speak a word or two for discharge of my conscience. But not being suffered to go forward, he was forced to speak only to that point which they most urged, protesting, that he was innocent of all treason and conspiracy; desiring credit to be given to his answers, as to the last answer made upon his death and soul: adding, that the jury might easily be deceived, &c., but that he forgave all, as he desired to be forgiven; desiring all them to forgive him, whose names he had confessed upon the rack (for, upon the commissioners oaths, that no harm should come unto them, he uttered some persons with whom he had been.)

'Further, he declared the meaning of a letter sent by himself, in time of his imprisonment, to Mr. Pound, a prisoner then also in the Tower, in which he wrote, that he would not disclose the secrets of some houses where he had been entertained: affirming upon his soul, that the secrets he meant in that letter were not, as it was misconstrued by the enemy, treason or conspiracy, or any matter else against her majesty or the state; but saying of mass, hearing confessions, preaching, and such like duties and functions of priesthood. This he protested to be true, as he would answer before God.

'They pressed him to declare his opinion of Pius Quintus, his bull, concerning the excommunication of the queen. To which demand he gave no answer. Then they asked, whether he renounced the pope? He answered, *he was a catholic:* whereupon, one inferred, saying, *in your catholicism* (I noted the term) *all treason is contained.* In fine, preparing himself to drink his last draught of Christ's cup, he was interrupted in his prayer by a minister, willing him to say some prayer with him; unto whom, looking back with a mild countenance, he

meekly replied, you and I are not one in religion, wherefore I pray you content yourself, I bar none of your prayer, only I desire them of the household of faith to pray with me, and in my agony, to say one creed, (for a signification that he died for the confession of the catholic faith therein contained.)

'Some also called to him to pray in English; to whom he answered, that he would pray in a language he well understood. At the upshot of this conflict he was willed to ask the queen forgiveness, and to pray for her; he meekly answered, *wherein have I offended her?* In this I am innocent: this is my last speech: in this give me credit: I have and do pray for her. Then the Lord Charles Howard asked of him, for which queen he prayed, whether for Elizabeth, the queen? to whom he answered, *yea, for Elizabeth, your queen and my queen.* And the cart being drawn away, he meekly and sweetly yielded his soul unto his Saviour, protesting that he died a perfect catholic.

'Which his mild death, and former sincere protestations of his innocency, moved the people to such compassion and tears, that the adversaries, in their printed books "of his death under Munday's name," 'were glad to excuse the matter.'

He suffered at Tyburn, December 1, 1581, *Ætatis Anno* 42.

The gentlemen that were brought up to London at the same time with father Campion, and cast into prison, were Edward Yates, John Cotton, Edward Kaines, William Hildesley, Humphrey Kaines, Philip Low, and John James.

RALPH SHERWINE, PRIEST. *

He was born in Derbyshire, at a place called Radesley, near Langford, and brought up in Exeter college, in Oxford, where he was admitted fellow, in 1568. 'In 1574, says, Mr. Wood, "*Athen Oxon*" proceeding in arts, he was made senior of the act, celebrated July 26, the same year, being then accounted an acute philosopher, and an excellent Græcian and Hebrician.' "He left the university in 1575, and with it the protestant religion, which it seems did not sit easy upon his conscience, and" 'went over to Douay, to the seminary that was then there, says my author, and after some years study in divinity, was made priest by the bishop of Cambray, on the 23d of March, 1577, together with Mr. Laurence Johnson, that was martyred under the name of Richardson, "and eight others." And the 2d of August, of the same year, he was sent to Rome, in company with Mr. Rishton, who was afterwards condemned with him, where he studied in the seminary till the year 1580; at which time he returned homeward by the way of Rhemes,' "where he made some short stay, upon a design of accompanying, in quality of Chaplain, Dr. Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph, who then purposed to come over to England to administer confirmation to the catholics; but the bishop falling sick at Rhemes, and proceeding no further in his journey," 'Mr. Sherwine went for-

* From the same author, an eye-witness of his death.

ward towards England; where, after his arrival, he occupied himself in all functions belonging to priesthood, with great zeal and charity; and soon after was taken in Mr. Roscarrocke's chamber, in London, and committed to the Marshalsea, where he lay night and day in a great pair of shackles, for the space of a month.

'In November, after his imprisonment, there came word from the knight marshal, to the keeper of the Marshalsea, to understand of him, whether there were any papists in his prison that durst or would maintain their cause by disputation; and if there were any such, that then they should send him such questions, as they would defend, subscribed with their hands, and make themselves ready to dispute; for they should understand from him shortly of the manner, time, and place, how and where to dispute. This motion was so well liked of the catholics, that Mr. Sherwine and two other priests, that were afterwards condemned with him, viz. Mr. John Hart, and Mr. Bosgrave, offered themselves to the combat, drew up questions, subscribed their names, and sent them to the said knight marshal; but the questions pleasing him not, they accepted of other questions sent unto them from him, and expected with joyful minds the day appointed to dispute. But, lo! the very day before they should have disputed, Mr. Sherwine was removed to the Tower, where he was at sundry and several times examined and racked.

'In his first racking, he was asked where father Campion and father Parsons were? why he and they came over into England? what acquaintance he had here in England? whether he had said mass in Mr. Roscarroke's chamber? and whether he had of him at any time money? He was a close prisoner almost a whole year, in which time he had divers conferences with ministers, sometimes in private, at other times in an open audience of honourable and worshipful persons, to the honour of God, the benefit of his afflicted church, and to the admiration of most of his hearers.

'He was, after his first racking, set out in a great snow, and laid upon the rack; and the gentleman in whose chamber he was taken, was kept hard by, in a dark corner, to hear his pitiful groans.' "Of his second racking, the Reverend Mr. Broughton, in a manuscript relation sent over to Douay in 1626, writes, 'that his brother, Mr. John Sherwine, still living, being asked by a priest concerning his brother, told him, that he, coming to his brother in the Tower of London, his said brother told him, that he had been twice racked, and the latter time he lay five days and nights without any food, or speaking to any body. All which time, he lay, as he thought, in a sleep before our Saviour on the cross. After which time, he came to himself: not finding any distemper in his joints by the extremity of the torture, it was offered him by the bishops of Canterbury and London, that if he would but go to Paul's church, he should have the second bishopric of England."

'On Midsummer day, in the year 1581, he was called before the lieutenant of the Tower (as likewise all his fellow prisoners were) who demanded of him, by commission from the council, whether he would go to their *Common prayer* service? who refusing, the lieutenant told

him the danger of a late statute made in that behalf; and farther, that he should be indicted upon that statute within two or three days. So that at that time, it seems, they had no such matter to lay against him, as was afterwards pretended; for it was not as then thoroughly hatched.

'The order of his life,' "during his imprisonment," 'in his spare diet, his continual prayer and meditation, his long watching, with frequent and sharp discipline used upon his body, caused great admiration to his keeper; who would always call him, *a Man of God*, and the best and devoutest priest that ever he saw in his life.'

He was brought to the bar as we have seen, with father Campion, and condemned for the same pretended conspiracy; of which, both living and dying, he ever protested himself to be wholly innocent.'— After his condemnation, he wrote to his friends in the following terms, Your liberality I have received, and disposed thereof to my great contentation; when hereafter, at the pleasure of God, we shall meet in heaven, I trust you shall be repaid, *cum fœnore*. Delay of our death doth somewhat dull me; it was not without cause that our master himself said, *Quod facis fac cito*.

'Truth it is, I hoped ere this, casting off this body of death, to have kissed the precious glorified wounds of my sweet Saviour, sitting in the throne of his Father's own glory. Which desire, as I trust, descending from above, hath so quieted my mind, that, since the judicial sentence proceeded against us, neither the sharpness of the death hath much terrified me, nor the shortness of life much troubled me.

'My sins are great, I confess, but I flee to God's mercy: my negligences are without number, I grant: but I appeal to my Redeemer's clemency: I have no boldness but in his blood; his bitter passion is my only consolation. It is comfortable that the prophet hath recorded, that *he hath written us in his hands*. Oh! that he would vouchsafe to write himself in our hearts, how joyful should we then appear before the tribunal seat of his Father's glory; the dignity whereof, when I think of, my flesh quaketh, not sustaining, by reason of mortal infirmity, the presence of my Christ's majesty.

'Our Lord perfect us to that end whereunto we were created, that, leaving this world we may live in him, and of him, world without end. It is thought that upon Monday or Tuesday next, we shall be passable; God grant us humility, that we, following his footsteps, may obtain the victory.' So far the letter, which speaks the spirit of the man.

'When he came out of the lieutenant's hall, with others of his companions, two days, or thereabouts, before he was martyred (having talked with a minister, who was never so held up to the wall in his life, by report of such as stood by,) he uttered these words: *ah, father Campion, I shall be shortly above yonder fellow*, pointing to the sun, with such a courage that some said he was the resolutest man that ever they saw.

'He will never be forgotten in the Tower, for some words which he spoke when he was ready to go to execution. Charke, the minister, can best report them, who stood hard by. Some of Charke's fellow ministers said, those words could not come from a guilty conscience.'

The day before his death he wrote the following letter to the Rev. Mr. John Woodward, his uncle:

'Absit ut gloriemur nisi in cruce Domini Jesu Christi, &c.

'My dearest Uncle,

'After many conflicts, mixed with spiritual consolations and Christian comforts, it hath pleased God, of his infinite mercy, to call me out of this vale of misery. To him, therefore, for all his benefits at all times and forever, be all praise and glory.

'Your tender care always had over me, and cost bestowed on me, I trust, in heaven shall be rewarded. My prayers you have still had, and that was but duty; other tokens of a grateful mind I could not show, by reason of my restrained necessity.

'This very morning, which is the festival of St. Andrew, I was advertised by superior authority, that to-morrow, I was to end the course of this life: God grant that I may do it to the imitation of this noble apostle and servant of God, and that with joy I may say, rising off the hurdle, *salve sancta crux, &c.*

'Innocency is my only comfort against all the forged villainy which is fathered on my fellow priests and me. Well, when by the high Judge, God himself, this false vizard of treason shall be removed from true catholic men's faces, then shall it appear who they be that carry a well-meaning, and who an evil murdering mind: In the mean season, God forgive all injustice, and if it be his blessed will to convert our persecutors, that they may become professors of his truth.

'Prayers for my soul procure for me, my loving patron: and so, having great need to prepare myself for God, never quieter in mind, nor less troubled towards God, binding all my iniquities up in his precious wounds, I bid you farewell; yea, and once again, the lovingest uncle that ever kinsman had in this world, farewell.

'God grant us both his grace and blessing until the end, that living in his fear, and dying in his favour, we may enjoy one the other for ever. Salute all my fellow catholics. And so, without farther troubling of you, my sweetest benefactor, farewell. On St. Andrew's day, 1581.

Your nephew,

RALPH SHERWINE, Priest.

After Mr. Campion was executed, and the butchery finished, the hangman, taking hold of Mr. Sherwine with his hands all bloody, said to him, thinking to terrify him, come, Sherwine, take thou also thy wages. But the holy man, nothing dismayed, embraced him with a cheerful countenance, and reverently kissed the blood that stuck to his hands; at which the people were very much moved. Then getting into the cart, he employed some time in prayer and contemplation, having his eyes shut and his hands lifted up to heaven. After which, he asked if the people looked for any speech from him? Many of the people, and some also of the more honourable sort, answering yes, he began, with a manly courage, and a loud voice, first to render thanks to

each of the three persons of the eternal trinity for the mercies and blessings bestowed upon him; and then was going on to give an account of his faith, when Sir Francis Knowles interrupted him, and bid him confess his treason against the queen. Mr. Sherwine, with great constancy, replied, I am innocent of any such crime. And when he was still farther pressed to acknowledge himself guilty, he said, I have no occasion to tell a lie; it is a case where my soul is at stake; and so still persisted to maintain his innocence, adding, that although in this short time of mortal life he was to undergo the infamy and punishment of a traitor, he made no doubt of his future happiness, through Jesus Christ, in whose death, passion, and blood, he only trusted.

'Then he made a sweet prayer to our Lord Jesus, acknowledging the imperfection, misery, and sinful wretchedness of his own nature, still protesting his innocence from all treasons and traitorous practices; and that his going out of this realm beyond the seas, was only for his soul's health, to learn to save his soul. And being again tempted by Sir Francis Knowles, he answered in this wise; Tush, tush, you and I shall answer this before another Judge, where my innocence shall be known, and you will see that I am guiltless of this. Whereupon Sir Francis said, we know you are no contriver or doer of this treason, for you are no man of arms; but you are a traitor by consequence. But Mr. Sherwine boldly answered, if to be a catholic only, if to be a perfect catholic, be to be a traitor, then am I a traitor.

'After which words, being by authority debarred of any farther speech, he said, I forgive all who either by general presumption, or particular error, have procured my death: and so devoutly prayed to his Saviour Jesus. After which prayer, he was pressed to speak his opinion touching pope Pius his bull: to which point he gave no answer. Then being willed to pray for the queen, he answered, I have and do. At which words the Lord Howard again asked, which queen he meant? whether Elizabeth, queen? To whom, somewhat smiling, he said, yea for Elizabeth, queen, I now at this instant pray my Lord God to make her his servant in this life, and after this life, co-heir with Jesus Christ.

'When he had thus prayed, there was some that said openly, that he meant to make her a papist; to whom he openly replied, God forbid otherwise: and so recollecting himself in prayer, he died patiently, constantly, and mildly, crying, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, be to me a Jesus.'

ALEXANDER BRIAN, PRIEST.*

He was born in Dorsetshire, and studied for a while in Hart Hall, Oxford; but not liking the religion of the times, he left both the university and the kingdom, and went over to Douay, to the English college or seminary there, anno 1576. Here, and at Rhemes, he prosecuted his studies; and being ordained priest, was sent back upon the

* From a printed account by an eye-witness of his death: published in 1582.

English mission, in 1579. Where, before his apprehension, he reconciled to the church an ancient gentlemen, father to Robert Parsons, S. J.

'About the 28th of April, 1581, he was apprehended in his chamber at midnight, by Norton; his chamber was rifled, and three pounds, in money, taken from him (for that is a principal verb, says my author, in all apprehensions of catholics) his apparel and other things, especially a trunk, wherein was a silver chalice, and much other good stuff, which was not his, but committed to his custody, was taken away also, and he sent close prisoner to the Counter, with commandment to stop all that asked for him; and that he should have neither meat nor drink; who in such order continued till he was almost famished. At last, by friendship, or by what means I know not, he got a pennyworth of hard cheese, and a little broken bread, with a pint of strong beer, which brought him into such an extreme thirst, that he essayed to catch with his hat the drops of rain from the house eaves, but could not reach them.

'The morrow after the ascension day, he was removed to the Tower, where he verily thought he should have been utterly famished, and therefore carried with him a little piece of his hard cheese, which his keeper, in searching him, found about him: but Mr. Brian humbly entreated him not to take it from him. Within two days after his coming to the Tower, he was brough before the lieutenant, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Norton, who examined him after their common manner, first tendering an oath to answer to all, &c. And because he would not confess where he had seen father Parsons, how he was maintained, where he had said mass, and whose confessions he had heard, they caused needles to be thrust under his nails; whereat Mr. Brian was not moved at all, but with a constant mind and pleasant countenance, said the psalm, *Miserere*, desiring God to forgive his tormentors; whereat Dr. Hammond stamped and stared, as a man half beside himself, saying, what a thing is this? if a man were not settled in his religion, this were enough to convert him.

'After this he was, even to the disjointing of his body, rent and torn upon the rack, because he would not confess where father Parsons was, where the print was, and what books he had sold, and so was returned to his lodgings for that time; yet the next day following, notwithstanding the great distemperature and soreness of his whole body, his senses being dead, and his blood congealed, he was brought to the torture again, and there stretched with greater severity than before; insomuch, that supposing with himself they would pluck him to pieces, he put on the armour of patience, resolving to die, rather than to hurt any creature living; and having his mind raised in contemplation of Chirst's bitter passion. At his racking, he swooned away, so that they were fain to sprinkle cold water on his face to revive him again; yet they released no part of his pain.

'And here, Norton, because they could get nothing of him, asked him, whether the queen were supreme head of the church of England, or not? To this he said—I am a catholic, and I believe in this as a catholic should do. Why, said Norton, they say the pope is; and so say I, answered Mr. Brian. Here also the lieutenant used railing and

reviling words, and slapped him on the cheeks, after an uncharitable manner: and all the commissioners rose up and went away, giving commandment to leave him so all night; at which, when they saw he was nothing moved, they ordered he should be taken from the torment, and sent him again to Walesboure; where, not able to move hand or foot, or any part of his body, he lay, in his clothes, fifteen days together, without bedding, in great pain and anguish.

'These torments, and the man's constancy, are comparable truly to the old sufferings of the renowned martyrs of the primitive church, which he could never have borne by human strength, if God had not given his singular and supernatural grace. Himself confessed, that by a vow he made, and other special exercises, he had great consolation in all these vexations; whereof I will set down his own words, in an epistle that he wrote to the fathers of the society in England;' "where, after having acquainted them with a vow he had made, *that if God should be pleased to deliver him, he would enter into their society within one year next ensuing*. He writes thus:" 'The same day that I was first tormented on the rack, before I came to the place, giving my mind to prayer, and commending myself and all mine to our Lord, I was replenished and filled up with a kind of supernatural sweetness of spirit: and even while I was calling upon the most holy name of Jesus, and upon the blessed virgin Mary, (for I was saying the rosary) my mind was cheerfully disposed, well comforted, and readily prepared and bent to suffer and endure those torments, which even then I most certainly looked for, &c. Whether this, that I will say, be miraculous or no, God, he knoweth; but true it is, and thereof my conscience is a witness before God. And this I say, that in the end of the torture, though my hands and feet were violently stretched and racked, and my adversaries fulfilled their wicked lust in practising their cruel tyranny upon my body, yet, notwithstanding, I was without sense and feeling, well nigh of all grief and pain; and not so only, but, as it were, comforted, eased, and refreshed of the griefs of the torture by-past. I continued still with perfect and present senses in quietness of heart and tranquility of mind. Which thing, when the commissioners did see, they departed, and in going forth of the door, they gave orders to rack me again the next day following, after the same sort. Now when I heard them say so, it gave me in my mind, by and by, and I did verily believe and trust that, with the help of God, I should be able to bear and suffer it patiently. In the mean time, as well as I could, I did muse and meditate upon the most bitter passion of our Saviour, and how full of innumerable pains it was. And whilst I was thus occupied, methought my left hand was wounded in the palm, and that I felt the blood run out: but in very deed there was no such thing, nor any other pain than that which seemed to be in my hand.' So far Mr. Brian.

'When he went to Westminster-hall to be condemned, he made a cross of such wood as he could get, which he carried with him openly; he made shift also to shave his crown, because he would signify to the ministers (who, at his apprehension, had scoffed and mocked him, saying that he was ashamed of his vocation) that he was not ashamed of his holy orders, nor yet that he would blush at his religion. When

he was condemned, irons were commanded to be put upon him and the rest, and they were never taken off till they were fetched forth to be martyred.'

After Mr. Campion and Mr. Sherwine had finished their course, Mr. Brian was ordered up into the cart. 'Being there prepared to death, he began first to declare his bringing up in the catholic faith and religion, and his being in Oxford; upon which word he was cut short by one, saying, what have we to do with Oxford? come to thy purpose, and confess thy treason: whereupon he answered—I am not guilty of any such thing; I was never at Rome nor at Rhemes at that time when Dr. Saunders came into Ireland,' "the time of the pretended conspiracy." 'To this end he spoke and protested, as he would answer before God.

'He spake not much, but whereas he was urged more than the other two, to speak what he thought of the bull of Pius Quintus, he said, He did believe of it, as all catholics did, and the catholic faith doth; and thereupon protesting himself to die a true catholic, as he was saying *Miserere mei Deus*, he was delivered of the cart, with more pain, by negligence of the hangman, than either of the others; who, after his beheading, being dismembered, his heart, bowels, and entrails burned, to the great admiration of some, being laid upon the block, his belly downwards, lifted up his whole body, then remaining, from the ground. And this I add upon report of others, not my own sight.'

Mr. Brian was but twenty-eight years old when he suffered. My author gives his character in short, in these words: 'He was a man not unlearned; of a very sweet grace in preaching, and of an exceeding great zeal, patience, constancy, and humility.'

Mr. Stow, in his chronicle of this year, makes mention of the execution of Mr. Campion, Mr. Sherwine, and Mr. Brian. 'The first of December, says he, Edmund Campion, jesuit, Ralph Sherwine, and Alexander Brian, seminary priests, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

The learned and truly pious father Lewis, of Grenada, in the abridgment of his catechism, chap. 23, makes a very honourable mention of father Campion, Mr. Sherwine and Mr. Brian, as illustrious martyrs, with an account of their deaths, agreeable to what has been set down above.

N. B. Mr. Brian, as appears from his letter, recorded by Dr. Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio*, desired, before his death, to be received into the society of Jesus, and it seems his request was granted him by the fathers of the society, who always give him a place amongst their martyrs.

JOHN PAINE, PRIEST.—1582.*

He was born in Northamptonshire. In what college he was educated, in either of our universities at home, I have not found: But he

* From a printed account, by an eye-witness of his death, published in 1582, and from the diary of Douay college.

was admitted into the English college of Douay, in 1575, ordained priest the following year, and sent upon the English mission at the same time with Mr. Cuthbert Maine, and there laboured with great fruit. His residence was chiefly in Essex, at the house of the lady Petre. He was apprehended and committed in 1581, and carried to the Tower of London, where he was most cruelly racked. But his trial and execution was at Chelmsford, in Essex; of which take the following extract, from an unexceptionable witness.

'The 20th of March, 1582, Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, came to Mr. Paine's chamber door, and by knocking, raised him out of bed, who had much watched before, and hastened him to come forth half dressed, not telling him to what end; but being afterwards advertised how the matter stood, and perceiving that he was to be removed,' "from the Tower to Chelmsford jail," 'he desired leave to return into his chamber to make himself ready, and to fetch his purse, which he had left behind him; but this was not granted; but he was delivered to certain officers there attending, to be conducted into Essex, according to the appointment of the council. Mr. Paine, in his cassock only, went forward with them, being the more gently dealt with that he was not bound at all. In the mean time, the lady Hopton took care to secure his purse for her own use.

'On the Friday following, he was arraigned after this manner, first, his indictment was read, viz., that Mr. Paine should utter to one Eliot at a certain Christmas, lying with him, in his chamber, that many devices have been heretofore concerning the change of religion, and yet none have prosperously succeeded; but, of all others, this seemeth the best, which I have heard, said he, sometime mentioned, by the Earl of Westmoreland, Dr. Allen, and Dr. Bristow, that fifty men, well appointed, with privy coats and daggers, should espy some opportunity when the queen was in her progress, and kill the queen's majesty, the Earl of Leicester, and Mr. Walsingham, and then to proclaim the queen of Scots. Also that he should say, it was no greater sin to kill the queen, than to despatch a brute beast.

'This being read, Mr. Paine denied the indictment, and defied all treasons; protesting that he always, in mind or word, honoured the queen's majesty above any woman in the world; that he would gladly always have spent his life for her pleasure in any lawful service; that he prayed for her as for his own soul: that he never invented or compassed any treason against her majesty, or any of the nobility of England.

'However, Eliot swore that the indictment was true, "and to this positive deposition" 'Mr. Morrice, the queen's counsellor, joined several presumptions from Mr. Paine's having gone beyond the seas, and having been made priest by the bishop of Cambray, and consequently, as he falsely supposed, having taken an oath to the pope: from his having spoken with traitors in Flanders, viz: with the earl of Westmoreland, Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow; and travelled with a traitor's son, Mr. William Tempest.

'To these presumptions Mr. Paine answered, that to go beyond the seas was not sufficient token of a traitor, nor yet to be made priest by

the bishop of Cambray; for so were many others, nothing at all thinking of treason; that for his part he was not the pope's scholar, neither had any maintenance of him; for when he was at the college, it had as yet no pension from the pope. That he had never talked with the Earl of Westmorland, and that Dr. Allen and Dr. Bristow had never talked, to his knowledge, of any such things: that Mr. Tempest was an honest gentleman, and never talked to him about treason; neither was it unlawful for him to keep him company, seeing that he was a servant to a right honourable councellor, Sir Christopher Hatton.

'He refelled Eliot's deposition. First, taking God to witness on his soul, that he never had such speech with him. Secondly, he brought two places of scripture, and a statute to prove, that without two sufficient witnesses, no man should be condemned. Thirdly, he proved Eliot insufficient to be a witness, for having been guilty, 1st, Of oppression of poor men, even unto death. 2dly, of a rape and other notorious lewdnesses. 3dly, of a breach of contract, and cozening the lady Petre,' "widow of Sir William Petre," of money. 4thly, of changing often his religion. 5thly, of malice against himself; adding, that he was also attached of murder and such like acts; and was a notorious dissembler, &c.

'Hereupon, a jury was impanelled, who, on Friday after dinner, brought in their verdict, *guilty*. Upon Saturday, a little before dinner, coming again to the bar, judge Gaudy asked Mr. Paine what he could say for himself; who answered, *That he had said sufficiently;* alledging, that it was against the law of God and man that he should be condemned for one man's witness, notoriously infamous. Then the judge said, if he were not guilty the jury would have found it. Mr. Paine answered, That those men of the jury are poor ignorant men, not at all understanding what treason is. But, says he, if it please the queen and her council that I shall die, I refer my cause to God. Then the judge said, that his own words made most against him; and if Eliot had sworn falsely, his death should be required at his hands, the which no man knew but God and himself. Mr. Paine said, that all was but treachery in seeking of his blood. In fine, judge Gaudy pronounced the sentence of condemnation; and, afterwards, exhorted him to repent himself, although, said he, you may better instruct me herein. Mr. Paine demanded the time when he should suffer: It was answered, on Monday following, about eight of the clock.

'After he was returned to prison, the high sheriff and others came to him, and demanded whether he made Jesus Christ the only cause of his salvation? He answered affirmatively, professing unto them the catholic truth. All Sunday, till five of the clock, one Dr. Withers and Dr. Sone were with him, persuading him earnestly to change his religion; the which, said they, if you will alter, we doubt not to procure mercy for you. This, Mr. Paine told me himself, saying, that the ministers, by their foolish babbling, did much vex and trouble him. I, amongst many, coming unto him about ten of the clock, with the officers, he most comfortably and meekly uttered words of constancy to me, and with a loving kiss, took his leave of me.

'The next morning, the 2d of April, about eight of the clock, he was

laid on the hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution; where, kneeling almost half an hour, he earnestly prayed; then arising and viewing the gallows, he kissed it with a smiling countenance, and ascended the ladder; and the halter being fitted to his neck, he lifted up his eyes and hands towards heaven a pretty while, then began to speak to the people. And,

First. 'He made to them a declaration of his faith, confessing one God in essence or substance, and trinity in persons; and that the word was incarnate for man's redemption, &c., because I had informed him that the common people thought him to be a jesuit, and that they said the jesuit's opinion' was, that Christ is not God.

Secondly. 'He desired God to forgive him all the sins of his life past, and to have mercy on all sinners.

Thirdly. 'He forgave all who ever had offended him, and, by name, Eliot, for whom he earnestly prayed that God would make him his companion in heavenly bliss.

Fourthly. 'He declared that his feet did never tread, his hands did never write, nor his wit ever invent, any treason against her majesty; but that he always wished unto her as to his own soul, desiring Almighty God to give her, in earth, a prosperous reign, and afterwards, eternal felicity.

'The Lord Rich willed him to confess that he there died a traitor, and to be sorry for his treason. To whom, very patiently, he answered, that he defied all treason, and to confess an untruth, was to condemn his own soul. I confess truly, said he, that I die a Christian Catholic Priest. And addressing himself to my Lord Rich, sweet, my lord, said he, certify her majesty thereof, that she suffer not hereafter, innocent blood to be cast away, seeing it is no small matter. Some affirmed that he had confessed his treason to the Lady Pool. He said that he knew no such person. Then a minister said, that Mr. Paine's brother confessed to him, in his chamber, seven years ago, that he talked of such an intention. To this he answered, being somewhat moved, *bone Deus!* My brother is, and always hath been, a very earnest protestant; yet I know he will not say so falsely of me: and then he desired his brother should be sent for; they called for him, but then he was in town, (and when some of us came from the execution, we found his brother in our inn, of whom we asked if this was true, uttering to him all the matter. He swore unto us, with great admiration, that it was most false, and told us that he would so certify my Lord Rich; immediately he was sent for to my lord, and I took horse to ride away, and as yet hear no more of it.)

'To conclude, they would not tarry so long till his brother should be sent for: Mr. Paine often confessed that he died a Christian Catholic Priest. They desired him to pray with them in English, but he was, attentive to his end, in contemplation, and being often called upon by the ministers to join with them in the Lord's prayer, he said, that he had prayed in a tongue which he well understood. A minister asked him, whether he repented not that he had said mass? but Mr. Paine did not hear him, being in contemplation.

'After all, very meekly, when the ladder was about to be turned, he

said, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, and so did hang, not moving hand or foot. They very courteously caused men to hang on his feet, and set the knot to his ear, and suffered him to hang to death, commanding Bull, the hangman of Newgate, to despatch "in the quartering of him," lest, as they said, he should revive, and rebuked him that he did not despatch speedily. All the town loved him exceedingly, so did the keepers, and most of the magistrates of the shire. No man seemed in countenance, to mislike him, but much sorrowed and lamented his death. Who most constantly, catholicly, patiently, and meekly ended this mortal life, to rise triumphantly, his innocency known to all the world.

'He had been long in prison, very ill used, cruelly handled, and extremely racked. He was once or twice demanded, Whether he would go to their church? (for that would have made amends for all these treasons.) Why, said he, you say I am in for treason, discharge me of that, and then you shall know farther of my mind for the other. All fair means, all foul means, all extremity, all policy were used to find that which was not. After his racking, the lieutenant of the Tower sent to him his servant, with this letter.

'I have herewith sent you pen, ink, and paper; and I pray you write what you have said to Eliot, and to your host in London, concerning the queen and the state; and thereof fail not, as you will answer at your uttermost peril.

MR. PAINE'S ANSWER.

Right Worshipful,

'My duty remembered, being not able to write without better hands, I have, by your appointment, used the help of your servant. For answer to your interrogations, I have already said sufficient for a man that regardeth his own salvation, and that with such advised asseverations uttered as amongst Christian men, ought to be believed, yet once again, briefly, for obedience sake,

'*First*, touching her majesty, I pray God long to preserve her highness to his honour, and her heart's desire; unto whom I always have, and during life will wish no worse than to my own soul. If her pleasure be not that I shall live and serve her as my sovereign prince, then will I willingly die her faithful subject, and, I trust, God's true servant.

'Touching the state, I protest, that I am, and ever have been, free from the knowledge of any practice whatsoever, either within or without the realm, intended against the same; for the verity whereof, as I have often before you and the rest of her grace's commissioners, called God to witness, so do I now again, and one day before His Majesty, the truth now not credited will be then revealed.

'For Eliot, I forgive his monstrous wickedness, and defy his malicious inventions; wishing that his former behaviour towards others, being well known, as hereafter it will, were not a sufficient disproof of these devised slanders.

'For host, or other person living, in London or elsewhere, (unless they be by subornation of my bloody enemy corrupted,) I know they can neither for word, deed, or any disloyalty, justly touch me: and so

before the seat of God, as also before the sight of men, will I answer at my utmost peril.

Her majesty's faithful subject, and
Your worship's humble prisoner,
JOHN PAINE, Priest.

Mr. Paine's execution is recorded by Mr. Stow, in his annals, 1582, 'John Paine, priest, being indicted for high treason, for words by him spoken to one Eliot, was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Chelmsford.'

He suffered April 2d. 1582.

THOMAS FORDE, PRIEST.*

THOMAS FORDE was born in Devonshire, brought up in Trinity college, Oxford; where he took the degree of master of arts, in 1567, and was soon after admitted fellow of that college: but not liking the protestant religion, he quitted his fellowship, and all other temporal hopes, and went over to the college or seminary lately instituted at Douay, where he arrived in 1571; and, after having for some time there seriously applied himself to the study of divinity, he was made priest in 1573, at the same time with those two eminent divines, Richard Bristow and Gregory Martin; these being the three first that were presented to holy orders from Douay college. He took his degree of bachelor of divinity, in 1576; and soon after, returned into England upon the mission, where he laboured for some years with great fruit in the conversion of many souls. He was apprehended on the 17th of July, 1581, with father Campion, in the house of Mr. Yates, of Lyford, in Berkshire, and with him, was carried up to London, and cast into the Tower, and condemned the November following, for the pretended conspiracy of Rheims and Rome; whereas, he had never been in his life, either at Rheims or Rome; nor had the witnesses that appeared against him, Sledd and Munday, the Oates and Bedlow of those days," ever so much as seen Mr Forde before his imprisonment.

He received sentence of death, the 21st of November, 1581; but was not executed till May, 28, 1582. In the mean time, to make his execution and that of his companions, more plausible, and that it might appear to the world, if they were not guilty of the pretended conspiracy, (which even the queen herself, did not believe,) that they were at least ill-affected persons to her majesty, and as such, deserved to die, they sent to them, the queen's attorney and solicitor, Popham and Egerton, with two civilians, Hammond and Lewes, to propose six articles to them concerning the bull of pius V., and what obedience was to be paid to that decree; and what they thought of the pope's deposing power; and of certain passages of the writings of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Harpsfield; in fine, what they would do in case of an invasion on account of religion!

* From the records of Douay college, and from a printed account of the execution, [illegible] by an eye witness

'To these interrogatories, Mr. John Shert, Mr. Laurence Richardson, and Mr. Thomas Cottam, would make no other answer, but, that they were catholics, and believed in all points as the catholic Roman church taught them. Mr. Richardson added, that in all matters not repugnant to the catholic religion, he professed obedience to her majesty. Mr. Forde answered, That he did not know what to say to the bull of Pius V. as being a stranger to the circumstances of that bull: that as to the deposing power, he thought the pope might have a power upon certain occasions, which he did not name, "as, where a whole kingdom would otherwise be perverted," to discharge subjects from their allegiance: that he would not pretend to answer for the doctrine of Dr. Saunders or Dr. Bristow, let them answer for themselves: and, as to the last point, he thought it would be time enough to determine what was to be done, when the case should happen. And not unlike to his, were the answers of Mr. Robert Johnson, Mr. Luke Kirby, and Mr. William Filbie.

'On the 28th of May, 1582, after a long series of cruel treatments, and much art used to make them either confess the feigned treason, or deny their faith, the reverend priests, Mr. Thomas Forde, Mr. John Shert, and Mr. Robert Johnson, were all trailed upon hurdles, from the Tower of London, through the streets, to Tyburn, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning. And, first, Mr. Forde, being set up in the cart, blessed himself with the sign of the cross; being so weak, that he fell down in the cart, and after he was up, he said, *I am a catholic, and do die in the catholic religion.* And therewith, he was interrupted by sheriff Martin, saying, you come not hither to confess your religion, but as a traitor and malefactor to the queen's majesty, and the whole realm, moving and stirring of sedition: and, therefore, I pray you, go to and confess your fault, and submit yourself to the queen's mercy, and not doubt, but she would forgive you.

'Whereunto, Mr. Forde answered, That supposed offence, whereof I was indicted and condemned, was the conspiring of her majesty's death at Rome and Rhemes, whereof I was altogether not guilty: for the offence was supposed, for conspiring the queen's majesty's death in the 22d year of her majesty's reign; at which time, I was in England remaining, and long before that; for I have remained here for the space of six or seven years, and never during that time, departed this realm; whereof, I might bring the witness of an hundred, yea, of five hundred sufficient men, and had thereupon been discharged at the bar, if I would have disclosed their names with whom I have been; which I did forbear to do, for fear of bringing them into trouble. Then sheriff Martin, said, here is your own hand-writing, with the testimony of worshipful men, the queen's attorney, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Lewis and others; and if that will not serve, here is one of your own companions (Munday) that was the pope's scholar, to testify your offence. Mr. Forde answered, *That, notwithstanding, I am altogether not guilty, whatever you have written.*

'He continued, for the most part, in prayer secretly to himself during the time that the sheriff, or any other spoke to him. Then, was a scroll

of his examination (of which, we have spoken above) read by a minister; and Munday, the pope's scholar, being called as a witness against him, said, That Forde was privy to their conspiracies; but was not able to affirm, that ever he saw him beyond the seas. This, his assertion, Mr. Forde utterly denied upon his death: and being asked what he thought of the queen's majesty; and withal, willed to ask her and the whole realm forgiveness; he said,—He acknowledged her for his sovereign and queen, and that he never in his life had offended her. And so praying secretly, he desired all those that were of his faith to pray with him; and ended with this prayer, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, esto mihi Jesus*, and hanged until his companion, Mr. Shert, (likely to terrify him the more) might see him.'

JOHN SHERT, PRIEST.*

He was born in Cheshire, and brought up in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1566. But soon after, quitting the university, he became a noted school-master in London. Then crossing the seas to the college lately erected at Douay, he was admitted in 1578, there studied his divinity, and was made subdeacon: from whence he was sent to Rome, where he finished his studies and was made priest, and so returned to the college now translated to Rhemes: and from thence was sent to England, in 1579, the year before the pretended conspiracy of Rhemes and Rome; for which he was afterwards arrainged and condemned. After he had laboured for some time in his mission, he was apprehended and brought to the Tower on the same day with Mr. Paine, viz., July 14, 1581. And in the November following, he was condemned, as we have seen, for the pretended conspiracy, though the witnesses had never seen him in their lives, before his apprehension.

'Being brought from the hurdle,' "on which he had been drawn from the Tower to Tyburn," 'and seeing his companion, Mr. Forde, hanged before him, with a confident courage, smiling countenance, and with his hands lifted up, he spoke as followeth,—O happy Thomas! happy art thou that hast run that happy race! O benedicta anima! O blessed soul! thou art in a good cause! thou blessed soul pray for me. And being lifted into the cart, he desired all catholics to pray for him: and turning to the place of execution, by commandment of the sheriff, and seeing his companion bowelled and beheaded, he kneeled down and cried out,—O Thomas! O happy Thomas! O blessed soul! happy art thou: thy blessed soul pray for me. And being found fault withal, because he prayed to those that were dead; he said; O blessed lady, mother of God, pray for me; and all the saints of heaven pray for me. The sheriff finding fault with this as erroneous doctrine; he answered, —That it was both sound and true droctrine, which he would now seal with his blood. After which, he began as follows:—

* From the same eye-witness, and from Arnoldus Raissius in his printed catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college, and from the records of that house.

'O blessed Lord, to thee be all honour and praise: I give thee most hearty thanks, for that thou didst create me of nothing to thy likeness and similitude. 2dly, For my redemption by the death of thy sweet son, Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer. And lastly, that thou wilt bring me, thy poor servant, to so glorious and happy a death for thy sake; although in the eyes of worldlings contumelious and reproachful; yet to me most joyful and glorious: and for the which, I yield thee most hearty thanks. Here he was stopped from proceeding further by the sheriff, who said to him,—Ask the queen's forgiveness for these treasons whereof thou art condemned; who answered,—The asking of forgiveness doth imply an offence done; and for me to charge myself, being innocent, would be contrary to my duty. We have been racked and tormented for these things, and nothing hath been found: we have also been twice examined since our condemnation, which hath not been seen heretofore in any malefactor. Those supposed treasons, for which I am condemned, I leave between God and myself; and, upon my death, I am altogether innocent and faultless; and I utterly refuse to ask her forgiveness for this fact whereof I am condemned, for that I am not guilty: but if in any other private matter I have offended, I ask her and all the world, forgiveness: for it is impossible for me to be guilty of the conspiracy at Rhemes or Rome, being in England long time before the said supposed treasons committed, and continuing here ever since: which Munday, his accuser, did not much deny: for he said, he never knew him beyond the seas, neither at Rome nor at Rhemes.

'Then sheriff Martin requested a minister that stood by, to read his examination. Who answered, that as the man is obstinate now, so upon his examination was he as obstinate, for he uttered nothing that is to be read. The sheriff desired Mr. Shert, again, to acknowledge his offence; affirming, that the queen would deal very mercifully with him; and that he had authority himself, if he did acknowledge his fault, to stay his execution, and to return him back without more ado. Who answered,—Should I, for saving this carcase, condemn my soul? God forbid.

'Being asked what he thought of the queen's majesty? he answered,—I acknowledge her for my sovereign lady and queen, for whose prosperous estate and well doing, I did always pray. And being demanded whether he thought her to be supreme governor, under Christ, of the church of England? He said,—I will give to Cæsar that which is his, and to God that which belongeth to God. She is not, nor cannot be, nor any other but only the supreme pastor. What! do you mean that whore of Babylon, the pope? said the sheriff. Take heed, Mr. Sheriff, said Mr. Shert, for the day will come, when that shall be a sore word for your soul! and then it shall repent you, that ever you called Christ's vicar upon earth, the whore: when you and I shall stand at one bar, before that equal Judge who judgeth all things a-right, then, I say, will you repent your saying; and then must I give testimony against you.

'And the hangman making ready at the importunate clamour of the people, who cried to despatch, saying, that he had lived too long. He delivered his handkerchief to the hangman with two shillings

therein, saying, take this for thy hire, and I pray God forgive thee. Then with a loud voice, that all might hear him, he denounced as follows:—Whosoever dieth out of the catholic church, dieth in the state of damnation. Therewith turning almost round about, he held up his hands, wagging them to the people; and then began to pray as followeth: *Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi pone passionem, crucem and mortem tuam, &c.*, with his *pater, ave*, and other prayers. And when the cart was trailed away, his hands being before on high, he lit upon the rope and so held it, and the officers pulled them down. The sheriff then said, notwithstanding his obstinacy, see how willing he is to live. And so he hanged till he was dead; but it seemed to me, that his hands, by chance, as he was putting them down, fell upon the rope, which he held fast in his hands, as, in that case, he would have done any other thing if he had chanced upon it.

ROBERT JOHNSON, PRIEST.*

He was born in Shropshire, though he is called *Vigorniensis*, in the Douay dairy, from his being of the diocese of Worcester. In his youth, he was for some time a servant in a gentleman's family: but quitting this service he went abroad, and was received in the English college of Douay, where, after he had sufficiently qualified himself by virtue and learning, he was made priest and sent upon the mission, in 1576, long before the pretended conspiracy of Rhemes and Rome. In what part of England he exercised his functions, or where, and in what manner he was first apprehended, I have not found: but this I have found, that, on the 5th of December, 1580, he was from some other prison, translated to the Tower, where he was at three different times, most cruelly racked: and in the November following, he was brought to the bar and condemned with father Campion and others; though his execution was put off, till the 28th of May, 1582.

'Being brought from the hurdle, he was commanded to look upon Mr. Short, who was hanging, and then immediately cut down: and so being helped into the cart, he was commanded again, to look back towards Mr. Short, who was then in quartering. And after he had turned, and signed himself with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.* Despatch, quoth the sheriff, and speak quietly. I would be sorry, answered Mr. Johnson, to trouble or offend your worship. You shall not offend me, saith the sheriff, so that you offend not God. Johnson. I am a catholic, and am condemned for conspiring the queen's death at Rhemes, with the other company who were condemned with me. I protest, that as for some of them, with whom I was condemned to have conspired withal, I did never see them before we met at the bar, neither did I ever write unto them, or receive letters from them: and as for any treason, I am not guilty in deed, nor thought.' "Here his condemnation was read, and his answers to the six articles. Then the

* From the same authors.

sheriff said," 'you shall hear also, what your own companion, named Munday, can say against you: whereupon, Munday was called, and came nigh to the cart.

'Johnson. Munday, didst thou ever know me beyond the seas, or was I ever in thy company?

'Munday. I was never in your company, neither did I ever know you beyond the seas: but I was privy to your most horrible treasons, whereof you were most clearly convicted. I pray God, you may repent, and that you may die a good subject.

'Johnson. Munday, God give thee grace to repent thee of thy deeds; truly, thou art a shrewd fellow: but there is no time now, to reason these matters with thee; only, I protest before God, I am not guilty of any treason.

'Sheriff. Dost thou acknowledge the queen, for lawful queen? Repent thee, and notwithstanding thy traitorous practices, we have authority from the queen, to carry thee back.

'Johnson. I do acknowledge her as lawful as queen Mary was. I can say no more; but pray to God, to give her grace, and that she may now stay her hand from shedding of innocent blood.

'Sheriff. Dost thou acknowledge her as supreme head of the church in ecclesiastical matters?

'Johnson. I acknowledge her to have as full and great authority, as ever queen Mary had; and more with safety and conscience, I cannot give her.

'Sheriff. Thou art a traitor, most obstinate.

'Johnson. If I be a traitor for maintaining this faith, then all the kings and queens of this realm heretofore, and all our ancestors were traitors, for they maintained the same.

'Sheriff. What? you will preach treason also, if we suffer you.

'Johnson. I teach but the catholic religion.

'Hereupon the rope was put about his neck, and he was willed to pray, which he did in Latin. They willed him to pray in English, that they might witness with him; he said, I pray that prayer, which Christ taught, in a tongue I well understand. A minister cried out, pray as Christ taught: to whom, Mr. Johnson replied, What! do you think Christ taught in English? He went on, saying, in Latin, his *Pater*, *Ave* and *Creed*, and *in manus tuas*, *&c.* And so the cart was drawn away, and he finished this life, as the rest did. They all hanged until they were dead, and so were cut down and quartered.

Two days after, viz: on the 30th of May, 1582, four more reverend priests, Mr. William Filbie, Mr. Luke Kirby, Mr. Laurence Richardson, whose right name was Johnson, and Mr. Thomas Cottam, suffered for the same cause, at the same place. All these are mentioned by Mr. Stow in his annals.

WILLIAM FILBIE, PRIEST.*

He was born in Oxford, and there educated in Lincoln college; but [illegible] established religion, he forsook that university, and went [illegible] of Rhemes; where, continuing his studies in the English [illegible] he was made priest in 1581; and returning soon after to Eng[illegible] upon the mission, and happening to go to the house of Mr. Yates, [illegible]yard, at the same time as father Campion and his companions were [illegible] apprehended, he was also made a prisoner and conducted to Lon[illegible] with them. My author relates, that in their way to London, lodging at Henley, Mr. Filbie, 'had in his sleep a significant dream, or vision, of the ripping up of his body, and taking out of his bowels; the terror whereof caused him to cry so loud, that the whole house was raised thereby; which afterwards was accomplished in his own, father Campion's and others, his companions, martyrdom.'

He was committed to the Tower with the rest, on the 22d of July; arraigned and condemned the following November, upon the testimony of witnesses that had never seen him in their lives before his imprisonment; and whereas he showed a more than ordinary cheerfulness and constancy upon this occasion, he was ordered to be pinioned with iron manacles, which he endured from the time that he received sentence, November 20, till the 30th of May, when he was executed. On which day, being Wednesday, he was drawn with his three companions 'from the Tower of London along the streets to Tyburn, about seven of the clock in the morning.

'When they were come to the place of execution, Mr. Filbie being the youngest, (not above twenty-seven years of age, was first taken from the hurdle; and being lifted into the cart, he blessed himself with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.*, and then said, let me see my brethren, looking to the others that lay on the hurdle; and therewithal holding forth his hands to them, he said, Pray for me. Then, speaking to the company, he said, I am a catholic, and I protest before almighty God, that I am innocent of all these matters whereof I am condemned; and I hope to be saved by the merits and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching him to have mercy on me, and forgive me mine offences; and therewithal a proclamation was read for keeping the peace, and at the end thereof was said, God save the queen, to which he said, amen.

'The people asking him for what queen he prayed, he answered, for queen Elizabeth, beseeching God to send her a long and quiet reign, to his good-will, and make her his servant, and preserve her from her enemies. With that Mr. Topcliff and others willed him to say, God save her from the pope. To whom he answered, He is not her enemy. After that, one of the sheriff's men, standing in the cart with Mr. Filbie, said to him, what hast thou there in thy handkerchief? and therewithal taking the handkerchief from him, found a little cross of wood within it, which he, holding up in his hands, said, O! what a villainous traitor

* From the Douay diary, and from a printed account of his death by an eye-witness, in 1585.

is this that hath a cross, divers times repeating it; and some of the people saying the same. Whereunto Mr. Filbie answered nothing, only smiling at them. He was no more ashamed, says my author in the margin, of this his Saviour's banner, than of his crown, which he made shift to shave.

'Then the articles, with the preface of the book printed by authority, were read, and his answers to them. To the sixth article, he answered, that if he had been in Ireland, he would have done as a priest should have done; that is, to pray that the right might take place. Some, upon this, asked him, did Saunders do well in that business of Ireland? I know not, said he, I was not privy to his doings; I never saw or spoke with him; let him answer for himself.

'Then sheriff Martin called upon the hangman to despatch; and the rope being about his neck, the sheriff said, Filbie, the queen is merciful unto you, and we have authority from her to carry you back, if you will ask her mercy, and confess your fault; don't refuse mercy offered; ask the queen forgiveness. To whom Mr. Filbie answered, I never offended her. Well, then, said the sheriff, make an end; and thus, desiring all catholics to pray for him, he prayed, saying his *pater*, and *ave*, and *in manus tuas, &c.*, and when the cart was drawing away, he said, Lord, receive my soul; and so hanged, knocking his breast several times, till some pulled down his hands, and so he finished his mortal life.

LUKE KIRBY, PRIEST.*

He was born in the bishopric of Durham, according to Raissius; others say at Richmond, in Yorkshire. He was master of arts in one of our universities; but going abroad to Douay, in Flanders, was received into the English college there, 1576, and made priest in 1577; and the year following, sent upon the mission. Where he had not been long before he again went abroad, and travelled to Rome, partly for devotion, and partly for further improvement in learning. Here he remained in the English college till 1580, when he returned into England, and was not long after apprehended; for I find by a printed diary of things transacted in the Tower of London, from 1580 till 1585, that on the 5th of December, 1580, Luke Kirby, Thomas Cottam, and other priests, were brought to the Tower from other prisons; and that these two, on the 10th of the same month, suffered the torture, called the Scavenger's Daughter, of which I find frequent mention in the memoirs of the sufferings of the catholics in those days. Raissius and the Douay diary tell us, that Mr. Kirby was thrust into a hoop, or circle of iron, in which his whole body was as it were folded up, and his hands, feet, and head bound fast together. Perhaps this cruel engine is the same as that which the other diary calls the Scavenger's Daughter.

On the 20th of November following, Mr. Kirby received sentence

* From the same eye-witness, and from Raissius's catalogue.

of death, at the same time, and for the same cause, with father Campion and others; but suffered not till the 28th of May, 1582. When, after Mr. Filbie had finished his course, he was brought from the hurdle to see him hang; 'and being lifted up into the cart, he began thus; O my friends, O my friends, I am come hither for supposed treason, although indeed it be for my conscience. Then he prayed, O my Saviour Jesus Christ, by whose death and passion I hope to be saved, forgive me, sinful sinner, my manifold sins and offences, &c. And being commanded to turn towards the place of execution, his companion, Mr. Filbie, being beheaded, and, as the manner is, the executioner lifting up his head between his hands, and crying, God save the queen, Mr. Kirby said,—Amen: and he being asked what queen? he answered,—Queen Elizabeth, to whom he prayed God to send a long and prosperous reign, and to preserve her from her enemies. Mr. Charke, the minister, bid him say, from the pope's curse and power. Mr. Kirby replied—If the pope levy war against her, or curse her unjustly, God preserve her from him also; and so direct her in this life, as that she may further and maintain Christ's catholic religion, and at last inherit the kingdom of heaven.

'After this, he made a solemn protestation of his innocency in that whereof he was condemned: adding,—That if there were any man living that could justly accuse him, in any one point, of that whereof he was condemned, he was ready to submit himself to her majesty's clemency: and seeing Munday present, he desired he might be brought in, to say what he could. Who being brought in, said, that being at Rome, Mr. Kirby persuaded him and another young man, named Robinson, to stay there, and not to come to England; for that shortly, some stir or trouble was like to come: and seeing that could not stay him, he said, that he willed him to persuade those that were his friends to the catholic religion against the great day. Mr. Kirby answered, that it was unlike, that he who knew before his departure from Rome, how he was affected in religion, would utter any such words to him, to persuade the people. Munday replied,—That it was like, because he delivered him some hallowed pictures to carry with him. Mr. Kirby answered,—That because he mistrusted him, he would not deliver, nor did not deliver, any to him; but he said, he gave him two Julios to buy pictures; and that now he was very ungratefully dealt withal, being by him falsely accused; he having been such a benefactor to all his countrymen, although he knew them to be otherwise affected in religion than himself was: for, he said, he spoke to some of the pope's chiefest officers, and was like, through them, to come to trouble. To others, he said, he gave the shirt off his own back; and travelled with others forty miles, for their safe conduct, and only for good will. And as for Munday, he had written a letter to a friend in Rhemes, to deliver him fifteen shillings, which he never received, because he never went to receive it: and he urged Munday again, in the fear and love of God, to say but the truth; alledging farther, how one Nichols, who, in his book, uttered much more of him than Munday did, yet his conscience accusing him, he came to his chamber in the Tower, and in the presence of four, whereof he named his keeper to be one, recanted

and denied that which before he had affirmed in his book. *See* Mr. Kirby's letter, below.

'Then the sheriff interrupted him, and said, Even as he hath recanted his error, and is sorry for it, so do you. Mr. Kirby, not regarding his words, passed on, and showed likewise, that this Munday, in presence of Sir Owen Hopton, and others, did say, That he could charge him with nothing, which Munday denied: but he affirmed it again, and said, that thereupon one that was present said, that upon that confession he might take advantage. The sheriff asked who that was? he answered, It was one Coudridge. After this, his answer to the six articles was read. Where, to the first, being examined, he said, That the excommunication of Pius V., was a matter of fact, wherein the pope might err; the which, I do leave to himself to answer for.' "And as to the power of deposing princes for certain causes," he now explained himself, that it was a question disputable in schools, and he did only yield his opinion. Notwithstanding, said he, I do acknowledge to my queen as much duty and authority as ever I did to queen Mary, or as any subject in France, Spain, or Italy, doth acknowledge to his king or prince. And as for Dr. Saunders and Bristow, they might err in their private opinions; the which, I will defend no farther than they do agree with the judgment of Christ's catholic church.

'Being demanded whether he thought the queen to be supreme governess of the church of England? he answered, He was ready to yield her as much authority as any other subject ought to yield his prince, or as he would yield to queen Mary, and more with safety of conscience, he could not do. Then sheriff Martin told him, that the queen was merciful, and would take him to her mercy, so he would confess his duty towards her, and forsake *that man of Rome;* and that he had authority himself to stay the execution, and carry him back again. Who answered,—That to deny the pope's authority, was denying a point of faith, which he would not do for saving his life, being sure that this would be to damn his soul. Then was it tendered him, that if he would but confess his fault, and ask the queen forgiveness, she would yet be merciful to him. He answered again,—That his conscience did give him a clear testimony that he never offended; and therefore he would neither confess that whereof he was innocent; neither ask forgiveness, where no offence was committed against her majesty. Well, then, said sheriff Martin, do but acknowledge those things which your fellow Bosgrave hath done, such as appeareth by his examination, and I will yet safe your life. Who denied, likewise, to do this.' "By these numbers of proffers, says my author, it is plain they judged them innocent in their conscience of those pretended treasons."

'Then the people cried, Away with him! and he began to pray in Latin; the ministers and others desired him to pray in English, and they would pray with him; who answered, That in praying with them he should dishonour God; but if you were of one faith with me, then, said he, I would pray with you. Withal, he desired all those that were catholics to pray with him, and he would pray with them: and so, after he had ended his *pater noster*, and began his *ave*, the cart was drawn away, and there he hanged till he was dead; and till his two

companions, Richardson and Cottam, were brought to take a view of him. His speeches were intricate, because many did speak unto him, and of several matters: but here are the principal things by him uttered to my remembrance.

A true Copy of a Letter sent by Mr. Kirby to some of his Friends.

'My most hearty commendations to you, and the rest of my dearest friends. If you send any thing to me, you must make haste, because we look to suffer death very shortly, as already it is signified to us. Yet I much fear least our unworthiness of that excellent perfection and crown of martyrdom should procure us a longer life.

'Within these few days, John Nicholl's came to my chamber window, with humble submission, to crave mercy and pardon for all his wickedness and treacheries, committed against us, and to acknowledge his books, sermons, and infamous speeches, to our infamy and discredit, to be wicked, false, and most execrable, before God and man. Which, for preferment, promotion, hope of living, and favour of the nobility, he committed to writing, and to the view of the world: whereof, being very penitent and sorrowful from his heart, rather than he would commit the like offence again, he wished to suffer a thousand deaths.—For, being pricked in conscience, with our unjust condemnation, which hath happened, contrary to his expectation, albeit, he offered matter sufficient, in his first book of recantation, for our adversaries to make a bill of indictment against us, yet he minded "expected" then nothing less, than he now protesteth. He knoweth in conscience our accusations, and the evidence brought against us, to be false, and to have no colour of truth, but only of malice, forged by our enemies; and for Sledd, and Munday, he is himself, to accuse them of this wicked treachery and falsehood; and of their naughty and abominable life, of which he was made privy, and which, for shame, I cannot commit to writing. In detestation of his own doings, and of their wickedness, he is minded never hereafter to ascend into pulpit, nor to deal again in any matter of religion; for which cause, he hath forsaken the ministry, and is minded to teach a school, as I understand by him, in Norfolk. In proof whereof, he shewed me his new disguised apparel, as yet, covered with his minister's weeds. I wished him to make amends for all his sins, and to go to a place of penance: and he answered me, he was not yet conformable to us, in every point of religion, nor ever was, but lived at Rome in hypocrisy, as he hath done ever since, in his own profession. Again, he thought, that if ever he should depart the realm, he could not escape burning.

'He offered to go to Mr. Lieutenant, and to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and declare how injuriously I and the rest were condemned, that he himself, might be free from shedding innocent blood: albeit, he was somewhat afraid to show himself in London, where already he had declared our innocent behaviour, and his own malicious dealings towards us, in his book and sermons.

'To give my censure and judgment of him, certain, I think that he will, within a short time, fall into infidelity, except God of his goodness,

in the mean time, be merciful unto him, and reclaim him by some good means, to the catholic faith; yet, it should seem, he hath not lost all good gifts of nature, whereas, in conscience he was pricked to open the truth in our defence, and to detect his own wickedness and treacheries of others practised against us, to our confusion. Now I see, as all the world hereafter, shall easily perceive, that the doings of this man do confirm the old saying, that rather than God will have wilful murder concealed, he procureth the birds of the air to reveal it.

'I am minded to signify to Sir Francis Walsingham, this his submission unto us, except, in the mean time, I shall learn that he hath (as he promised faithfully to me) already opened the same. Mr. Richardson and Mr. Filbie have now obtained some bedding, who ever since their condemnation have laid upon the boards. Mr. Hart hath had many and great conflicts with his adversaries. This morning, the 10th of January, he was committed to the dungeon, where he now remaineth: God comfort him; he taketh it very quietly and patiently; the cause was, for that he would not yield to Mr. Reynolds, of Oxford, in any one point, but still remained constant, the same man he was before and ever. Mr. Reynolds, albeit, he be the best learned of that sort, that hath from time to time come hither to preach and confer, yet the more he is tried and dealt withal, the less learning he hath shewed. Thus, beseeching you to assist us with your good prayers, whereof, now, especially, we stand in need, as we, by God's grace, shall not be unmindful of you. I bid you farewell, this 10th day of January, 1582.

Yours, to death, and after death,

LUKE KIRBY.

N. B. Mr. Hart, here mentioned, was Mr. John Hart, a native of Oxfordshire, who, for conscience sake, leaving the university of Oxford, passed over into Flanders, was admitted into the English college of Douay, in 1571, made bachelor of divinity in that university, in 1577, and the year following, ordained priest. Returning into England, he was apprehended in June, 1580, and on the 29th of December, of the same year, was, from the Marshalsea, translated to the Tower: he was cruelly tortured in prison, and in the November following, condemned to die; but on the day assigned for execution, he was, by a reprieve, taken off the sledge, and returned to prison; he was, afterwards, sent into banishment, in 1584, and entered into the Society of Jesus. Mr. Reynolds, published in print, his conference with Mr. Hart, though, as it is supposed, very partially. It is allowed, at all hands, that Mr. Hart acquitted himself with honour in this controversy; whom, therefore, Mr. Cambden is pleased to compliment with the title of *Vir præ cæteris doctissimus*. He died at Jareslaw, in Poland, 1594.

LAURENCE RICHARDSON, ALIAS, JOHNSON, PRIEST.*

Laurence Richardson was born in Lancashire, and educated in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, and was a fellow of that college, but quitting his fellowship and protestant religion, as a great many of the most hopeful subjects did in those days, he went over to Douay college in 1573, where, having passed through his course of divinity, he was made priest, in 1577. His labours upon the mission were in his native country of Lancashire, where he was much esteemed for his extraordinary zeal and piety. He was apprehended, in some part of the year 1581, and being in prison at the time that the pretended plot of Rhemes and Rome was set on foot by the enemies of the catholics; he was also charged with the rest of the priests then in prison, of that pretended conspiracy, though he was in England, at the time that he was accused to have been plotting at Rhemes; and the wretches that were his accusers, had never seen him there or elsewhere, before his imprisonment. However, all this was not regarded in his trial, and he was condemned, November 21, 1581, and executed, the 30th of May, 1582. My author, an eye-witness of his death, tells us, 'that immediately after the cart was drawn away from Mr. Kirby, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Cottam, priests and graduates, were brought together, to look upon him whilst he was hanging; and that he being cut down, they were put up into the cart, where, with cheerful countenances, they signed themselves with the sign of the cross, saying, *in nomine Patris, &c.* Mr Cottam, turning him about, said God bless you all, our Lord bless you, with a smiling countenance. Mr. Richardson, being commanded by the sheriff's man, to look upon his companion, who was in cutting up, said, O! God's will be done: with that, one Field, a preacher, said, despatch, despatch: to whom, Mr. Cottam said, with a smiling countenance, what are you, an executioner or a preacher? fye, fye. A minister standing by, said, leave off those jests, it is no time to jest; he is a preacher, and not an executioner; he cometh to exhort you to die well. Mr. Cottam, replied, Truly, by his words, he seemed to be an executioner; for he said, despatch, despatch. Then, Mr. Richardson being placed right under the place, where he was to hang, divers persons moved speeches to him, all at one time. To whom, he answered, I pray you, do not trouble me: if you demand any questions of me, let them be touching the matter whereof I was condemned, and do not move new questions: and thereupon he was turned back, to look upon Mr. Kirby, who was then in quartering, which he did; and the head being cut off, they held it up, saying, God save the queen: and he being demanded what he said—I say, amen, I pray God save her.

'And further, he said, I am come hither to die for treason, and I protest before God, I am not guilty of any treason, more than all catholic bishops that ever were in the land, since the conversion thereof, till our time; and were they alive, they might as well be executed for treason, as I am now. To whom, a minister replied, the case is not

* From Raissius, his catalogue of martyrs, and the Douay diary; his death, from an eye-witness.

the same; for then, popish priests lived under popish princes, and did not disobey them, and so were no traitors. Whilst they were talking with Mr. Richardson, Mr. Cottam took Bull, the hangman, by the sleeve, and said to him, God forgive thee, and make thee his servant; take heed in time, and call for grace, and no doubt but God will hear thee: take example by the executioner of St. Paul, who, during the time of the saint's execution, a little drop of blood falling from St. Paul, upon his garment, white, like milk, did afterwards call him to remembrance of himself, and so he became penitent for his sins, and became a good man; whose example, I pray God thou mayest follow; and I pray God give thee his grace.

'Then the six articles were read, and Mr. Richardson's answer, who said, as touching the doctrine of Dr. Saunders and Dr. Bristow, he allowed of it no farther than they agreed with the true catholic church of Rome. Topcliff, and some ministers said, he built his faith upon Saunders; to whom, he answered, I build not my faith upon any one man whatsoever, but upon the whole catholic church. Then the rope being put about both their necks, and fastened to the post, the sheriff said, now Richardson, if thou wilt confess thy faults and renounce the pope, the queen will extend her mercy towards thee, and thou shalt be carried back again. Mr. Richardson answered, I thank her majesty for her mercy; but I must not confess an untruth, or renounce my faith.

'All this while, Mr. Cottam was in prayer, and uttering divers good sentences; saying, all that we here sustain, is for saving of our souls; and therewithal lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, O Lord, thou knowest our innocency. Then, he was bid to confess his treasons. O Lord, said he, how willingly would I confess, if I did know any thing that did charge me; and if we had been guilty of any such thing, surely, one or other of us, either by racking or death, would have confessed it, or else we had been such people as never were heard of. And I protest before God, that before my coming into England, I was prepared to go into the Indies; and if I were to be set at liberty, I would never rest, but on the journey towards those countries. With that, the sheriff said, the queen will be merciful to thee, if thou wilt thyself: he answered, I thank her grace; saying further, do with me what you think good. Therewithal, the sheriff commanded that the rope should be loosed from the post, and he removed down from the cart.

'Then, Mr. Richardson was once more called upon to confess, and ask pardon of the queen; he answered, that he had never offended her to his knowledge. Then he was willed to pray; which he did, desiring all catholics to pray with him. He said his *pater*, *ave*, and *creed:* and when the cart began to move, he said, Lord receive my soul, Lord Jesu, receive my soul.'

THOMAS COTTAM, PRIEST.*

THOMAS COTTAM, was born in Lancashire, brought up, in Brazen-nose college, in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, March 23, 1568. From whence, he went to London, and was there for some time, a school-master; but embracing the catholic religion, he left the kingdom, and went over to Douay, to the English college, lately founded there. From Douay, after some time, he was sent to Rome, where he entered into the Society of Jesus: 'But there, falling into a consuming and lingering sickness, he was, by his superiors, sent to Lyons, in France to try, if by change of air, he might be recovered: but the sickness so grew and increased upon him, that he was made an unfit man for them, and thereupon they dismissed him. Whilst Mr. Cottam was at Lyons, Sledd, that infamous Judas, intending to work some mischief, came from Rome in the company of divers Englishmen, whose names and marks he took very diligently: and being come to Lyons, found Mr. Cottam there, and travelling in his company from thence for some days, understood of him, that he meant very shortly to return home to his native country. Whereupon Sledd took his marks more exactly and precisely; and being arrived at Paris, he there presented to the English ambassador the names and marks he had taken, who sent them over to the queen's counsel, and from them they were sent to the searchers of the ports.

In the mean time, Mr. Cottam went to Rhemes, where the college had lately been translated from Douay; and there, 'being a deacon and a good preacher long before, he was made priest; and hearing of company that were ready to go into England, he made great haste to go with them, and earnest suit to have leave, partly for his health, and especially for the great zeal he had to gain and save souls.

'He arrived at Dover in June, 1580, in the company of Mr. John Hart, and Mr. Edward Rishton, two learned priests, (who are also both condemned) and another, a layman. After these four had been searched to their skins, and nothing found about them, Mr. Hart was stopped and taken for Mr. Orton, (to whom he nothing at all resembled) Mr. Cottam was likewise stopped, because the marks which Sledd had given of him were indeed, very clear and apparent in him. And, for the avoiding of charges, Mr. Allen, then major of Dover, and Stevens, the searcher, requested the layman, Mr. Cottam's companion,' "Dr. Ely, professor of the canon and civil law in the university of Douay," 'who called himself Havard, to carry him as a prisoner to my Lord Cobham, who agreed very easily thereunto: but as soon as they were out of the town, I cannot, said Havard, in conscience, nor will not, being myself a catholic, deliver you, a catholic priest, prisoner to my Lord Cobham; but we will go strait to London, and when you come there, shift for yourself, as I will do for myself. Coming to London, Mr. Cottam went immediately to one of the prisons, and there conferred with a catholic, a friend of his, recounting to him the order and manner of his apprehension and escape. His friend told him, that in conscience, he

* From the same eye-witness, and from Raissius, his catalogue, p. 37.

could not make that escape, and persuaded him to go and yield himself prisoner: whereupon he went to his friend Havard,' "Dr. Ely," and requested him to deliver him the major of Dover's letter to my Lord Cobham. Why? what will you do with it? said Havard: I will go, said Mr. Cottam, and carry it to him, and yield myself prisoner; for I am fully persuaded that I cannot make this escape in conscience: Why, said Havard, this counsel that hath been given you, proceedeth, I confess, from a zealous mind, but I doubt whether it carrieth with it the weight of knowledge; you shall not have the letter, nor you may not, in conscience, yield yourself to the persecutor and adversary, having so good means offered to escape their cruelty. But Mr. Cottam still persisting in his demands, Well, said Mr. Havard, seeing you will not be turned from this opinion, let us go first and consult with such a man, (naming one but newly come over) whom Mr. Cottam greatly honoured and reverenced for his singular wit and learning, and for his rare virtues, and if he be of your opinion, you shall have the letter, and go in God's name. When they came to this man, he utterly disliked of his intention, and dissuaded him from so fond a cogitation. Mr. Cottam being assuaged, but not altogether satisfied, went quietly about his business, and never left London for the matter. The major of Dover's letter being sent back to him again, within two or three days after, cometh up the host of the inn where Mr. Cottam was taken.

'This host, as Providence would have it, met with Havard, and, taking him by the shoulder, said, Gentleman, you had like to have undone me, because the prisoner you promised to deliver is escaped. Wherefore, you must come with me to one Mr. Andrews, my Lord Cobham's deputy, and give him satisfaction in the matter. Havard was somewhat amazed at this sudden summoning; but after awhile, coming to himself, he said, Why, my host, if I deliver you the prisoner again, you will be contented? Yes, said the other, deliver me the prisoner, and I have nothing to say to you. Upon this they went to Mr. Cottam's lodging, but he was removed, the people of the house knew not whither. The host would fain have had this Havard, so called for the time, to go with him to the said Andrews; but Havard sought all means to avoid his company, being sure, if he had once come within the persecutor's paws, he should not escape them so easily; and being, as then, loth to fall into further trouble, he said to the other, My host, there is no such necessity why I should go to Mr. Andrews; for if I did, perhaps he would pick some quarrel with me, by reason of the prisoner's escape, and I might come to trouble, and you would reap no gain or profit thereby. But this I will do for your discharge, I will bring you to a merchant, who, I think, will give you his hand that I shall bring the prisoner by four of the clock, or else that I shall deliver you my body again. I am content, saith he, so that I have the one of you two. To the merchant, therefore, they went, who, at the request of Havard, his brother-in-law, gave his hand and promise for the performance of the condition before specified. (Which promise, though punctually performed, cost the merchant eight months' imprisonment afterwards; but how justly, will be one day examined before the just Judge.) Thus, Havard, leaving his host in the merchant's house, went forth into

the city, with another in his company, to see if he could meet with Mr. Cottam.

'And coming into Cheapside, there, by chance, he met him; and after ordinary salutations, he said, Mr. Cottam, such a man is come to town, and hath so seized upon me for your escape, that either you or I must needs go to prison: you know my state and condition, and may guess how I shall be treated, if once I appear under my right name before them; you know also your own state. Now, it is in your choice whether of us shall go, for one must go, there is no remedy, and to force you, I will not, for I had rather sustain any punishment whatsoever. Mr. Cottam, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, said these words: Now God be blessed. I should never while I lived have been without scruple, if I had escaped from them. Nothing grieveth me, but that I have not despatched some business that I have to do. Why, said Havard, it is but ten of the clock yet; and you may despatch your business by four of the clock, and then, you may go to them. Whither is it, said he, That I must go? To the sign of the Star, quoth Havard, in New Fish-street; and there, you must enquire for one Mr. Andrews, my lord Cobham's deputy; to him, you must surrender yourself. I will, said he; and so they parted, and never saw one the other, after.

'Mr. Cottam, after he had despatched all his business, went at four of the clock, all alone, to the place appointed, and there, yielded himself prisoner, (an invincible proof of his being innocent of any treason,) and was carried to the court, lying then, at Nonesuch, or Otlands. From whence, after five days conference with divers ministers, that laboured, but in vain, to pervert him, he was sent to the Marshalsea, for religion, and not for treason; from thence, to the Tower, there, to be racked; not for to reveal any secret treason, as the adversaries most falsely pretend; but tormented, because he would not confess his private sins unto them, as he both confidently and truly affirmed, to their faces, at his arraignment. After a long confinement, he was led to Westminster, and there, unjustly condemned,' "with father Campion and others; and on the 30th of May, following, drawn to Tyburn, where we have seen his behaviour in the cart, and how he was set down again, before Mr. Richardson's execution."

'When the cart was drawn away from Mr. Richardson, Mr. Cottam said, O good Laurence, pray for me: Lord Jesus received thy soul; which he repeated several times. All this time, Mr. Cottam was with the sheriff and the ministers, upon the ground, having the rope still about his neck. I could not well hear what persuasions the sheriff and ministers had with him; but, I do conjecture, that what they said was, that if he would renounce his faith, he should have his pardon; for I heard him well, utter these words, I will not swerve a jot from my faith, for any thing: yea, if I had ten thousand lives, I would rather lose them all, than forsake the catholic faith, in any point.—And, with that, he was lifted up into the cart again; and the sheriff said, withal, Despatch him, since he is so stubborn.

'Then, he was turned backwards to look upon Mr. Richardson, who was then in quartering, which he did, saying, Lord Jesus have mercy

upon them! O Lord, give me grace to endure to the end; Lord, give me constancy to the end. Which saying, he uttered almost for all the time that Mr. Richardson was in quartering, saving once that he said, thy soul pray for me; and, at the last, he said, O Lord, what a spectacle hast thou made unto me! which he repeated twice or thrice. And then the head of Mr. Richardson was held up by the executioner, who said, as the custom is, God save the queen. To which, Mr. Cottam said, I beseech God to save her, and bless her; and with all my heart, I wish her prosperity as my liege and sovereign queen, and chief governess. They willed him to say, and supreme head in matters ecclesiastical. To whom, he answered, if I would have put in those words, I had been discharged almost two years since. Then, the sheriff said, you are a traitor if you deny that. Mr. Cottam said, no, that is a matter of faith, and unless it be for my conscience and faith, I never offended her majesty. And with that, he looked up to heaven, and prayed secretly; then uttered these words, *in te Domine speravi, non confundar in æternum;* in thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded for ever. And, *O Domine tu plura, pro me passus es, &c.*, O Lord, thou hast suffered more for me, three times repeating, *plura*, more.

'Then, the sheriff said to him, yet Cottam, call for mercy and confess, and no doubt the queen will be merciful unto you. Who answered, My conscience giveth me a clear testimony that I never offended her. Adding, that he wished her as much good as to his own soul; and for all the gold under the cope of heaven, he would not wish that any one hair of her head should perish to do her harm: and that all that he did here suffer, was for saving his soul; desiring Almighty God, for his sweet Son's sake, that he would vouchsafe to take him to his mercy: saying, that him only he had offended; and desiring God, that if there were any thing more unspoken, which were convenient to be spoken, he would now put it into his mind.

'And then, he prayed, desiring forgiveness of all the world; and saying, that he did, from the bottom of his heart, forgive all. Adding, that the sins of this realm have deserved infinite punishment, and God's just indignation; and desiring him, of his mercy, that he would turn his wrath from this people, and call them to repentance, to see and acknowledge their sins. Then he begged all catholics to pray with him; and having said his *pater*, and being in the middle of his *ave*, the cart was driven away. He hanged, till he was dead; and, being stripped, he was found to wear within his shirt, a shirt of very coarse canvass, without sleeves, which reached down beneath his middle; which was likely in the nature of a hair shirt, for the punishment of his body; with which kinds of things England is not now acquainted.'

He suffered May 30, 1582.

Father Lewis, of Grenada, in his abridgement of his catechism, chap. 22, gives an account of the death of Mr. Cottam, and the other six, his companions, from an eye-witness, and looks upon them as illustrious martyrs.

WILLIAM LACY, PRIEST.*

William Lacy, was a Yorkshire gentleman, "born at Hauton," who for some time, enjoyed a place of trust in that country, under queen Elizabeth; and had a fair prospect of being advanced higher, had not his religion stood in his way. He was one of the chief gentlemen of those days, whose house was open to the priests that came over from the colleges abroad, where they always met with a kind welcome; and were sure to want no service or assistance that he could afford or procure them. But as he was taught by these gentlemen, that neither he, nor his, could in conscience frequent the protestant churches, his absenting himself, was soon taken notice of, and he was obliged to give up his charge. Neither was this all, but so many means were found to distress him, and such heavy fines imposed upon him every month, for his, and his family's racusancy, that he was obliged to leave his house and home, and to travel about, sheltering himself sometimes with one friend, sometimes with another; and being never able to stay long in a place, without danger of being apprehended and imprisoned, by the adversaries of his faith. At length, his wife dying, he took a resolution, though he was now pretty well advanced in years, to go abroad, in order to dedicate the remainder of his days to the service of God, and his neighbours, in the ecclesiastical state.

He had no sooner taken this resolution, but he took the first opportunity to pass over into France, to the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes, where he was received according to his merits, and diligently applied himself to the study of divinity, frequenting the schools with the young divines, and giving great edification to all by his humility and other virtues. After having for some time exercised himself in this manner, in the English college at Rhemes, he went from thence to Pont-a-musson, in Lorrain, to follow his studies there. From whence his devotion carried him to Rome, to visit the holy places, consecrated by the sufferings of the apostles and martyrs. Here he procured a dispensation, that he might be made priest, for having been married to a widow, he could not be ordained without a dispensation; which was the easier granted him, in consideration of his personal merit and great virtues. So having made the spiritual exercises in the English college of Rome, he received all his orders, and shortly after returned home, to labour in the mission, which he did with great fruit, for the space of about two years, bringing over many souls to Christ and his church.

He frequently visited the catholics, that were prisoners for their conscience, in York Castle; where, on the 22d of July, 1582, having been with others, present at mass, celebrated before day, by Mr. Bell; and making the best of his way out of the castle, upon the keeper's and turnkey's taking an alarm, he was seized under the castle walls, and carried in the morning, before the lord mayor of York, and counsellor Check; who having strictly examined him, committed him prisoner, to the castle, with orders, that he should be loaded with irons; which he kissed, when

* From the collection of Dr. Bridgewater, in his Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ—Edition of 1588. fol. 96, 2.

they were put on him by the keepers. With this load of chains, he was hurried away to Thorp, the archbishop's seat, to be examined by him. What passed here, says my author, between him and the archbishop, we could, by no means, come to know; because, after this interview, Mr. Lacy was cast into a dungeon, by himself, so that we could not have any access to him.

Upon the 11th of August, he was brought to the bar, where he was arraigned for having been made priest at Rome; which he acknowledged, and which appeared from the letters of ordination he had about him at the time of his apprehension. But the judge, not content with this confession, pressed him further, with that murdering question, whether he acknowledged the queen, to be the supreme head of the church of England? He replied, That in this matter, as well as all other things, he believed, as the catholic church of God, and all good Christians believed. Upon this he was brought in guilty of high treason, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. He heard the fatal sentence, with a serene countenance and an undaunted courage, saying, God be for ever blessed, I am now old, and by the course of nature, could not expect to live long. This will be no more to me, than to pay the common debt, a little before the time. I am rejoiced, therefore, at the things which have been said to me, we shall go into the house of the Lord; and so shall be with the Lord for ever.

The day appointed for his death, was the 22d of August, when Mr. Lacy and Mr. Kirkeman, another gentleman of the same character, were laid upon a hurdle, and drawn to the place of execution. In the way, they made their confessions to each other: and when they came to the gallows, Mr. Lacy first made his prayer, to prepare himself for his last conflict; and then, ascending the ladder, began to speak to the people, and to exhort them to provide for the salvation of their souls, by flying from heresy. But the Ministers, apprehending that the cause of their religion would suffer by such discourses, procured to have his mouth effectually stopped, by hastening the hangman, to fling him off the ladder, and so put an end to his mortal life.

He suffered at York, August 22d, 1582.

RICHARD KIRKEMAN, PRIEST.*

He was born at Adingham, in Yorkshire, of a gentleman's family, and being already advanced in learning, went over to the English college of Douay, where, following his studies, he was made priest, and set upon the mission, in 1578. His apostolic labours were in the northern provinces, where, being on a journey, he was stopped on the 8th of August, 1582, by justice Wortley, within two miles of Wakefield, who having examined him, who he was; what business brought

* From Dr. Bridgewater's Concertatio, fol. 100, and from the Douay records.

him into that part of the country? &c., and not being satisfied with his answers, was for sending him and his servant to prison, as vagrants and dangerous fellows. Mr. Kirkman, perceiving how matters were like to go, thought it best to acquaint the justice with what he was, and to leave the issue to providence; and accordingly calling for a pen, he wrote with his own hand, *that he was a catholic priest.* Upon this, the justice asked him no more questions, but ordered his baggage to be searched, (where they found a chalice, and other utensils, for saying mass,) and both him and his servant to be carried to York, where the assizes were forthwith to be held. Their first night's lodging was at Tadcaster, were they had the bare floor for their bed. The next day, they arrived at York, where Mr. Kirkman was, without more ado, immediately brought to the bar.

Here, many questions were put to him, as where he lived? whether he had ever been beyond the seas; and in what place; and for how long a time; whether he had not withdrawn her majesty's subjects from their allegiance? whether he had said mass in England, and where? &c. to these questions he candidly answered, that he had lived with Mr. Dimock, who died in prison for the catholic faith: that he had been two years abroad: that he never withdrew any man from his allegiance to the queen; but persuaded as many as he could to embrace the true religion: and administered the holy sacrament, as time and place would permit; that he had said mass in Northumberland; but as to particular places and persons he would not name them. Upon these answers, an indictment was drawn up against him, and a jury impanelled, who brought him in guilty of high treason: 1st, for being a priest of the seminary of Douay and Rhemes. 2dly, for persuading the queen's subjects to the catholic religion.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, Mr. Kirkeman was carried to the jail, where he was again examined by justice Wortley and justice Manwaring; who not being able to extort out of him what they wanted, Mr. Wortley in a passion called him papist and traitor, and loaded him with reproaches and injuries. To whom, Mr. Kirkeman calmly replied, You might, sir, with the same justice, charge the apostles also with being traitors; for they taught the same doctrines I now teach, and did the same things for which you condemn me.

After this, he was brought again to the bar to receive sentence; which was pronounced upon him in the usual form. Mr Kirkeman, with a wonderful calmness and modesty, addressing himself to the judge upon this occasion, begged of him, that he would consider well what he did; that he looked upon himself as a wretched sinner, and infinitely unworthy of so great an honour as that of martyrdom. The judge, who understood not this language, told him, that the sentence pronounced upon him was agreeable to what the law directed in those cases; and that he had now nothing else to do but prepare himself for death. The confessor again begged of him to consider his unworthiness of so great a favour. The judge warmly answered him, that his wickedness had well deserved that kind of death. It must then be so, said Mr. Kirkeman, and I must be honoured with so sublime a dignity, Good God! how unworthy am I of it! but since it is thy holy will, thy holy will

be done on earth as it is in heaven: and with that he began, with a loud voice, that hymn of joy and thanksgiving, *te Deum laudamus*.

Four days before his death, he was sent for by the high sheriff and two ministers: what passed between them was kept private; nor had the catholics any opportunity of learning it from himself, for, from that time he was kept in a dungeon by himself, waiting with patience, and preparing himself for his passage into eternity.

On the 22d of August he was pinioned down on the hurdle, and drawn with Mr. Lacy to the place of execution. Here he employed himself in silent prayer, till his companion had happily finished his course; then, being called upon by the officers, he cheerfully went up the ladder, and addressing himself to the multitude of spectators, which was very great, he began to make an exhortation to them, but was interrupted, and ordered to desist. Upon which, going up a little higher on the ladder, and lifting up his eyes towards his heavenly country, to which his soul aspired, he pronounced these words of the royal prophet, *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est: habitavi cum habitantibus Cedar, multum incola fuit anima mea!* and so was flung off the ladder, and yielded up his soul to his creator.

JAMES THOMPSON, PRIEST.*

Mr. James Thompson was born and brought up in Yorkshire, in the west part thereof, and about the city of York. From thence he went over to the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes, where he was made priest, and sent back to England in 1581. He was apprehended on the 11th of August, 1582, in the city of York, in the house of Mr. Branton, a catholic, then prisoner for his conscience in the Kitcote, and being examined by the counsel,† what he was, he frankly owned himself to be a priest. At which, when some seemed to be surprised, because he had been for some years before well known in that city, and they could not imagine how he should be made a priest, he told them, he had been beyond the seas, and was ordained there; though his stay was but short, not above one year, because the state of his health obliged him to return home sooner than he had designed.

They bid him tell them sincerely, whether his returning to England was not in order to reconcile the queen's subjects to the church of Rome? He answered, That the cause of his returning into England was that which he had already told them; for he had laboured under a very ill state of health, from Candlemas till the beginning of May. But withal; says he, I will tell you, ingenuously, that I returned in order to do some service to my country. They asked him, if he had reconciled any? he answered, That where opportunity was offered, he had not been want-

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, in his Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, &c., fol. 101. And from a manuscript account sent over to Douay, by the Reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher.

† Senatus.

ing to his duty. They asked how many, and what persons he had reconciled? he desired to be excused from answering a question by which he might bring others into danger. Then they asked, whether he acknowledged the queen's majesty for the supreme head of the church? He answered, That he did not acknowledge her for such. Very well, said they, you need say no more; you have said enough. He answered, Blessed be God.

Yet, not content with this, they further asked him, whether he would take arms against the pope, if he should invade the kingdom? he replied, When that time shall come, I will show myself a true patriot. But, said they, Will you fight against the pope now? He answered, *No*. Upon which, after many reproaches and injuries, they ordered him to prison, and commanded that he should be loaded with double irons, where he remained for seventeen days, and then, chained as he was, was led through the streets from his first prison to the castle. Here he was put to the common side, amongst the felons, where he remained some time; and then, through the interest of friends, was removed to a chamber, where he had the company of two other priests, prisoners for the same cause.

On the 25th of November he was brought to the bar, tried and condemned; and had sentence of death pronounced upon him in the usual form, as in cases of high treason: at the hearing of which, he was so transported with joy, that he seemed to have quite forgot the pains of his disease, under which he had so long laboured. After sentence, he spent his time, night and day, either in prayer and meditation, or in labouring to gain souls to God and his church: in which he had good success, by the divine blessing, and the opportunity of the place: for, being put again into the company of felons, after his condemnation, he prevailed on some of them, by his exhortations and good example, to renounce their errors and sins, and in spite of the devil and his ministers, to die good catholics and true penitents.

When the day of execution was come, and the hurdle, upon which he was to be drawn to the gallows, was before his eyes, being asked by one how he found himself affected, he answered,—That, in all his life, he had never been so joyful. A minister upon this occasion, offered to talk to him; but Mr. Thompson would not have any thing to say to him: and the rest that were to suffer with him, (though not for the same cause) followed his example, and plainly told the minister, that they would, by no means, give ear to his doctrine. When he was come to the place of execution, he there prayed for a long time, and with great fervour; and then going up the ladder, he spoke to the people, declaring, That he died in the catholic faith; and for the catholic faith; calling God to witness, that he had never been guilty of any treason against his queen or country: so, after he had again prayed for a while, commending his soul to his Creator, he was flung off the ladder, and was observed, whilst he was hanging, first, to lift up his hands towards heaven, then to strike his breast, with his right hand; and, lastly, to the great astonishment of the spectators, distinctly to form the sign of the cross. He suffered at York, the 28th of November, 1582.

WILLIAM HART, PRIEST.—1583.*

Mr. Hart was born in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, and brought up in Lincoln college, Oxford, where his happy genius and great talents were much admired. From thence he passed over to Douay (disliking the religion and manners of Oxford) to pursue his studies in the English college in that university. From whence, in the year 1578, he removed, with the rest of the students, to Rhemes. In this journey, his courage and patience was admirable, when, labouring under a violent fit of the stone, he nevertheless went the whole way on foot, bearing the most acute pains, joined to the labour of the journey, with a wonderful calmness and evenness of mind, to the great edification of his companions. To whom, during his whole stay at Douay and Rhemes, he was a perfect pattern of modesty and piety. His disease still growing upon him, his superiors sent him to Spa, to try the waters there—but all in vain; the physicians declared that there was no remedy for him but cutting: he submitted, in hopes of thereby prolonging his life to labour in the Lord's vineyard, offered up what he was to suffer, as a penance for his sins, and underwent all with great courage; having his soul so fixed in God by prayer, that he scarce seemed to take any notice of so painful an operation, at which, both the surgeon and others that were present, were much astonished.

Some time after his return to Rhemes, he was sent by superiors to Rome, to the English college there: which at that time, and for many years before and after, was chiefly supplied with students from Douay and Rhemes. Here, continuing to apply himself with great ardour to his studies, and making daily progress in the science of the saints, having attained to great perfection, both in virtue and learning, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission. In England, he diligently employed his talents to the greater glory of God, and conversion of many souls, chiefly in and about York: for, besides, a singular piety towards God, a great love for his neighbours, and an extraordinary zeal for the catholic faith, which were from the beginning very eminent in him; his carriage and behaviour was so winning, as to make him agreeable to all: and his eloquence (for which he was called another Campion) joined to an extraordinary gift he had in preaching, was such, as easily made its way into the hearts of his hearers. His devotion was great to the tremendous mysteries; which, whilst he celebrated, he was often observed to shed abundance of tears; and his charity was very remarkable towards numbers of poor catholics that were prisoners in those days, for their conscience. and who, in York, especially, were daily perishing through the many incommodities of their imprisonment, joined to the hardheartedness and barbarity of their keepers. These, he daily visited, refusing no labour nor danger for their comfort and assistance; encouraging them to suffer with patience; procuring them what assistance he was able; hearing their confessions, and administering the sacraments to them.

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, fol. 104. And from the Douay records.

The night that Mr. Lacy and others were apprehended, who had been assisting at mass in York castle, Mr. Hart was one of the company; but he escaped by getting down the wall, and made his way through a muddy moat, or moat, in which he was up to his chin in water and mire. But within six months after, God was pleased he should fall into the hands of the persecutors, who rushed into his chamber the night after Christmas day, when he was in bed and asleep, and seized upon him. At the first surprise, and perhaps not yet fully awake, he bid them keep off and not touch him, for he was an anointed priest; adding withal, that he would dress himself immediately and accompany them. As soon as he was dressed, they carried him to the house of the high sheriff, where they kept him till day; and then he was brought before the lord president of the north, who having examined him, sent him prisoner to the castle, where he was lodged in a dungeon, which was his only chamber till his dying day; and, whereas, he could not help discovering, both by his countenance and words, the great joy of his soul, in suffering for such a cause, they loaded him, on St. John's day, with double irons to damp his courage, but all in vain: for, in proportion to what he suffered for Christ, he received still greater consolation from Christ.

During his short stay, he had several conferences with some of the chief of the protestant ministers in York; namely, with dean Hutton, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Pace, and Mr. Palmer; in which, these gentlemen had no reason to boast of their success; though they were pleased to publish to the world that no doubt was but he would easily be brought over to their sect.

When he was brought to the bar, the judge asked him, why he had left his native country to go beyond the seas? He answered, For no other reason, my lord, but to acquire virtue and learning; and, whereas, I am a religious man, and profess teaching those sciences, I took holy orders, and would have returned to my native country by a certain impulse from God, to do what I could in converting the world. I might be more at liberty to exercise my ministry there. They asked him, how he had employed his time since his return into England? He answered, In instructing the ignorant, and administering the sacraments for the benefit of the souls of my fellow-creatures. Then was he given to understand, that he was guilty of high treason; first, in coming into the kingdom, without the leave of her majesty, and adhering to her capital enemy, the pope. Secondly, For withdrawing her majesty's subjects from their obedience, by reconciling them to the church of Rome, as he had done Mr. John Wright and one Couling. Mr. Hart replied, that his going out of England could be no treason, since he went to no other end, but to improve himself in learning and virtue; that his obedience to the pope in spiritual matters, was no ways inconsistent with his allegiance to his queen; and that he called God to witness, that he had never, in his life, entertained so much as a thought, derogatory to the authority of the queen, whom he acknowledged his lawful sovereign, in tending to withdraw her subjects from their obedience; and that neither Mr. Wright nor Couling, nor any other, could say, that he had ever spoken so much as one word to them to dissuade them from their obedience to her majesty.

However, upon those two heads, an indictment of treason was drawn

up, and a jury impanelled, who, as directed by the judges, brought him in guilty. And accordingly, he had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. He received the sentence with a perfect conformity to the will of God, using those words of holy Job, *Dominus dedit, &c.* The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; as it has pleased the Lord, so has it been done: may the name of the Lord be blessed: adding, that he was in good hopes that now, a short time would put an end to his mortal life, and all its miseries, to be succeeded by true and everlasting joys.

The six last days before execution, he prepared himself for his exit by a rigorous fast, spending withal, whole nights in prayer and contemplation, and ardently wishing for that happy hour that should eternally unite him to the sovereign object of his love. When he was brought out of his dungeon, on the day he was to suffer, he took his leave of the catholic prisoners, earnestly recommending his last conflict to their prayers: then addressing himself to the chief jailor, he bid him farewell, thanking him for his kindness; though, indeed, he had met with little, or no kindness or favour from him. Being fastened down upon the hurdle, he was drawn through the streets to the place of execution, having his eyes fixed upon heaven, and his soul in silence, attentive to God. Before he came to the gallows, he was met by two ministers, Mr. Bunny and Mr. Pace, who made it their business to affront him, and to persuade the people that he did not die for his religion, but for treason. As soon as he arrived at the place, he cheerfully went up the ladder, and began to pray in silence. They asked him if he prayed for the queen? he answered, That he had always prayed for her, to that day, and as long as he lived, would not cease to pray for her: that he willingly acknowledged her for his sovereign, and professed a ready obedience to her, in all things which were not inconsistent with the catholic religion. Then, Mr. Bunny stepped out, and read aloud to the people, the bull of Pius Quintus; by which, he had excommunicated the queen? &c, pretending thereby to prove that Mr. Hart must needs be a traitor; and, that the business of his coming over, was, to withdraw her majesty's subjects from their allegiance. Mr. Hart answered, in short, that, Far from having any such thoughts, he had ever prayed for the queen's safety, and the happy state of the kingdom. But Mr. Pace was particularly troublesome to the holy confessor, continually loading him with reproaches and injuries. To which, Mr. Hart, made no other reply than this, Good Mr. Pace, be so kind as to let me be quiet, this short time I have to live; which he several times repeated. Then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he began the psalm, *ad te vevavi oculos meos, &c.*, but, was again interrupted by the ministers, calling upon him to join with them in prayer, which he refused to do, telling them, that his faith and theirs, was not the same. But he desired the catholics to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in, and for the catholic faith, and not for any crime whatsoever, or treason against the state. With that, he was thrown off the ladder; and, according to sentence, was cut down alive, and quartered. And though the lord mayor and other magistrates, who were present at the execution, sought to hinder the catholics from carrying home with them any relics of the confessor, yet, some

there were, who, in spite of all their precautions and threats, carried off some of his blood, or fragments of his bones, or pieces of his clothes, which they kept as treasures; so great was the veneration they had for his virtue, and the cause for which he died.

Mr. Hart suffered at York, March 15, 1582–3. He has a place in Mr. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* p. 214, who acknowledges, that he was executed for his character. 'This Mr. Hart,' says the protestant historian, 'was hanged, drawn and quartered, for being a Roman priest.'

Dr. Bridgewater, in his *Concertatio*, has published, several of Mr. Hart's letters. In one of which, he gives an account of what had passed in his conferences with the protestant divines. In the others, he encourages his penitents, especially such as were prisoners, for their conscience, to constancy; exhorts them to neglect no opportunity of frequenting the sacraments, as most powerful means of divine grace, lamenting that he himself was deprived of that benefit, no priest being allowed to come near him; expresses his ardent desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, only regretting that he had not better served so good a Lord; and forbids them to grieve upon his occasion, whose death was to be so great a gain. These letters are nine in all, and are very edifying. Besides which, I have met with a copy of a letter which he wrote to his mother a few days before his death, with which I shall here present the reader.

'*Most dear and loving Mother.*

'Seeing that by the severity of the laws, by the wickedness of our times, and by God's holy ordinance and appointment, my days in this life are ended, as duty and conscience I am bound, being far from you in body, but in spirit very near to you, not only to crave your daily blessing, but also to write these few words unto you. You have been a most loving, natural, and careful mother unto me: you have suffered great pains in my birth and bringing up: you have toiled and turmoiled yourself and sustained me, your first and eldest child; and, therefore, for these and all other your motherly cherishings, I give you (as is convenient for me to do) most humble and hearty thanks: wishing that it lay in me to show myself as loving, natural, and dutiful a son, as you have showed yourself a most tender and careful mother. But I cannot express my love, show my duty, declare my affection, testify my good will towards you, so little am I able to do, as so much I think myself bound unto you. I had meant, this spring, to have seen you, if God had granted me my health and liberty. But now never shall I see you, or my other friends in this life again, desiring you in heaven to meet you, to see you and to live everlastingly with you.

'But, sweet mother, why do you weep? why do you lament? why do you take so heavily my honourable death? Know you not that we are born once to die, and that always in this life we may not live? know you not how vain, how wretched, how inconstant, how miserable this life of ours is? do you not consider my calling, my estate, my profession? do you not remember that I am going to a place of all pleasure and felicity? why then do you weep? why do you mourn?

why do you cry out? But perhaps you will say, I weep not so much for your death, as I do for that you are hanged, drawn, and quartered: my sweet mother, it is the favourablest, honourablest, and happiest death that ever could have chanced unto me. I die not for knavery, but for verity: I die not for treason, but for religion; I die not for any ill demeanor or offence committed, but only for my faith, for my conscience, for my priesthood, for my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; and, to tell you truth, if I had ten thousand lives, I am bound to lose them all, rather than to break my faith, to lose my soul, to offend my God. We are not made to eat, drink, sleep, to go bravely, to feed daintily, to live in this wretched vale continually; but to serve God, to please God, to fear God, and to keep his commandments: which, when we cannot be suffered to do, then rather must we choose to lose our lives, than to desire our lives.

'Neither am I alone in this kind of suffering; for there have of late suffered, twenty or twenty-two priests, just, virtuous, and learned men, for the self-same cause, for the which I do now suffer. You see, Mr. James Fenn and John Bodie are imprisoned for religion: and I dare say they are desirous to die the same death which I shall die. Be contented, therefore, good mother, stay your weeping, and comfort yourself that you have borne a son that has lost his life and liberty for God Almighty's sake, who shed his most precious blood for him. If I did desire or look for preferment or promotion, credit, or estimation in this world, I could do as others do: but, alas! I pass not for this trish trash; I contemn this wicked world; I detest the pleasures and commodities thereof; and only desire to be in heaven with God; where I trust I shall be, before this my last letter come to you.

'Be of good cheer, then, my most loving mother, and cease from weeping; for there is no cause why you should do so. Tell me, for God's sake, would you not be glad to see me a bishop, a king, or an emperor? Yes, verily, I dare say you would. How glad then may you be to see me a martyr, a saint, a most glorious and bright star in heaven. The joy of this life is nothing, and the joy of the after life is everlasting: and therefore thrice happy may you think yourself, that your son William is gone from earth to heaven, and from a place of all misery to a place of all felicity. I wish that I were near to comfort you: but because that cannot be, I beseech you, even for Christ Jesus's sake, to comfort yourself. You see how God hath brought me up, and how he hath blessed me many ways: a thousand times then unhappy should I be, if, for his sake, I should not lose this miserable life, to gain that blessed and eternal life wherein he is.

'I can say no more, but desire you to be of good cheer, because I myself am well. If I had lived, I would have holpen you in your age, as you have holpen me in my youth. But now I must desire God to help you, and my brethren, for I cannot. Good mother, be contented with that which God hath appointed for my perpetual comfort: and now, in your old days, serve God after the old catholic manner? pray unto him daily; beseech him, heartily, to make you a member of his church; and that he will save your soul for Jesus sake: good mother,

... that I give you, and die a member of ... we shall meet in heaven, by God's ...

... to my brethren, to Andrew ... Serve God, and ... Jesus save your soul, and ... farewell ten thou- ... March, 1583.

... loving and obedient son,

WILLIAM HART.'

... WATSON, PRIEST.'

... Whereof what ... seems to have been ... he is called an ... four years after ... English college ... 1579: and ... been ordained ... good ... God drive ... was one of his ... was to offer up ... the precious ... frequent medi- ... increase of divine ... in life he ... for him, to shed ... that he had ... for his faith: ... the 24th of ... by night to ... prison upon ... a priest; which ... do with me ... to him also, as ... to the house ... to find out and ... &c. After ... where

... journal of

he remained, till the 27th of May, which was the day of his trial. In the mean time, he was twice examined by the dean of York and three of the council, concerning his character and functions: and he was very free in his answers, only where any other person was concerned. They asked him, for what reasons he had gone beyond the seas; and with what design he had returned into England? He answered, that it was for conscience sake, that he might serve God the better; and that he had returned into his own country, in order to gain souls to God and his church: confessing also, that he had said mass, and performed the rest of the functions of his ministry, as occasion required. They touched also upon the question of the supremacy; but the dean seemed unwilling to have the matter pressed home: however, Mr. Thirkill signified to them, that he thought the spiritual jurisdiction did not belong to her majesty, but to the pope.

What were the dispositions of the soul of this holy man, in the horror and solitude of his prison, we may learn from his epistles, of which Dr. Bridgewater has published six, all very edifying and full of the spirit of the martyrs. Let us hear what he writes in one of them, to one of his ghostly children. 'The world,' says he, 'dear daughter, begins now to seem insipid, and all its pleasures, grow bitter as gall; and all the fine shows and delights it affords, appear quite empty and good for nothing. Now it is seen, that there is no true joy, no object, no agreeable pleasure, that can afford any solid delight, but one alone, and that is Christ. I experience now, that the greatest pleasure, joy, and comfort, is in conversing with him; that all time thus employed is short, sweet and delightful: and those words that, in this conversation, he speaks to me, so penetrate my soul, so elevate my spirit above itself, so moderate and change all fleshly affections, that this prison of mine, seems not a prison, but a paradise; my crosses become light and easy, and the being deprived of all earthly comfort, affords a heavenly joy and happiness. O happy prison! O blessed confinement! O solitude full of comfort! O gaol, a long time desired! where hast thou staid, so long? O crosses! where have you been all this while? O solitude! why didst thou not suffer me to relish thy sweetness sooner? But, wretch as I am! I see, it was my unworthiness, (which is still as great as ever,) that hitherto kept me from such an honour, that my being so propense to vice, would not suffer me to attain to so great a blessing, as these crosses; that my iniquity and sins have, with good reason, delayed and hindered my being promoted to so happy a state of this solitude. These jewels of so great a price; all these riches, the great God has been pleased to confer upon me here in my prison; all which I ascribe to him, and acknowledge to be his gift, his mercy, his love; attributing nothing to myself. To him therefore be praise, honour, and glory, for so unspeakable a benefit bestowed upon his poor, wretched, and altogether undeserving, servant.' So he.

The day of his trial, he was led from Kitcot to the castle, guarded by the sheriff and his men. He was dressed in his cassock; which made him appear more venerable; and his countenance, air, and behaviour, expressed so much courage and constancy, joined with such

manded him to be silent, he told them, it was an exceeding great joy and pleasure to him to see the courage and constancy of these catholics, in maintaining so good a cause, and that it was his duty to exhort and encourage them on these occasions.

Upon this, one of the judges calling upon him by his name, said, Richard Thirkill, come up to the bar; what can you say for yourself, why sentence of death should not be pronounced upon you, as you have been here arraigned and found guilty of high treason? Mr. Thirkill replied, That he had yesterday brought five reasons out of the holy fathers, by which he had demonstrated that he was not guilty of high treason, "viz. in his exercising the power of the keys in absolving sinners;" but these reasons were not regarded, and the judge immediately proceeded to pronounce sentence, by which he was to be carried back to the place from whence he came, and from thence to be drawn to the place of execution, and there hanged, cut down alive, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. Which sentence, as soon as the confessor had heard, falling on his knees, he gave most hearty thanks to God, and pronounced aloud these words, *Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, &c.* This is the day which the Lord has made; let us be glad and rejoice therein. Then, that his presence might no longer encourage the other catholics, he was hurried out of the court, and thrust into the lowest dungeon in the castle.

On the next day, he was drawn from the castle to the place of execution, where he suffered according to sentence, though as to the particulars of his words and actions there, my author complains he could not get any certain account of them, such care was taken to prevent the catholics, and the rest of the people, from being present at his death; guards being set for that purpose at the gates, the lord mayor having ordered, that day, a general meeting of the citizens, under pretence of making a proper choice for the militia; however, my author was assured, by persons of credit, that he was cut down alive, according to the letter of the sentence: and that the faithful might not gather up any of his blood, they had ordered a great fire of straw to be made upon the place, to consume all, in such manner that nothing of it might be found.

He suffered at York, the 29th of May, 1583. He is called Thrilkill by Dr. Bridgewater, and bishop Yepez, and Thrilkeld, by cardinal Allen, in his answer to the book, called the Execution of Justice in England, or *Justitia Britannica.*

JOHN SLADE, SCHOOLMASTER, AND JOHN BODY, M. A.*

THESE two are commonly joined together, because they were tried and condemned at the same time, and for the same cause: though they never suffered at the same place, nor on the same day. Mr. Stow makes mention of them in his chronicle of 1583. 'John Slade, schoolmaster, says he, and John Body, master of arts, being both condemned

* From a Douay manuscript, and other memoirs.

of high treason, for maintaining of Roman power, were drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered.'

Mr. Slade was born in Dorsetshire: and, after his education at home, in grammar learning, going abroad, was, for some time, a student in the canon and civil law in the university of Douay, and a convictor of the English college in that city, and therefore has a place in Raissius's catalogue of the martyrs of that community. At his return home, having little or no opportunity of exercising his talent in the law, in the circumstances of catholics in this kingdom, he became a schoolmaster, as we learn from Mr. Stow, above quoted. Mr. Body was born in the city of Wells, in Somersetshire; his father was a wealthy merchant there, and had been mayor of the town. He was brought up in New College, Oxford, where he took his degree of master in arts; and for some time studied the canon and civil law: but not liking the established religion, he went over to Douay college, (the common refuge, in those days, of such as left England for the catholic cause) where he arrived May, 1, 1577, and was, for some time a convictor in that house. After his return home, both he and Mr. Slade were so zealous in maintaining the old religion, that they were apprehended upon that account by the enemies of their faith, and prosecuted upon the article of the supremacy. My manuscript lays their death at the door of Cowper, bishop of Winchester, as particularly busy in procuring their condemnation; but if Heylin's chronology, in his *Help to English History*, be exact, by which, he makes Cowper to have entered upon the bishopric only in 1584, he could not have prosecuted them in 1583, at least, not in quality of bishop of Winchester.

They were both arraigned together at Winchester, and there tried and condemned; and, what was very singular in their case, is, that according to Dr. Saunders, or rather, Mr. Rishton, "1 3 *de Schismate Angl.*," they were twice, at different times, sentenced to death upon the same indictment; which cardinal Allen, in his answer to *Justitia Britannica*, cap. 1, imputes, to a consciousness, in their prosecutors, of the first sentence having been unjust and illegal. The whole and sole cause of their condemnation was, that they denied the queen's spiritual supremacy, and maintained that of the pope, as appears, from the account of their trial and execution, published by a protestant, and an eye-witness; printed at London, by Richard Jones, the same year they suffered, viz. 1583.

They both suffered with great constancy. Mr. Slade was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Winchester, October 30. Mr. Body at Andover, November 2, 1583. My manuscript relates, that, as he was drawn along the streets on a hurdle, his head being in danger of being hurt by the stones, an honest old man, pitying him, offered him his cap, in part to save his head; which Mr. Body, with thanks, refused, adding withal, *That he was just now going to give his head, life, and all, for his Saviour's sake.* Cardinal Allen also informs us, from the printed history of his execution, that Mr. Kingsmel having called upon him, at the gallows, to confess the crime for which he was condemned, that the people might know the cause for which he died, Mr. Body, after he had professed his obedience and fidelity to the queen, in all civil matters,

spoke thus to the people, Be it known, said he, to all you that are here present, that I suffer death this day, because I deny the queen to be the supreme head of the church of Christ in England. I never committed any other treason, unless they will have hearing mass, or saying the Hail Mary, to be treason. His mother, as my manuscript relates, hearing afterwards of her son's happy death, made a great feast upon that occasion; to which, she invited her neighbours, rejoicing at his death as his marriage; by which, his soul was happily and eternally espoused to the lamb.

I find, also, amongst those that suffered this year, 1583, in an old catalogue, kept in Douay college, the name of William Chaplain, priest, of whom it is there said, *obiit in vinculis*, that he died in bonds or in prison. He was made priest at Rhemes, in 1581.

GEORGE HAYDOCK, PRIEST.—1584. *

George Haydock was son to Evan Win Haydock, Esq. of Cottamhall, near Preston, in Lancashire. The father, after the death of his lady, went abroad to the English college of Douay: and, though he was well advanced in years, resuming his studies, was, after some time, made priest; and returning into England, laboured for some years with great fruit, in the vineyard of his Lord He was also agent, or procurator, for the college; which office he discharged to the general satisfaction of his brethren. Two of his sons followed the same course of life, as the father had made choice of. Richard, who went with his father to Douay, in 1573, and was ordained priest in 1577; and going afterwards to Rome, became at length, doctor of divinity: and George, of whom, we are now treating, who had also his education for four years, at Douay college, where he learnt his humanity; and from thence was sent to Rome, where he went through his course of philosophy, and began his divinity. But the climate not agreeing with his health, he was obliged to leave Rome, being, as yet, only deacon, and to go into France, where he remained at Rhemes three months, and was made priest; and from thence, returned into England, to labour there for the benefit of the souls of his neighbours.

He had scarce arrived at London, when, by the treachery of one Haukinson, he fell into the hands of the pursuivants on the 6th of February, 1581-2, in St. Paul's church-yard, and was, by them carried into the church, where one of the ministers conferred for awhile with him, and offered him his liberty without more ado, if he would renounce the pope; which, Mr. Haydock refusing to do, the pursuivants carried him, and Mr. Arthur Pits, (whom they also had apprehended) before Mr. Popham, the queen's attorney, by whom they were strictly examined; as they were again, the next day, by Cecil, lord treasurer, who sent them both to the Tower. Here, between Norris the pursuivant,

* From Dr. Bridgewater's collections, fol. 133, and from the journals and other memoirs of Douay college.

[illegible] the Tower. Mr. Haydock had [illegible] might be kept the [illegible] himself, [illegible] By what means, for [illegible] human com- [illegible] sacraments, excepting [illegible] coming to him, and ad- [illegible]

[illegible] another place assigned for him, [illegible] sometimes his friends, [illegible] opportunity [illegible] edified by conversing [illegible] patience: for besides all [illegible] which he had to endure, he [illegible] disease, which he had first [illegible] upon him in prison, and [illegible] After he had been a [illegible] disease, that he should [illegible] fortitude and courage also. [illegible] with his hands. He was [illegible] in the city, and [illegible] showed so much [illegible] summers being reserved [illegible] question to him: what [illegible] in heaven. It seemeth [illegible] the name of Rome [illegible] from earth: and that [illegible] the queen, or any other [illegible] more odious to [illegible] leave off till, by [illegible] brought him, though against [illegible] without repentance. [illegible] upon the 18th of [illegible] concludes the festivity [illegible] great satisfac- [illegible] maintain the [illegible] as he [illegible]

[illegible] it within he had been sent [illegible] from the Tower to [illegible] with his four [illegible] and Mr. Munden. [illegible] the next day received [illegible] The cause for which they [illegible] Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, [illegible] second say James,) George [illegible] Thomas Hemerford, were [illegible] being made process beyond the [illegible] statute made in *anno primo*, [illegible] to be hanged, bowelled, and

quartered; who were all executed at Tyburn, on the 12th of February.' So Mr. Stow, who takes no notice of the pretended plot of Rome and Rhemes, which they were also pleased to charge upon them; their very adversaries being sensible there were no grounds for any such accusation.

Mr. Haydock received the sentence of death with incredible joy, returning hearty thanks to God for so great a favour: and whereas his apprehension and his arraignment both happened on the day of his patroness, St. Dorothy, virgin and martyr, he attributed this happy event to her prayers, and marked it down in the calender of his breviary; which, when he was going to die, he bequeathed to Mr. Creagh, archbishop of Armagh, at that time prisoner in the Tower for the catholic religion. In the mean while, being wholly intent on preparing himself for his happy passage, he was alarmed by a rumour spread about the city, which was brought to him in the Tower, that the queen had changed her mind, and he was not to suffer. Upon which, when his friends congratulated with him, he, on the other side, who saw himself, as he thought, just in the haven, and was very unwilling to be drove back again into the midst of the dangers of the tempestuous sea of this mortal life, conceived a great grief; but his confessarius, a man of great prudence and experience, encouraged him, assuring him, that these rumours were industriously spread about, only to make the world believe that the queen was averse to these cruelties, to take off the odium of them from her majesty, as if they were extorted from her against her inclinations; and that such reports as these, as it had been found in the case of Mr. Forde, Mr. Shert, &c., were indeed a sign that he and his companions would certainly suffer. Upon this, Mr. Haydock was freed from his fears, and wholly applied himself by watching, fasting, and prayer, to prepare for his last end.

On the 12th of February, (Dr. Bridgewater says the 13th,) Mr. Haydock, early in the morning, said mass in his chamber, to prepare himself by the holy viaticum for his journey into eternity: and then, with his four companions, was drawn through the streets from the Tower to Tyburn. When they were come to the place, Mr. Haydock, though the youngest of them all, was first ordered up into the cart; into which he ascended with great alacrity. Here, the rope being now about his neck, he was called upon by Spencer, the sheriff, and by the ministers, to confess his treason against the queen, and to ask her pardon. He answered,—I call God to witness, upon my soul, that I am innocent of the pretended treason; and therefore I have no occasion to ask her pardon. He added, withal, that he acknowledged her for his queen, and wished her all happiness, and had offered several prayers to God for her that very day: and that such was his disposition, in regard to her majesty, that if he were alone with her in a wilderness, where he might, without danger, do to her what he pleased, he would not hurt her with the prick of a pin, though he might have the whole world for so doing.

The sheriff, who showed himself a bitter enemy to Mr. Haydock and his fellow confessors, told him, that, since his condemnation, they had discovered far more heinous crimes of him: and, upon this, the infamous Munday was called for, who pretended, that he had heard

...om, where [illegible] Rome, with [illegible] the queen's head. Mr. Haydock ...answered, — [illegible] ...giving [illegible] answer before the bar of the divine ... [illegible] ... in my life: I call, there... [illegible] ... witness, that I never spoke any ... [illegible] ... and noon. Monday, said ... [illegible] ... why dost thou not appear ... [illegible] ... Monday, I knew nothing ... [illegible] ... the queen was a ... [illegible] ... said he. With that, the ... [illegible] ... calling him a thousand trai... [illegible] ...tines. In the mean ... [illegible] ... said his prayers to ... [illegible] ... with him, would ... [illegible] ... night join with ... [illegible] ... minister from him ... [illegible] ... him, or his; but ... [illegible] ... dear common Lord.

... [illegible] ... here: yes, said ... [illegible] ... said Mr. Hay... [illegible] ...mon church: God ... [illegible] ... my blood. ... [illegible] ... drive away the ... [illegible] ...away, and Mr. ... [illegible] ... Spencer. ... [illegible] ... to be ... [illegible] ... sensible: and ... [illegible] ... February 12,

... [illegible] ... brought up in ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ... College: ... [illegible] ... boggled at the ... [illegible] ... occasion, and ... [illegible] ... a while longer ... [illegible] ... scholars in Glocester... [illegible] ... from Oxford, into ... [illegible] ... determined by a gra... [illegible] ... his sons, whom he ... [illegible] ... religion: though

... [illegible] ... Church [illegible] &c

their father, who was a worldly man, had another way of thinking. Here, Mr. Fenn married a wife, by whom he had two children; and having undergone divers persecutions, for his conscience; and, after some time, lost his wife, he betook himself to the service of Nicholas Pointz, an eminent catholic gentleman, whom he served, in quality of steward, to the great satisfaction of his master, and all that had any dealings with him. And such, indeed, was his conduct in every station of life that he went through, as not only faithfully to discharge the duties of his office, but also, to behave himself with so much edification, that the whole tenor of his life was a perpetual sermon, by which, he strongly recommended virtue and piety to all that conversed with him.

A learned and pious priest, who used to frequent Sir Nicholas's house, taking notice of the excellent qualifications and rare virtues of Mr. Fenn, thought it a pity that his talents should not be employed in greater things; and seriously advised him to quit that worldly employ, and to go over to Rhemes, to the English College, lately translated thither from Douay, that, receiving holy orders, and returning into his country, he might be serviceable to the souls of many. Mr. Fenn took the council of the holy man, and giving up his stewardship, went over to Rhemes, where he was made priest, as appears by the college diary, anno 1580, and so was sent upon the mission. His labours were in his own native country, Somersetshire, where he reconciled several persons of distinction to the catholic church. But it was not long before he was apprehended by the persecutors, though not yet known to be a priest, and sent to Ilcester gaol, where he was lodged amongst the felons, and loaded with irons. And that nothing might be wanting to his disgrace, he was exposed, chained, and fettered as he was, in a public place, on a market day, for a show to all the people: but the success, did not answer the design and expectation of his adversaries: for such was the invincible patience; such the modesty of his countenance, and the tranquillity of soul, which discovered itself, in his whole behaviour on this occasion, that the spectators conceived a great veneration for him; and many began to look more seriously into their religion; being not a little shocked to see a man treated in this manner, barely for following the dictates of his conscience, in matters of religion.

The magistrates in the country, being alarmed at this, acquainted the queen's council, by letters, with the whole matter, who ordered Mr. Fenn to be sent up to London, where he was examined by secretary Walsingham, and sent prisoner to the Marshalsea. Here he was kept for two whole years, the jailors and turnkeys, not knowing him to be a priest, and therefore treated him with more humanity than otherwise they would have done; and not prohibiting any one to visit him; which opportunity Mr. Fenn made good use of, not only to confirm the catholics in their faith, and administer the holy sacraments to as many as applied to him; but also to reconcile several protestants to the church. In the mean time, he prayed much, meditated often, exercised himself daily in the works of mercy, both corporal and spiritual, to his fellow prisoners, especially those of the household of faith. He had a parti-

cular charity for pirates, and other unhappy malefactors, who were to suffer the law for their crimes; whom he visited, as much as he could, and exhorted with great affection, to make good use of their time, and to appease the wrath of God by penitence, and to seek a reconciliation with his divine Majesty, in the communion of the catholic church, which alone had received from Christ the keys of heaven, and the power of remitting and retaining sins. And such was the force and unction that accompanied his words, that he brought several of those hardened sinners to repentance and confession; and, among the rest, a noted pirate, whom he found so deeply oppressed with the load of his sins, as to be absolutely in despair of salvation; whom he so effectually exhorted and encouraged, by setting before his eyes the greatness of God's mercy, and the power he had given to his ministers, that he cast himself at his feet, and desired to be admitted into the catholic church, and to make his confession, which he did, after Mr. Fenn had given him proper instructions, as far as the shortness of his time would permit. The next day, he also admitted him to the holy communion, to his unspeakable comfort; and so stout was this convert, that, being to die the following day, he absolutely refused the communion and prayers of the protestant ministers, neither regarding their threats nor their promises; and at the place of execution publicly professed that he died a catholic, and blessed the providence of God, that had brought him to a place where he had met with such holy company as taught him to be a christian.

As Mr. Fenn's words carried with them a particular virtue, by which he made a great impression on the souls of those that conversed with him, so, in his very countenance and mein, there was something exceedingly engaging and attracting, more especially when he was speaking of God, and of heavenly things, (which he did as often as he had opportunity,) or when he was celebrating the sacred mysteries; insomuch, that those who saw him, or heard him, on these occasions, found themselves wonderfully affected and stirred up to devotion, by that heavenly air which showed itself in the whole man. A certain gentleman, who once assisted at his mass, declared to a priest of his acquaintance, that he found, in his soul, at that time, such unusual sentiments of devotion as he had never experienced before or since; so that he could not refrain from shedding an abundance of tears; and this, by seeing the heavenly mein of the holy priest, and that air of recollection and devotion, which was so remarkable in him upon that occasion.

One year before his happy end, he seemed to have a foreknowledge of his death, and prepared himself for it by a more strict retirement, (only when the necessities of his neighbours required his attendance) a more continual prayer, joined to much watching and fasting, till the time now drawing near, when God would crown his servant, he was discovered to be a priest, and committed to a more close confinement. And as it pleased the ministry at that time to pick out some of the many priests they had then in prison, to make an example of them for the terror of the catholics, he was one that was marked out for the butchery. And, as a preparation for this, he was called to an examination, and had the usual murdering questions put to him concerning the supremacy: to which he answered in such manner as to profess all due

obedience to the queen in temporals, and the pope in spirituals; declaring withal, that he was a catholic, and that there was not any one article of the catholic religion for which he was not willing to lay down his life.

When his trial came on, though they wanted not matter sufficient for his condemnation, on account of his priesthood, and the answers he had given to the examiners; yet to make the proceedings against him more plausible in his indictment, they affirmed, that James Fenn and George Haydock, in such a year, month, and day, (which were all named,) had conspired together at Rome to kill the queen, and had returned into England in order to perpetrate their wickedness. Mr. Fenn being called upon by the judges to answer for himself, called God and all the court of heaven to witness, that this accusation was most notoriously false; that, indeed, he had never been at Rome in his life, nor ever any nearer it than Rhemes; that he had never seen Mr. Haydock till he met him at the bar, and that at the very time when he was pretended to have been plotting at Rome, he was actually in England, as he could demonstrate; and that he believed he could make it appear that he was then prisoner in the Marshalsea; that he had never entertained so much as the first thought of any treason against the queen, and that he would not, for the whole kingdom of England, have done her the least hurt, though he could be sure of doing it with impunity.

The judge told him, that although there might be some error in the circumstances of time, place, &c., yet that he had been sufficiently convicted of treason, and therefore was to look for nothing else but to die; and so neither witness nor any evidence whatsoever being produced to prove the pretended plot, to the astonishment of all that were there, he directed the jury to find him guilty of the indictment, and accordingly pronounced sentence upon him, as in cases of high treason, which barefaced iniquity convinced all, that the true cause of Mr. Fenn's condemnation and death, was no other than his character and religion.

Having received sentence, he was carried to the Tower, and there kept in a dungeon, loaded with irons, from Friday, the day of his condemnation, till Wednesday following, which was the day of his execution. In the mean time, Mr. Popham, the attorney general, and a doctor of the civil law, formerly school-fellow to Mr. Fenn, came to him to exhort him to comply and acknowledge the queen's authority, and obey the laws; promising, that if he would, they would use their best endeavours to save his life. The confessor told them, he willingly acknowledged the queen's authority in all temporal matters, but that he neither could nor would acknowledge her supreme head of the church, but only as one of the sheep, subject, in spirituals, to that shepherd to whom Christ committed his whole flock: and that he was ready to die in and for the profession of this faith.

On the day of execution he was laid on a hurdle, to be drawn, with his companions, from the Tower to Tyburn. It was a moving spectacle to many, to see his little daughter Frances, with many tears, take her last leave of her father upon this occasion, whilst the good man, who had long since been dead to all things in this world, looking upon her with a calm and serene countenance, and lifting up his hands as well as

he could, for they were pinioned, gave her his blessing, and so was drawn away. At Tyburn, he was not suffered to speak many words: but after he had prayed for a while, he only declared to the people his innocence of the crime that had been falsely laid to his charge in the court; and then recommended himself and the queen, to whom he wished all manner of happiness, to God's mercy. And so, the cart being drawn away, he was left hanging for a little while, and then cut down alive, bowelled, and quartered. His quarters were disposed on four of the gates of the city, and his head upon London bridge.

Mr. Robert Fenn, brother to Mr. James, was also a priest of Douay college, and a great sufferer for his religion. Exilium, carceras, vincula and cruciatus immanes, says Dr. Bridgewater, fol. 410, ob catholicæ veritatis testimonium constantissime perpessus est. Mr. John Fenn, the other brother, was likewise a priest. Both one and the other were ejected from their fellowships in Oxford, for the catholic religion. And Mr. John Fenn had a great hand in the book called, *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, &c.*, published by Dr. Bridgewater. In his latter days he was confessor to the English Augustin Nuns, at Louvain.

THOMAS HEMERFORD, PRIEST.*

Mr. Hemerford, or Emerford, was born in Dorsetshire, and brought up in Oxford, where he took the degree of bachelor of law, 1575. But being dissatisfied with the religion of his country, he went abroad to Rhemes, to the English college then residing there: and from thence, as I find by the college journal, was sent to Rome, in 1580, where he finished his studies, and was ordained priest. Returning into England, he was apprehended, and was one of those that was marked out for execution at the same time with Mr. Haydock, Mr. Fenn, &c., with whom he was tried and condemned, February 7th, and after lying in irons, in a dungeon in the Tower, for five or six days, was drawn with them from the Tower to Tyburn; where he suffered death with great constancy for his faith and character; being cut down alive, as the rest also were, and so bowelled and quartered, February 12, 1583–4.

JOHN NUTTER, PRIEST.†

John Nutter was born in the parish of Burnley, in Lancashire, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he was admitted bachelor of divinity, June 12, 1575. Afterwards leaving the protestant communion, he went abroad to Rhemes, where I find, by the college diary, he and his brother arrived, August 23, 1579. Here he was made

* From Athenæ Oxon., Douay Records, and Dr. Bridgewater's Concertatio.

† From Athenæ Oxon., Douay Diary, and Dr. Bridgewater's Collections in his Concertatio, fol. 156, 2.

priest in 1582, and sent upon the mission. He took shipping at Newhaven, "Havre de Grace," in France, with a design to land at Scarborough; but the ship foundering upon the coast of Suffolk, and Mr. Nutter being taken ill of a violent fever, he was put on shore at Dunwich. The ship was soon after lost, but the mariners and passengers were all saved. In the wreck, a neighbouring minister laying hold of a bag, in hopes of meeting with some booty, was disappointed to find nothing but catholic books, from which, both he and the magistrates, to whom he gave an account of what he had found, suspected the sick man and his companions were priests. And, upon further inquiry, Mr. Nutter not denying his character, they took him into custody, together with Mr. Conyers, another priest, and Mr. Lawson, a layman. And, notwithstanding his illness, they fastened a great chain of iron to his leg, with a clog of wood at the end of it; and, having served his two companions in like manner, sent up to town to give an account to the council of the capture they had made.

In the mean time, while they are waiting for an answer, the neighbouring ministers and others, crowd in upon Mr. Nutter; and, notwithstanding his sickness, will needs dispute with him about religion, all attacking him with joint forces, some upon one article, some upon another: to whom he gave, sick as he was, so satisfactory answers, that though they would not open their eyes to behold the truth which he set before them, yet they could not help admiring his learning; and concluded, that he was a more than ordinary man, perhaps a bishop, or, at least, a cunning jesuit, sent upon some plot into the nation. But none of them all, though they saw him in such a plight with his fever and chain, that he could neither rise out of bed, nor turn himself in bed, had the christianity to propose the easing him, at least for a time, of his chain and clog: such was the barbarity of the people in those days with regard to catholics. Within ten days, orders came from the council, that the prisoners should be removed to London: so Mr. Nutter and his companions, were put in a wagon, and conveyed to town, with a stong guard to attend them: from whose inhumanity, Mr. Nutter suffered much in this journey, he being still violently ill, and loaded with irons, and his guards contriving, on purpose, to carry him through the most rugged ways they could: for which they gave no other reason, but that they did it to exercise his patience. After their arrival at London, Mr. Nutter and his companions were sent down to Richmond, to be examined by secretary Walsingham. Mr. Nutter was so ill that he could scarce either stand or speak; so that, after he had acknowledged that he was a catholic priest, no more questions were asked him, but he was sent back to London, and committed to the Marshalsea.

Here, by the blessing of God, and the charitable help of some good catholics, he quickly recovered; and he remained in this prison a whole year, where he did much good, reconciling many to the catholic church, and taking great pains in instructing them therein. And so zealous and indefatigable was he in this charitable work of his neighbours' conversion and salvation, that though sometimes he seemed to spend a great deal of time in vain, and to lose his labour, with regard to certain persons whom he had to deal with, he would never despond or

leave off, but still persevered in praying earnestly to God, and using the best exhortations he could, till these stubborn hearts yielded at last to the divine grace. Amongst those whom the man of God took the most pains with, there was one, whom he could not, during life, bring to any thing: but the same being one of the spectators of his death, was so moved thereby, as to be quite changed into another man; and from that day to resolve to live in that church, for which he saw this holy priest die with so much constancy.

Mr. Nutter was also remarkably charitable to his enemies; and so far from seeking or desiring any revenge, as to be glad to do them kindness; which he showed in the case of those very men who had so lately grossly injured him, at the time of his apprehension and bringing up to town: for they being prosecuted by the officers of the Marshaslea, for unjustly detaining some clothes belonging to Mr. Conyers, his fellow-prisoner; and justly fearing the consequence, applied to the catholic prisoners whom they had before treated with so much inhumanity, to beg of them to stop the prosecution: which, when Mr. Conyers seemed unwilling to consent to, unless they would be at the charges of the suit which was commenced, Mr. Nutter undertook to be an intercessor for his enemies, and, by his charitable remonstrances, prevailed with his fellow-prisoner to desist from his claim.

He was also a great rebuker of vice, wheresoever he discovered it; which charity he exercised with that unaffected candour, simplicity and sincerity, joined with a profound self-knowledge and humility, as to procure from his fellow-prisoners the name of *John, of Plain Dealing*. In the mean time, he was very severe to himself, treating his body roughly, not only by fastings and watchings, but also by frequent disciplines, which, though he industriously sought to conceal, it was discovered by one of his most intimate friends, a little before his death. His lodging was very incommodious, in a poor hole in the garret, or highest part of the prison; but he was well pleased with it, as being more remote from the noise, and therefore, more proper for prayer and contemplation.

One day, when a certain priest was to be put in irons, and the jailors were fitting them to his legs and hands, Mr. Nutter, hearing of it, thrust himself into the company, and laying hold of the fetters, kissed them with great veneration; and when, in the way of ridiculing him, they asked him if he would not kiss the manacles too? Yes, said he, very willingly; and so he did, with great respect, affirming, that these irons were sanctified by the touch of the bodies of God's servants, who had been bound by them.

After Mr. Nutter had been about a year in the Marshalsea, he was called to another examination, and had the usual question put to him; to which, he answered with great courage and resolution. At length, they proceeded to that question which they usually proposed in the last place, to those whom they designed to make away, viz. what he would do, in case the pope should invade the kingdom? To which, he answered, *that he would do as a good catholic priest ought to do;* and, as he would not further satisfy them what that was, they would needs infer from thence, that he was a traitor, at least, in his heart.

The next day, Mr. Nutter promised Mr. Popham, the attorney general, to give him, in writing, a full and satisfactory answer to all things, if he, on his part, would engage his word to deliver this writing into the queen's own hands. Mr. Popham promising so to do, Mr. Nutter wrote a full account, as it is thought, of the true reasons that brought him and his fellow priests over into England: which were not to disturb the peace of the kingdom, or to plot against the queen; but to invite their fellow subjects to peace with God; and to promote the true and only solid interest of their queen and country. This writing had no other effect, than to hasten, perhaps, his trial and execution; for, immediately upon it, he was summoned to appear in Westminster-hall, and was there tried and condemned, with four other priests, on the 7th of February: and, after lying in irons five days in the Tower, was drawn, together with the same four confessors, to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, bowelled and quartered, February, 12, 1583–4.

He was the fourth, in that happy number, to fight that last battle of his Lord, and his ghostly children, who were present upon this occasion, were not a little edified with that cheerfulness and serenity which appeared in his countenance, as well upon the hurdle, as at the gallows; and that courage and constancy which he showed in his sufferings.

He suffered, says Mr. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxon*, for being a Roman catholic priest, and denying the queen's supremacy.

JOHN MUNDEN, OR MUNDYN, PRIEST. *

Mr. Munden was born at Maperton, in Dorsetshire, and educated in the university of Oxford; where he was admitted fellow of New College, in 1562, and had the character of being a very good civilian. Being discovered to be a catholic, he was deprived of his fellowship, in 1566; and after many years, going abroad, he applied himself to the study of divinity, at Rhemes, where he arrived, in 1580; where, also, according to some authors, he was made priest: but in the account in Dr. Bridgewater, of his examination before secretary Walsingham, he answers, that he was made priest at Rome, though he was not of the college or seminary there; and I find him in the Douay diary, returning priest from Rome, in 1582.

About the end of February, 1582–3, as he was going up from Winchester to London, he met upon Hounslow-heath with one Mr. Hammond, a lawyer, who, knowing him to be a priest, stopped him on the way, and obliged him to go back with him to Stains, where he delivered him up to the justices or magistrates of the place. These sent him to London, to Wolsey, the Latin secretary; who, the following day, sent him to Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state.

* From Athenæ Oxon., Douay Memoirs, and Dr. Bridgewater's Collection, fol. 139. 2.

The secretary asked him, where he was made priest? whether he were of any seminary? who had sent him back into England? who had furnished him with money for his journey? &c. To all which, Mr. Munden returned a sincere answer. Then, the secretary inveghed most bitterly against the seminarists, and against the translation of the New Testament, lately published at Rhemes: and, as if he were resolved that Mr. Munden should pay for all these misdemeanors of the seminaries, he began to propose to him the questions, which were the common forerunners of death.

1st. What he thought of Dr. Saunder's going into Ireland. Mr. Munden answered, he knew not what Dr. Saunders went about, and, therefore, could not say whether he did right or wrong in going thither, let him answer for himself.

2dly. The secretary asked him, what he would do, or wkat any good subject ought to do, in case of an invasion of the kingdom upon account of religion? and what he thought of the deposing power? Mr. Munden begged to be excused from answering questions that were above his capacity; for that, as his chief study had been the civil law, he was not divine enough to resolve such queries.

3dly. He asked, whether he esteemed queen Elizabeth, to be the true queen of England? he answered, Yes. But, said Walsingham, do you allow her to be queen, as well *de jure*, as *de facto?* I do not rightly understand, said Mr. Munden, the meaning of those terms. How now, traitor, said Walsingham, do you boggle at answering this? And wherewithal, gave him such a blow on one side of the head, as perfectly stunned him, and made him reel; so that for some days after, he complained of a difficulty of hearing on that side. After this injury, and many other reproaches and affronts, the secretary sent for a pursuivant, and ordered him to conduct Mr. Munden to the Tower, and to take his horse and furniture for his pains.

In the tower, he was at first very ill-lodged, being put into irons for twenty days, and obliged, for some time, to lie upon the bare floor. However, he was not without comfort, as well interior from God, who forsakes not his servants on these occasions, as exterior from a good priest, a fellow-prisoner, his ghostly father; who also helped very much to support him and encourage him, under another kind of trial, which he here met withal; when being called forth, to be examined by Popham, the attorney-general, this gentleman, not contented with other injuries, charged him with having led a lewd life, in his own country: for although this was no more than a groundless calumny, Mr. Munden was, nevertheless, very much concerned at the accusation, not for his own sake, but for fear of the scandal, that would by this means be cast upon religion: but the good man, his director, comforted him, putting him in mind of that beatitude, St. Matth. V.. Blessed are you, when men shall revile you, and shall persecute you, and shall speak all kinds of evil against you, falsely, for my sake, be glad and rejoice, for your reward is exceeding great in heaven. Adding withal, that the prophets and apostles, and even Christ, our Lord himself, had been calumniated and slandered; and that it was always the way, both of ancient and modern heretics, as he showed, by examples, to seek to asperse in this manner,

the reputation of the ministers of God, and of his true church: but, that truth and innocence would, in these cases, sooner or later, prevail, to the confusion of their enemies.

Mr. Munden was about a twelvemonth, prisoner in the Tower, before he was called to the bar, to take his trial. But on the 6th and 7th of February, 1583–4, he was tried and condemned in Westminster-hall, at the same time, and for the same cause, with the other four, whom we have last treated of. When sentence was pronounced upon him, he, with the rest of those holy men, joined in reciting the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, with a serene and cheerful countenance; and so great was the inward joy he conceived in his soul upon this occasion, that he could not help discovering it in his voice, in his face, and in the whole outward man. Some, who had not been in the court that day, perceiving in him, when he returned to the Tower, that extraordinary alacrity, supposing he had been acquitted, congratulated with him; but he soon gave them to understand, that his joy proceeded from other sort of principles, than those of flesh and blood. This joy continued with him, till his happy death: and when his confessor came to him, the night before he was to suffer, he found him in the same disposition, enjoying so great a sweetness of internal consolation, as to stand in no need of his comfort; but rather, he who came to comfort him, went away himself, exceedingly comforted by him.

He was drawn with the rest, to Tyburn, on the 12th of February, according to Mr. Stow, or the 13th, according to Dr. Bridgewater: and after having been the spectator of the combat of the other four, assisting them, by his prayers, he, in his turn, had them, in heaven, spectators of his combat, and assisting him by their prayers; whilst, with equal constancy, he overcame gibbets, ropes, knives, and fire, and all the other instruments of cruelty; and so passed from short pains to everlasting rest.

This same year, 1584, several other catholics, suffered for religious matters: of whom, Dr. Bridgewater treats at large, in his *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*. These were,

1. William Carter, a printer, for printing a Treatise of Schism, against catholics going to the protestant churches: In which, a paragragh touching Judith and Holofernes, by a forced construction, was interpreted to be an exhortation to murder the queen.

He was hanged, drawn and quartered, at Tyburn, January the 11th, 1583–4.

2. James Bell, born at Warrington, in Lancashire, brought up in Oxford, and made priest in queen Mary's days; who, when the religion of the nation was changed, upon queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown, suffered himself to be carried away with the stream, against his conscience; and for many years officiated as a minister, in divers parts of the kingdom. He was, at length, reclaimed in 1581, by the remonstrances of a catholic matron, joined to a severe fit of sickness, with which God was pleased to visit him; in which, he was reconciled to God and his church. He had no sooner recovered the health of his soul, by confession, but he recovered also the health of his body; and, after having applied himself for some months to penitential exercises, and

brought forth fruits worthy of penance, he resumed his priestly functions, labouring with all diligence for the souls of his neighbours, for the space of about two years. In January, 1583–4, he was apprehended by a pursuivant, and carried before a justice of peace. To whom, he acknowledged himself to be a priest, and confessed, that he had been reconciled to the catholic church, after having a long time gone astray; and therefore, was by him, committed to Manchester jail. From hence, he was sent to Lancaster, to be tried at the Lent assizes; in which journey, his arms were tied behind him, and his legs under the horse's belly. He was arraigned, together with Mr. Thomas Williamson and Mr. Richard Hutton, priests, and Mr. John Finch, layman; all for the supremacy. Mr. Bell, in his trial, showed a great deal of courage and resolution, boldly professing, that he had been reconciled to the church, and had faculties to absolve penitent sinners; and that he did not acknowledge the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, but that of the pope. In consequence of which supposed treasons, he had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. The other two priests were also found guilty by the jury; but as the judge had instructions to put to death no more than two, they were not sentenced to die, but only condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and loss of all their goods, as in cases of premunire. Mr. Bell showed great content upon this occasion, and looking at the judge said,—I beg your lordship would add to the sentence, that my lips and the tops of my fingers may be cut off, for having sworn and subscribed to the articles of heretics, contrary both to my conscience and to God's truth. He spent the following night, which was his last, in prayer and meditation; and suffered on the ensuing day, which was the 20th of April, 1584, not only with great constancy, but with great joy; being then sixty years of age.

3. John Finch, born in Eccleston parish, in Lancashire, who, after he was come to man's estate, and was married and settled in the world, being heartily disgusted with the new religion, upon a long and serious examination of the merits of the cause, was reconciled to the catholic church; and was so fervent a convert, as not only to neglect no means of sanctifying his own soul; but also to endeavour, as much as he could, to be instrumental in procuring the conversion and salvation of others, as well by his own words and good examples, as by the assistance he gave to the labourers in God's vineyard; in whose service, for many years, he was wholly employed, accompanying them, and conducting them to the houses of the faithful, where the duties of their functions called them, and serving them in quality both of a clerk and of a catechist. At length, by the treachery of a false brother, he was apprehended, together with Mr. George Ostcliffe, a priest of Douay college, by the earl of Derby. Mr. Finch, being now a prisoner, they spared neither threats nor promises to induce him to go to church; which, when they could not persuade him to, they dragged him thither by downright violence through the streets, his head beating all the way upon the stones; and being thereby grievously broken and wounded; then they thrust him into a dark stinking dungeon, where he had no other bed but the bare and wet floor; no other food but oxen's liver, and that very sparingly. Here they kept him, sometimes, for whole weeks

together, sometimes for whole months; not to speak of innumerable other sufferings which he had endured for some years, whilst he was in the hands of the enemies of his faith. At length, he was ordered from Manchester to Lancaster, to be tried for his life at the Lenten assizes, where he was indicted for deliberately and maliciously affirming, That the pope hath power or jurisdiction in the kingdom of England, and that he is the head of the catholic church; of which church, some part is in this kingdom. Of this treason, he was found guilty by the jury, and thereupon had sentence to die, as in case of high treason: which sentence he received with joy, having long desired to suffer death for the cause. He was executed the following day, April 20, with Mr. Bell, at Lancaster; and his quarters were disposed of, to be set up on poles, in four of the chief towns of the county.

4. Richard White, born at Llangdlos, in Montgomeryshire, of Wales, and brought up in Cambridge. He was, after his return from the university, for some time a schoolmaster, first at Wrexham, and then at Orton, in Flintshire, being all the while in his heart a catholic; yet, by an error too common in those days, outwardly conforming, so far as to frequent the protestant churches, till the Douay missioners, (of whom about sixty-four came over, before there were any from other places,) coming to those parts, made him sensible of his fault, and reconciled him to the church. His absenting himself from the protestant service began to be taken notice of; and after some time, he was apprehended, and committed by justice Pilson, to Ruthin gaol, where he lay for three months, loaded with double chains, till the next assizes; in which he was brought to the bar, and had a proffer of pardon for all that was past, if he would only once go to church; which he refusing, was again returned to prison. The following year, the assizes being held at Wrexham, in the month of May, judge Bromley being informed of all that was past, was resolved that Mr. White, who still refused to go to church, should be carried thither by force, which was done accordingly, Mr. White making all possible resistance, and loudly protesting all the way, against the violence that was offered him; and in the church itself, making what noise he could, that neither he nor any others might hear the minister; so that the judge, not being able to silence him, ordered him to be carried out, and set in the stocks in the market-place. In the mean time, an indictment was drawn up against him, for having insolently and impiously, as they termed it, interrupted the minister and the people in the divine service; and a jury being impanelled, Mr. White was brought into the court to answer for himself; when, the clerk of the assizes, beginning to read the indictment, such a sudden dimness fell upon his eyes, that he could not distinguish one letter. The judge asked him, what was the matter; he said,—I do not know what is the matter with my eyes, but I cannot see. The judge put it off with a sneer, saying,—Take care lest the papists make a miracle of this. Mr. White was returned to prison, where, a short time after, he had two others sent to bear him company for the same cause, viz. Mr. John Pugh and Mr. Robert Morris. After some time, they were all three arraigned for high treason, and sent away from Wrexham gaol to the council of the Marches, at Bewdley, where they were all cruelly tor-

tured, to make them discover by whom they had been reconciled, &c. Mr. White and Mr. Pugh, showed great courage and constancy upon this occasion. Mr. Morris was not so stout; for which weakness, he afterwards heartily repented. At length, on the 11th of October, 1584, they were all brought to their trial, and indicted for high treason; the witnesses, who were infamous wretches, suborned for the purpose, swearing that the prisoners had affirmed in their hearing, That the queen was not the head of the church, but the pope; and that they would have persuaded them, or one of them, to the catholic religion. The prisoners excepted against their testimony, as of men that had been notoriously perjured before, and publicly infamous; but these exceptions were not taken notice of: and the jury, instructed (as it seems,) by judge Bromley, brought in Mr. White and Mr. Pugh guilty, but acquitted Mr. Morris, who, to the surprise of the court, wept most bitterly at his hard lot, that he should not be so happy as to be condemned also, and to suffer with his companions for so good a cause. He was returned to prison, where he remained at the time that my author wrote his account of Mr. White's death. Mr. Pugh was reprieved; but Mr. White suffered according to sentence; being cut down alive, and butchered in a most cruel manner, pronouncing the sacred name of Jesus, twice, whilst the hangman had his hands in his bowels.

He suffered at Wrexham, in Derbyshire, October 17, 1584. His head and one of his quarters were set upon Denbigh castle, the other three quarters were disposed of to Wrexham, Ruthin, and Howlet.

Mr. John Bennet, priest, of Douay college, ordained in 1578, was also prisoner at the same time with Mr. White and Mr. Pugh: who, after he had been examined by Hughs, bishop of St. Assaph, and by judge Bromley, and had stoutly maintained his faith at Hawarden, in Flintshire, in 1583, was sent first to Flint, (where he was cast into a filthy prison, and loaded with double irons,) and then to the counsel of the Marches of Wales, where he was twice cruelly tortured, in order to make him confess whom he had reconciled, &c. But they could extort nothing out of him. He was, not long after, sent up to London, and from thence, in the year 1585, was, with thirty other priests, sent into perpetual banishment. Upon this occasion, he went straight to Rhemes, where, for some time, he lived with his brethren in the English college, then residing in that city, giving wonderful examples of virtue to all; and, at length, going from thence, he entered into the society of Jesus. With him also, Mr. Henry Pugh, a Flintshire gentleman, was cast into prison, and cruelly tortured, as may be seen in Dr. Bridgewater.

I find, likewise, in an ancient catalogue of Douay college, the names of several priests of the seminaries who lost their lives this year in prison, for their character and religion. These were, Mr. Thomas Cotesmore, a native of the diocese of Lichfield, sent priest from Rhemes in 1580. Mr. Robert Holmes, of the diocese of Carlisle, sent priest from Rhemes the same year. Mr. Roger Wakeman, made priest at the same time with Mr. Nelson, and sent from Douay in 1576. Mr. Jas. Lumax, a priest of Rome, sent thither from Rhemes, in 1580. Of the three latter, the catalogue says, that they were killed by the stench and

other incommodities of their respective prisons. Pædore carceris, et aliis commodis extincti sunt.

Of Mr. Wakeman, Dr. Bridgewater also relates, fol. 412, that being translated from one of the Counters to Newgate, and there lodged near a most stinking hole, where the prisoners emptied themselves and their chamber pots, he suffered much during two whole years, till at last he was killed with the stench of the place.

The same author, in the same place, relates likewise of Mr. Holmes, that falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was kept prisoner for two months in a certain dark hole, designed for keeping coals, which had on both sides of it, houses of office; that, laying here on the bare floor, without any bed, he was brought to death's door; and though, at the earnest suit of his friends, he was changed to a more commodious prison, yet, being too far gone to be recovered, died within two days.

In the same place he also informs us of Mr. Ailworth, a secular gentleman, who, for his constancy in his faith, was not only cast into prison, and there put into irons, but also thrust down by the jailor into a nasty dungeon, or rather, a common sewer, where he perished by the stench, within eight days.

The same author, in his short view of the sufferings of the catholics, at the end of his Concertatio, acquaints us, that in this same year, 1584, no less than fifty catholic gentlemen's houses in Lancashire were searched in one night, under pretence of looking for priests, but so as to plunder the houses, and send away the masters to divers prisons, where they suffered great hardships for their faith. My author names particularly, Mr. Travers, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Barlow; the last of whom was, at that very time, so ill as not to be able to sit upon his horse; yet this could not dispense him from being sent to prison. And, indeed, such was the case of the catholics at this time, not only in Lancashire, but all over the kingdom, that the jails were every where filled with them, and that barely for their recusancy; insomuch, that the old prison not being sufficient to hold them, new ones were built in many places, and all this for people whose conscience was their only crime.

THOMAS ALFIELD, PRIEST.—1585.*

Mr. Alfield, or Aufield, as some call him, was born in Glocestershire, studied his divinity in the English college then residing in Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1581; and so went upon the English mission, where I find him a prisoner in April, 1582. In the latter end of the year 1583, or the beginning of 1584, there came out a book, penned, as it was supposed, by Cecil, lord treasurer, entitled, The Execution of Justice, &c., or *Justitia Britannica*. The drift of this book was to persuade the world, that the catholics, who had suffered

* From the Douay Journal and Catalogue, and from Dr. Bridgewater's collections, fol. 203, 2.

in England since the queen's ascension to the crown, had not suffered for religion, but for treason. The book was immediately answered by Dr. Allen, and the author fairly convicted of notorious untruths; but people in power will not bear to be told they lie. Mr. Alfield, therefore, who had found means to import into the kingdom some copies of Dr. Allen's Modest Answer to the English Persecutors, and had dispersed them, by the help of one Thomas Webley, a dyer; was called to an account, as was also the said Webley, and both the one and the other were most cruelly tortured in prison, I suppose, in order to make them discover the persons to whom they had distributed the said books. They were afterwards brought to their trial, and condemned on the 5th of July, and suffered at Tyburn on the day following: where both the one and the other had their life offered them if they would renounce the pope, and acknowledge the queen's church headship; which they, refusing to do, were both executed.

HUGH TAYLOR, PRIEST.*

Hugh Taylor was born in Durham, performed his studies in the English college then residing at Rhemes, where, he was made priest in 1584, and sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended some time in the following year, tried and condemned at York for being a priest, and for having received faculties from the see of Rome, to absolve and reconcile the subjects of England, and denying the queen's supremacy.

He was drawn, hanged and quartered at York, November 26, 1585.

Marmaduke Bowes, a married gentleman of Angram Grange, near Appleton, in Cleveland, was executed at the same time with Mr. Taylor, for having entertained the same gentleman in his house, or, as Mr. Leonard Brakenbury, a Yorkshire attorney, affirms, in a manuscript which I have in my hands, for having only given him a cup of beer at his door. Mr. John Ingolby, counsellor at law, in another manuscript, of which I have an extract, affirms, that Mr. Bowes hearing of the priest's being taken, came to York, at the assizes, to try to free him by his appearance; whereupon, as soon as he was lighted from his horse, without pulling off his boots, he went straight to the Castle Yard, to speak in the priest's behalf. But himself being hereupon questioned, was immediately apprehended, tried, and condemned, upon the statute lately made, against harbouring or relieving priests, upon the accusation of one Martin Harrison; the earl of Huntington, a bitter enemy of the catholics, being then president of the North, and Laurence Mears, one of the council, being judge. Some say he was hanged in his boots and spurs.

He suffered, at the same time and place with Mr. Taylor. The providence of God, in his regard, was the more to be admired in bringing

* From the Douay Journal; Dr. Bridgewater, fol. 203, and Raissius's Catalogue, p. 47.

him to this happy end, because, (as it seems, by another relation that I have now before me,) he had, though a catholic in his heart, conformed in outward show to the religion of the times. 'He died very willingly,' "says this relation by the lady Bapthrop," 'and professed his faith, with great repentance for having lived in schism.'

Mr. Taylor and Mr. Bowes were the first that suffered by the sanguinary statutes of this year, (the 27th of Elizabeth,) by which it was made high treason for any native of her majesty's dominions, made priest since the first year of her reign, by authority derived from Rome, to return into this kingdom, or remain here; and felony for any person to harbour or relieve any such priest, knowing him to be a priest. By which statutes, as we shall see hereafter, most of those that have since suffered for religious matters, were arraigned and condemned. The catholics, perceiving the storm that was hanging over their heads, sought to divert it by an humble and dutiful address to the queen, "which may be seen in a small tract, called *English Protestants' Plea for Priests and Papists*, 1621," presented to her majesty by Mr. Shelley, of Sussex, one day, as she was walking in her park, at Greenwich. But this address had no other effect, than the causing the gentleman who presented it, to be cast into the Marshalsea, where he died a close prisoner, for no other fault, but presuming to present an address to the queen, without the knowledge and consent of the lords of the council.

What with these new laws, and the others formerly made, the catholics were so terrified, that many of them resolved to leave the nation: by this means, to be out of the reach of these cruel statutes, and at the same time, to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. This resolution was taken, amongst the rest, by that noble lord, Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, (eldest son to the late duke of Norfolk, who, by Leicester's contrivances, was brought to the block in 1572. But before he departed the realm, he wrote a dutiful letter to the queen, to be delivered when he was gone, signifying, that for his soul's health, and the service of God, he purposed to leave his native country, but not his loyal affection for her majesty. His design miscarried; for just as he was going on board the ship, he was betrayed by one of his domestics, seized, brought back to London, and committed to the Tower. His brothers, uncles, and several of his kindred, friends, and servants, being at the same time committed to several prisons. For this offence, he was first fined ten thousand pounds, in the Star Chamber, and sentenced to be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. Then, after some year's confinement, upon new informations, he was brought upon his trial before his peers, found guilty, and sentence of death, April 4, 1589. The crimes objected against him, were chiefly his harbouring and relieving of priests, and corresponding with Dr. Allen, and with Mary, queen of Scots. It is true, he was not executed, but permitted to die a lingering death, under a tedious confinement, being kept a close prisoner for ten years, from the time of his condemnation, till his death; during which time, he gave himself up to a strict and penitential course of life, and to continual prayer and contemplation, to the great edification of all that knew him. The bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2, c. 4, relates, that he lay upon the ground, fasted three days a week, upon bread and water, &c.

This same year, 1585, Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, who had been sent to the Tower the year before, upon occasion of his friend, the lord Paget's privately retiring beyond the seas, for his conscience sake; after many efforts of his enemies, (of whom, the earl of Liecester was supposed to be the chiefest,) to bring him in guilty of some treason, was found shot through the reins and groin. Great industry was used to persuade the nation that he was *felo de se;* but it was violently suspected that he was made away by Leicester. This Henry was brother to Thomas Piercy, earl of Northumberland, who, with Charles Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, took up arms in the north for the catholic religion, in 1569, and was beheaded at York, in 1672.

I find, in an ancient catalogue, the names of the following priests of the seminaries, who died this year, in prison, for their religion.

1st. Thomas Crowther, born in Herefordshire, priest of Douay college, ordained in 1575, and bachelor of divinity, in that university. He was a man of extraordinary parts and learning, and a notable missioner. He died in the Marshalsea, after about two years imprisonment.

2dly. Edward Poole, sent priest from Rhemes in 1580, and apprehended and cast into prison the same year.

3dly. Laurence Vaux, formerly warden of Manchester, (some time, convictor of the college of Douay, or Rhemes,) afterwards canon regular. He was cast into prison of the Gatehouse, together with N. Tichburn, Esq., by Elmer, bishop of London, in 1580, and died there this year.

4thly. John Jetter, whom I find in the college of Rhemes, in 1581, made sub-deacon. I believe he was made priest at Rome.

Of the ancient confessors, this year died prisoner in Wisbitch castle, the venerable John Feckenham, last abbot of Westminster.

But one of the most remarkable occurrences in the history of this year, is, the banishment of about seventy priests, within the compass of one twelvemonth. 'On the 21st of January, 1584–5, says Mr. Stow, in his annals, jesuits, seminaries, and other massing priests, to the number of twenty-one, "one, was only a lay gentleman," late prisoners in the Tower of London, Marshalsea, and King's bench, were shipped off at the Tower-wharf, to be carried towards France, and banished this realm for ever, by virtue of a commission from her majesty, bearing date the 15th of the same month, anno 1585.

'On the 15th of September, the same year, by virtue of an order from the lords of the council, thirty-two priests more, and two laymen, at that time prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, &c., were embarked in the Mary-Martin, of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, over against St. Catharine's, to be transported over unto the coast of Normandy, and banished this realm for ever.'

There were about eighteen more, according to Cambden and others, (Dr. Bridgewater says, twenty-two,) all priests, but one, (he a deacon) sent into banishment from the northern prisons about the same time. Of whom Dr. Bridgewater writes, that they were for the most part advanced in years; some being sixty, others seventy, or upwards, and one eighty years old; and that many of them had been a great many years in prison; some ever since the beginning of this reign, i. e. for twenty six years. Bridgewater's *Brevis Descriptio, &c.*, fol. 411.

The same author, in the foregoing page, relates also, as an occurrence of this year, the case of James Steile, priest, who, after having been twice taken and cast into prison, first at York, and then at Manchester, was put on board a ship to be carried into perpetual banishment. He suffered much on shipboard, but little, in comparison with the treatment he afterwards met with: for being cast upon the Irish shore, and stripped of all his clothes even to his very shirt, he was carried to the next town, where a poor woman gave him a piece of shift to cover his nakedness; and in that manner he was presented to the sheriff of the county, who sent him, naked as he was, upon a horse, without saddle or bridle, to the city of Cork, conducted by certain wicked wretches, who sported themselves with whipping him frequently during the whole journey, which was no less than twenty miles. When he arrived at his journey's end, he was put into irons, and kept in the common gaol, amongst the thieves, till, by the orders of the earl of Derby, and the bishop of Cork, he was again shipped off, and sent into banishment.

The names of the twenty-one who were sent into banishment in January, were,

1. Jasper Hayward, S. J.

2 James Bosgrave, S. J.—3. John Hart, B. D.—4. Edward Rushton.—These three were condemned at the same time with father Campion and his companions.

5. John Colleton, or Collington, acquitted at that time, yet kept in prison till this present year.

6. Arthur Pitts, afterwards dean of Liverdun. 7. Samuel Conyers. 8. William Cedder. 9. William Warmington. 10. Richard Slack.

11. William Hartley—12. Robert Nutter—13. William Dean.—These three were afterwards executed for their character.

14. William Bishop, afterwards bishop of Chalcedon.

15. Thomas Worthington, who, after cardinal Allen and Dr. Barret, was the third president of Douay college.

16. Richard Norris. 17. Thomas Stevenson. 18. Christopher Thompson. 19. John Barns. 20. William Smith.

21. Mr. Orton, a lay gentleman, condemned with father Campion.

I have not been able to recover the names of all the rest, that were banished this year. I find in the Douay catalogues, that many of them came and made some stay in the college; as besides several of those named above, did John Bennet, Steven Rousham, Lewis Hews, John Adams, John Vivian, Thomas Sympson, Andrew Fowler, Thomas Pilchard, Jonas Meredith, Nicholas Garlick, Edmund Sykes, John Marsh, Thomas Freeman, John Hewet.

EDWARD STRANCHAM, OR, TRANSHAM, PRIEST. 1586.*

Mr. Edward Stransham, whom Mr. Stow, in his annals, calls Edmund Barber, from the name under which he disguised himself upon the mission, was born at or near Oxford, and educated in St. John's college, in that university, where he took the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1575–6. Not long after this, he left the university and the protestant religion, and went over to Douay, where I find him in June, 1576: and going afterwards to Rhemes, (the college being translated thither) he was ordained priest in December, 1580, and sent upon the mission on the last day of June, 1581, with three others; one of which was Mr. Woodfen, who afterwards suffered with him.

The account that both Mr. Rishton and Dr. Bridgewater give of these two missioners, is short, but very full and expressive. The former writes as follows; 'At London, Edward Transham, a priest of remarkable zeal and piety, and endowed with the grace of the word; and his companion, Mr. Woodfen, a man of equal merit and constancy, glorified God by a most precious death and confession; whose bowels they plucked out whilst they were yet alive; and whose quarters they set up for a prey to the fowls of the air.' p. 347.

The latter writes thus: 'Mr. Edward Transham, and Mr. Woodfen, catholic priests, after they had given many and various arguments of their piety, charity, and christian fortitude, in gathering together the scattered sheep of Great Britain; the time being now come, in which they were both to glorify God by an illustrious confession of their faith, and confirm their brethren by the voluntary shedding of their blood, being approved by the testimony of faith, they offered their souls and bodies a living and holy sacrifice to God, their creator and redeemer.'

They suffered at Tyburn, January 21, 1585–6, barely for being priests. They are mentioned by Mr. Stow, in his annals, who calls Mr. Woodfen by the name of Devereux. 'Nicholas Devereux, says he, was condemned for treason, in being made a seminary priest at Rhemes. Also, Edmond Barber, made priest as aforesaid, was likewise condemned of treason: and both were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.'

NICHOLAS WOODFEN, ALIAS, WHEELER, PRIEST.†

This gentleman, whom Mr. Stow calls Devereux, from the name by which he was arraigned and condemned, and who was known at the college by the name of Woodfen, but his true name was Nicholas Wheeler. He was a native of Lemster, or Leominster, in Hereford-

* From Athenæ Oxon., Diary of Douay College. Rishton, l. 3. de Schismate Angl. in fine, and Dr. Bridgewater's Concertatio Ecclesiæ, &c. fol. 204.

† From the Douay Diary; and from a manuscript in my hands, by the reverend Mr. Davis, an intimate acquaintance of Mr. Woodfen.

shire, and performed his studies at Douay and Rhemes, was made priest at Rhemes, the 25th of March, 1581, said his first mass on the 5th of April following, and was sent upon the mission on the 30th of June. We have just now heard his character from Mr. Rishton and Dr. Bridgewater; and how he was put to death with Mr. Transham, for being made priest by Roman authority, and remaining in this kingdom, contrary to the statute of Elizabeth, 27. What follows is a copy of a relation penned by an ancient missioner, his schoolfellow.

'Mr. Nicholas Devereux, priest, executed at Tyburn, was born at Lemster, a town in Herefordshire, in the Marches of Wales: with whom I was schoolfellow in Lemster, and then he was called Nicholas Wheeler, and held for one of the best scholars in the school. Whom, from that time, I did never see, until he had taken holy orders beyond the seas, and returned into England. Coming to London, after his return, he was driven to great necessity; and learning that I was entertained by Sir Thomas Tresham's lady, who lived in Tuttle street, in Westminster, (Sir Thomas Tresham, her husband, being prisoner "for his religion" at Hogsdon, "or Hoxton," beyond London) he came to an inn thereby, and sent me a letter. I came unto him; who declared unto me, the tears standing in his eyes,—That he had neither money to buy him any meat, nor scarce any clothes upon his back. I pitied his case, comforted him, and gave him such money as I had then present; and afterwards acquainted him with catholics in London; and by the help of Mr. Francis Brown, the old lord Montague's brother, I got him apparel, and furnished him in such sort, as he took a chamber in Fleet street, near the conduit, at one Barton, a haberdasher's house, and did much good among the gentlemen of the inns of court, and went in a gown as one of them; where he went by the name of Woodfen. But Norris, the pursuivant, ferreted him out, and forced him from thence. After that, he came to Hogsdon, to me; where, the next day after his coming, he fell into the like danger: for the house was beset and searched by two pursuivants; who, to be the more sure of their prey, brought with them the owner, or landlord of the house; who, finding a certain door closed up, told Sir Thomas of it; who said it was true, that because his serving men lay in that chamber, and his son in the next chamber, to the end that his men should not have access to his son, he barred up that door; wherein, indeed, the secret place was devised, which saved us both at that time: but, as our Saviour said, *nondum venit hora mea*, so his hour was not yet come, until falling the third time into the pursuivant's hands, he was executed at Tyburn, January 21, 1586, by the name of Nicholas Devereux. He was a man of a fine complexion of body, affable and courteous: and, therefore, I think, he won the more love.' So far Mr. Davis.

On the 20th of April, following, we find two more priests executed together at Tyburn; of whom, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his annals, 'William Thomson, alias, Blackburn, made priest at Rhemes, and Richard Lee, alias, Long, made priest at Lyons, in France, and remaining here contrary to the statute, were both condemned, and, on the 20th of April, drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.'

RICHARD SERGEANT, ALIAS, LONG, AND WILLIAM THOMSON, ALIAS, BLACKBURN, PRIESTS.*

Richard Sergeant, who sometimes screened himself under the names of Lee and Long, was born in Gloucestershire, of a gentleman's family, and was an alumnus and priest of the English college then residing at Rhemes; though he received the order of priesthood, according to Mr. Stow, at Lyons.† He was a man of learning, and after he had for some time, laboured with fruit in gaining souls to Christ, was apprehended, cast into prison, tried, and condemned, barely for being a priest, and remaining in the kingdom, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth.

And William Thomson, sometimes known by the name of Blackburn, born in the parish of Blackburn, in Lancashire, alumnus and priest of the same college, after many labours in the vineyard of his Lord, in administering, in the midst of dangers, the holy sacraments to catholics, and reclaiming heretics from the way of perdition, was, in like manner, apprehended, tried, and condemned, for having been made priest by the authority of the see apostolic, and remaining in England contrary to the statute. They were both drawn, together, to Tyburn, and there happily finished their course, being hanged, bowelled, and quartered, April 20, 1686.

This, or the next month, we find two more priests of the same college, (whose histories are given below,) executed for the same cause, in the Isle of Wight.

ROBERT ANDERTON AND WILLIAM MARSDEN, PRIESTS.‡

Robert Anderton, born of an honourable family in the county palatine of Lancaster, and William Marsden, born in the parish of Goosenor, in the same county; both performed their studies in the college of Rhemes: and Mr. Anderton, in particular, has the character, in the manuscript history, of having been a man of great learning, *vir doctissimus*. Being advanced to the dignity of priesthood, they were together sent over to labour in the vineyard. But, going on shipboard, whilst they were sailing for some other part of the kingdom, a storm arising, drove them upon the Isle of Wight. Where, being suspected to be priests, they were apprehended, and carried before a justice of the peace; and, upon examination, they not denying their character, were com-

* From the Diaries and Catalogues of Martyrs of Douay College, and from a manuscript history, kept in the same college, of affairs relating to the catholics during the reign of queen Elizabeth, by Dr. Champney.

† It appears by the college journal, that he was ordained, not at Lyons, but at Iaon.

‡ From the Diaries, Catalogues, and Manuscript History, above quoted.

mitted to prison. When they were brought upon their trial, they made it appear, that they were cast upon the shore against their will, and had not remained in the kingdom, before their commitment, the number of days mentioned in the statute; and therefore could not be guilty of the treason, or liable to the punishment of that statute. But this plea, how just soever, was overruled, and they were found guilty by their jury, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason; and this barely for their being priests, made by authority derived from Rome, and coming over into this kingdom. In consequence of this sentence, they were executed in the Isle of Wight, on the 25th of April, according to a manuscript catalogue kept in Douay college, which I believe to be the same as was drawn up by order of the bishop of Chalcedon, to be presented to the pope. The constancy and cheerfulness with which these two holy confessors offered themselves to the worst of deaths, and their behaviour on this occasion, gave great edification to the catholics, and astonishment to their adversaries.

FRANCIS INGOLBY, PRIEST.*

Francis Ingolby was son of Sir William Ingolby, knight. He was born at Ripley, in Yorkshire; was an alumnus, and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, and was ordained and sent upon the English mission, anno 1584. He laboured with great fruit, in the northern parts of this kingdom, in the worst of times; where, at length, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, barely for being a priest, ordained by authority derived from the see of Rome, and remaining in this kingdom. He suffered at York, on the 3d of June, 1586.

JOHN FINGLOW, OR FINGLEY, PRIEST.†

John Finglow, or Fingley, was born at Barneby, near Houden, in Yorkshire; had his education in the English college, then residing at Rhemes; where he was ordained priest, March 25, being Easter Eve, 1581; and was sent upon the English mission, the 24th of April following. After many labours, in gaining souls to Christ, in the northern parts of the kingdom, he was apprehended and committed to York gaol; and being brought upon his trial, was condemned, for high treason,

* From the Douay diary, catalogues, and MS. history.
† From the diary, catalogues, and manuscript history, above quoted.

for being a priest, made by Roman authority, and for having reconciled some of the queen's subjects to the church of Rome. He was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at York, August 8, 1586. Some say, 1587. He suffered, says Molanus, in his catalogue, p. 14., with that generous courage, which seems to have been natural to the seminarists, from the very beginning, and with an ardent zeal for the confirmation of religion. *Ingenita seminaristis jam inde ab initio generositate, and ardore in religione confirmanda.*

JOHN SANDYS, PRIEST.*

John Sandys was born in the diocese of Chester, was educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, were he was made priest, and sent upon the English mission, anno 1584. After having, for some time, diligently applied himself to his missionary functions, he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, for being a priest; and was drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Gloucester, August the 11th, (some say 2d,) 1586.

In October following, I find three priests executed together at Tyburn, of whom, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his chronicle. 'The 8th of October, John Lowe, J. Adams, and Richard Dibdale, being before condemned for treason in being made priests by authority of the bishop of Rome, were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.'

JOHN LOWE AND JOHN ADAMS, PRIESTS.†

John Lowe was born at London, and was, for some time, a protestant minister; but, being converted, he went abroad, and was first an alumnus of Douay college, and afterwards sent from Douay to Rome, in 1576, where he was made priest; and from thence returned upon the English mission. Here he was apprehended and cast into prison, and, at length, tried, condemned, and executed, as in cases of high treason, barely for his priestly character and functions.

He suffered at Tyburn, October 8, 1586.

John Adams was born at Martin's Town, in Dorsetshire, and performed his divinity studies in the English college, then residing at Rhemes; from whence he was sent priest upon the mission, anno 1581. He was one of those priests that were banished in 1585, and, upon that occasion, returned to the college; but, after a short stay, went again

* From the diary, catalogue, and manuscript history, above stated.
† From the Douay memoirs above quoted.

into the vineyard, where he was again apprehended. Other particulars relating to him I have not found, only Molanus signifies, that his constancy was proof against the artifices and promises, by which many sought to divert him from his generous resolution of laying down his life for his faith. Multorum elusis artibus, qui constantiam de more catholicorum variis promissis mollire conantur.

He was condemned barely for being a priest, and was executed at Tyburn, October 8, 1586.

RICHARD DIBDALE, PRIEST.*

Richard, or as he is called in most catalogues, Robert Dibdale, was born in Worcestershire, was an alumnus and priest of the English college, then residing at Rhemes, and from thence, anno 1584, was sent to labour in the English vineyard, which he diligently cultivated for some years, till, falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was tried and condemned to die for his priestly character and functions. And, in consequence of this sentence, was, together with Mr. Lowe and Mr. Adams. drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, October 8, 1586.

Of him thus writes Mr. Davies, an ancient missioner, in a manuscript relation sent over to Douay, anno 1626. 'Mr. Richard Dibdale, priest, was executed with Mr. John Lowe. I met him once at Sir George Peckham's, of Denham, besides Uxbridge, where he practiced the office of an exorcist; for there were three persons bewitched and possessed, two maids and one man. Out of one of the maids he brought forth a great needle at her cheek, and two rusty nails, and pieces of lead; her name was Ann Smith. The other was called Fid, who, after the apprehension of Mr. Dibdale, became concubine to Bancroft, called archbishop of Canterbury, and had a child by him, as I have heard. I left him there upon Ascension Eve, and coming to London, I was apprehended by Newal and Worseley, two pursuivants, on Ascension Day, in the morning, saying my prime, bound and sent to the compter, in Wood street, and two gentlemen that were taken with me; the third gentleman who brought me a missal, escaping, by giving the pursuivants 3*l*. The same Mr. Dibdale I also met twice or thrice at the old Lord Vaux's house, who then lived at London. More of him I cannot say of my own knowledge.'

Of the same Mr. Dibdale, and his exorcisms, thus writes the learned and pious Diego de Yepez, confessor to Philip II., king of Spain, and bishop of Tarasona, in his Spanish history of the persecution of England, l. 2., chap. 13. 'Wonderful, says he, were the things that happened in the exorcisms of certain persons possessed by the devil, made by Mr. Dibdale, priest, who was since martyred, and by others, in the

* From the same memoirs, and from a manuscript in my hands.

house of a certain catholic, where many persons of distinction met, with great profit to their souls, to see and hear things far exceeding the forces of human nature, which obliged them to reverence the works of God, and the virtue and power which Christ our Lord has bequeathed to the ministers of his church. The martyr Dibdale obliged the devil to bring up by the mouth of one of the possessed persons, balls of hair, and pieces of iron, and other such like things, which it was impossible could ever naturally have gone into, or afterwards have come out of, a human body. The devil also, upon this occasion, told what relics of the saints each one had privately brought with him, and obeyed the prayers and exorcisms of the church, confessing and declaring, to their own confusion, the virtue which the sign of the cross, holy water, and relics, (as well of the ancient saints, as of those that suffer in these days in England for the catholic faith) have against them. All which, though some incredulous and hardened heretics slighted, yet others that were not so much biassed by passion, but more reasonable, were convinced by the evidence of what they saw, and thereupon renounced their errors.' So far this prelate.

The same author, in this and the following chapters, relates several other remarkable histories, which happened in these times, of persons possessed by the devil. As of a young man in Derbyshire, who, being a catholic in his heart, to save his worldly substance (for he was rich,) outwardly conformed to the established religion, and received the protestant communion; which he had no sooner done, but he fell into a great trouble of mind, followed by strange fits, which, as it was not long after plainly discovered, proceeded from an evil spirit possessing him. Also of another young man, in Hampshire, to whom the like happened upon his going, though but once, to the protestant church. He was delivered by a catholic priest, a prisoner for his faith, who having reconciled him by confession, and given him the holy communion, sent him home perfectly cured, giving him withal, as a defence against the devil, the cassock of another priest, who had suffered martyrdom a little before; 'which,' says my author, 'the young man kept with great reverence and devotion, and showed it to the person who related this history to me; and he is living at this day, with great edification to all that know him.' He relates, also, of a third person, a student of Oxford, who was strangely obsessed by the devil, frequently persuading him to make away with himself. His friends would have it, that he was mad, and sent him to Bedlam. After some time, by the means of a catholic gentleman, who recounted this history to my author, he was, by degrees, convinced of the errors in which he was brought up, and reconciled to the catholic church; and having made a general confession, and received the holy communion, was perfectly cured both in soul and body. But returning to the university, that he might not lose his place, which he enjoyed before in his college, he concealed his being a catholic, and went to the protestant service; which he had no sooner done, but the devil returned again, molesting him as before; and shortly after, he hanged himself in despair. A fourth history, which the same author gives from the testimony of his English friends, is of one Mr. Bridges, a student of Middle Temple, who being possessed by the devil, was brought to Mr. Fox, the protes-

tant martyrologist, to be delivered by his prayers. His friends at first, imagined that he was actually delivered, and published aloud the success of the preacher, as a confirmation of their religion; but they were quickly undeceived, and the young gentleman was found to be worse than ever. They carried him, therefore, again to Mr. Fox: but instead of their finding him in a condition to deliver others, he appeared, by all symptoms, to be possessed himself; though his friends desirous to disguise the matter, gave another turn to the strange agitations they saw in him; attributing them to a temptation of despair, from the great sense he had of his own sins and of God's justice.

On the 26th of March, (some say the 25th,) of this, or the foregoing year, for authors are divided about the time, Mrs. Margaret Clithero, whose maiden name was Middleton, a gentlewoman of a good family in Yorkshire, was pressed to death at York. She was prosecuted, under that violent persecution raised in those times, by the earl of Huntington, lord president of the North. The crime she was charged with, was relieving and harbouring priests. She refused to plead, that she might not bring others into danger by her conviction, or be accessory to the jurymen's sins in condemning the innocent. And, therefore, as the law appoints in such cases, she was pressed to death. She bore this cruel torment with invincible patience, often repeating in the way to execution, that *This way to heaven, was as short as any other.* Her husband was forced into banishment. Her little children, who wept and lamented for their mother, were taken up, and being questioned concerning the articles of their religion, and answering as they had been taught by her, were severely whipped; and the eldest, who was but twelve years old, was cast into prison. Her life was written by the reverend and learned Mr. John Mush, her director, who, after many years labouring with great fruit in the English mission, after having suffered prisons and chains, and received even the sentence of death, for his faith, died at length, in his bed, in a good old age, in 1617.

In this also, or the foregoing year, Robert Bickerdike, gentleman, was executed at York, for religious matters, October 8, "one manuscript says, July 23." He was born at Low-hall, in Yorshire, and suffered, as in cases of high treason, for being reconciled, says this manuscript, to the church of Rome, and refusing to go to the protestant church.

The reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher, in a manuscript relation, which I have in my hands, recounts the following particulars of him. 'Robert Bickerdike, gentleman, was born in Yorkshire, near to the town of Knaresborough; but his dwelling was in the city of York; who being brought before the magistrate there for matter of conscience and religion, was examined, among other things, if the pope, or his agent, the king of Spain, should invade England, whether he would take the queen's part, or the pope's? To this Mr. Bickerdike did make answer, if any such thing came to pass, he would then do as God should put him in mind. Upon this answer, he was first arraigned at the London hall of the city, of treason; but the jurors being men of conscience, found him not guilty. Whereupon, the judge being grieved that he was

freed by the jury, caused him to be removed from the gaol or prison of the city, to the castle; and there again indicted him of the aforesaid treason; and, by a new jury, he was found guilty of treason: and the judge, whose name was Rhodes, gave sentence, that he should be hanged drawn and quartered. And so, constantly, he suffered according to the same sentence: which was, for that he would do as God should put him in mind.'

On the 1st of December, of this same year, 1586, Richard Langley, Esq., born at Grinthrop, in Yorkshire, was executed at York, for harbouring and assisting priests.

This year also, as I find in an ancient catalogue, John Harrison, priest of the college of Rhemes, died in chains, *obiit in vinculis*. He was ordained and sent upon the mission in 1585.

In the beginning of this year, viz. February 8, 1587, Mary, queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, was beheaded at Fotheringhey castle in Northamptonshire, after an imprisonment of eighteen years. As her constancy in the catholic religion, was the chief cause of her death, whatever might otherwise be pretended; so is she usually reckoned amongst those who suffered for religion.

THOMAS PILCHARD, PRIEST. *

Thomas Pilchard was born at Battel, in Sussex, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was made priest and sent upon the mission, anno 1583. Here he was, for some time, an unwearied labourer in the vineyard of his Lord, till falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was committed to prison, and banished in 1585; but returning upon the mission, he was again apprehended, tried, and condemned for being a priest, ordained beyond the seas by authority of the See Apostolic, and for exercising his functions in England, and for reconciling the Queen's subjects.

He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Dorcester, March 21.

EDMUND SYKES, PRIEST.†

Edmund Sykes was born at Leeds, in Yorkshire, and educated in the English college, then residing in Rhemes, where I find him, by the Douay journals, to have been made priest, the 21st of February, 1581,

* From the Douay Journal and Catalogues, and the MS. History of Dr. Champney.

† From the same journals, catalogues, and manuscripts.

and sent upon the mission, the 5th of June, the same year. After having laboured with fruit, for several years in the vineyard, he was apprehended, some time in or before the year 1585, and was one of those priests, that were sent into banishment that year. He quickly returned again into England: and, after some time, was taken again. Of this second imprisonment, thus writes Dr. Champney, in the manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth, preserved in Douay college. 'Edmund Sykes, born of honest parents, in the town of Leeds, priest of the college of Douay, after some years, fruitfully employed in the vineyards of the Lord, being apprehended, was thrust into a most straight and very troublesome prison; in which, by the experience of sufferings, he acquired the virtue of patience, and learned to die. For he endured most grievous conflicts, not only from the world and the flesh, but also, from the prince of darkness himself. For the other catholics, who were kept prisoners, in the same jail, though not in the same room, heard in his room, a noise, as it were of one that was disputing and contending with him, whom he rebuked and rejected, with contempt: and when afterwards, they asked him what was the matter, he told them, That the devil had been there, to trouble and molest him, and to tempt and urge him to renounce his religion. Afterwards, being brought to the bar, and arraigned for high treason, for being made priest, and returning into England, and there remaining contrary to the statute. He acknowledged the matter of fact, "of being made priest, &c.," but absolutely denied there was any guilt or treason in the case. He had sentence to die, according to which, he was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at York, March 23. I have before me a manuscript catalogue of martyrs, which refers his death to the following year.

ROBERT SUTTON, PRIEST.*

Robert Sutton was born at Burton, upon Trent, and brought up in the university of Oxford, where he made a great progress in learning; but withal, was strongly entangled, to use the expression of the Douay journal, in the snares of the heretics and of the world; till by an extraordinary mercy of God, being frequently called upon, by the letters of his friends from Douay, he took a generous resolution, together with his brother Abraham, who was in the same case, to disengage himself from all these bonds; and leaving his station in the protestant church, to go over to Douay, where he and his brother were admitted, March the 24th, 1576–7. Here, they applied themselves to the study of divinity, and were both made priests, and sent together upon the English mission the 19th of March, 1577–8, before the college was removed to Rhemes. Mr. Robert Sutton's labours seem to have been chiefly employed in his

* From the same journals, manuscript annals, and other Memoirs of the College.

own country of Staffordshire. And he has the character, in the manuscript annals, of having been a man full of zeal and piety, who laboured for many years, with great success, in bringing back the lost sheep to the fold of Christ. Both he and his brother Abraham, were of the number of those priests who fell into the hands of the persecutors, and were banished in 1585. They both returned to their apostolic labours; and after some time, Mr. Robert Sutton being again apprehended, was committed to Stafford jail; and, being brought upon his trial, was condemned by the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for being a priest, and remaining in this realm. He had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, and suffered accordingly, at Stafford; preserving, says Molanus, a sound soul in a mangled body, and overcoming the cruelty of the executioners by Christian patience. He suffered, according to the manuscript annals, and other authors, some time in March: though the larger Douay catalogue, says the 27th of July. I have at present before me, a letter written from England, by Mr. John Cleaton, an eye-witness, concerning a person possessed by a furious devil, who was wonderfully delivered by the relics of Mr. Robert Sutton.

Abraham Sutton, his brother, lived till the reign of king James I., and was one of those priests, who, being prisoner in the beginning of that reign, were sent into perpetual banishment, in 1605.

STEPHEN ROUSHAM, PRIEST.*

Stephen Rousham was born in Oxfordshire, and brought up in the university of Oxford, where he was for some time, a minister in the church of St. Mary's. Being converted to the catholic faith, he went abroad, and was made priest in the English college, then residing at Rhemes, and from thence was sent upon the mission, anno 1582. He was but indifferently learned, says the manuscript history, and of a weak and sickly constitution of body; but his soul was robust, vigorous and constant. He fell into the hands of the persecutors, the same year, and was sent a prisoner to the Tower by secretary Walsingham, on the 19th of May; and not long after, thrust down into that dungeon, which is called Little Ease, and it very well deserves the name. In this wretched hole, this servant of God was kept eighteen whole months and thirteen days. His sufferings, during his imprisonment, were great; but God was not wanting, in his comforts and heavenly visits to this holy soul, that was suffering for his cause. It is particularly recorded of him, in the manuscript annals, that, on the very day and hour, when Mr. Ford, Mr. Shert, and Mr. Johnson, his familiar acquaintance, (whom he hoped to have accompanied,)

* From the journals of Douay college, the diary of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 to 1585, the catalogues of Martyrs, and Dr. Champney's manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth.

were glorifying God by suffering at Tyburn for their faith, Mr. Rousham being then in his lonesome dungeon, perceived a most sweet and most pleasant light; and felt, at the same time, three gentle strokes on his right hand, as it were to bespeak his attention to the glorious triumphs of his companions. And that, another time, when he was daily looking to be called out to his trial, in order to undergo the same kind of death, he had an indication from heaven that his time was not yet come; but that he was to say many masses more before his death. He was sent into banishment in 1585; but his ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, which, in his banishment, became greater every day than other, and the desire he had to glorify God by martyrdom, did not suffer him to stay long, before he returned again upon the English mission, where, whilst he was diligently applying himself to his functions, he was apprehended in the house of a widow lady, called Strange, and carried away to Gloucester jail; and, at the next assizes, was brought to the bar, and arraigned for being made priest beyond the seas, and returning into England, and making it his business there to reconcile the queen's subjects to the catholic church. All this, he freely confessed; but, so far from acknowledging any guilt, much less any treason in the case, he openly protested, That if he had many lives, he would most willingly lay them all down for so good a cause. When sentence was pronounced upon him according to the usual form, as in cases of high treason, the joy that he showed on that occasion was admired by all.

He suffered, with wonderful constancy, at Gloucester, some time this year. Writers are not agreed about the day nor the month. Some say it was in March, others in July.

JOHN HAMBLEY, PRIEST.*

John Hambley was a native of the diocese of Exeter, was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence, he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1585. I have not been able to find many particulars relating to his life or death; only that he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, upon the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, as a priest, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. He had both his life, and a good living proffered him, if he would conform to the protestant religion, as Molanus testifies, p. 14. But he rather chose to die than to renounce his faith. He suffered with a wonderful constancy, says Dr. Champney's manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth; who, with some others, affirms, that he was executed at York, September the 9th. But father Wilson and Molanus, in their printed catalogues, tell us, that he suffered at Chard, which is a town of Somersetshire, in the confines of Dorsetshire and Devonshire. Molanus says it was on the 20th of July.

Those who affirm that Mr. Hambley suffered at York, September the 9th, give him for a companion in death, Mr. George Douglas, a

* From the Douay Journals, and the Catalogue of the Martyrs.

secular priest of the Scottish nation, who was certainly executed at York that day; not precisely for being a priest, but for persuading the queen's subjects to the catholic religion. For which supposed treason he was condemned to die, and was drawn, hanged, and quartered at York, suffering all, with admirable constancy. Molanus calls him, a priest of Douay college: but this circumstance is not found in any other catalogue, nor have I met with his name in the journals of the college.

ALEXANDER CROW, PRIEST. *

Alexander Crow was born in Yorkshire, and, for some time, followed a trade in York. 'But going beyond the seas, out of his zeal to God and his country,' says my manuscript, 'he fell to his studies at Rhemes, and became a priest; being, both for his said zeal and virtue, well esteemed of by his superiors, and by them sent in an orderly mission into England, for the salvation of souls, "anno 1584." After he had laboured here some time, with much edification to all that knew him, he was taken at South Duffield, coming thither to christen a child of one Cecily Garnet; and at the assizes held at York, in November, was arraigned and condemned, for being a priest, and remaining in England, contrary to the laws of the realm. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at York, the 30th of November, 1586,' "according to this relation; but Yepez, Wilson, Molanus, Raissius and the manuscript annals, say 1587;" 'being about the age of thirty-five.'

The manuscript annals give this short account of Mr. Crow, anno Eliz. 29. 'On the 30th day of the month of November, Alexander Crow, a priest of Douay college, after he had strenuously laboured in those difficult times, in gathering together the sheep of Christ that had been scattered, falling into the hands of the wolves, stoutly laid down his life, for Christ and his sheep, being put to death at York, in the like manner as the other martyrs above mentioned.'

But the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history, above quoted, has something very remarkable, relating to Mr. Crow, which we must not omit. His words are as follows; 'Another thing, not less worthy of notice, happened to a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, named, Alexander Crow, in the year 1587. This priest, and soldier of Jesus Christ, was a prisoner in York Castle, where, after much ill treatment, he received sentence of death: whereupon, he began to be exceedingly comforted, and to show so great joy in the court, that all that were present, took notice of it; and returning to the prison, (where, he was lodged with another catholic,) he could not contain himself all that day, so great was the satisfaction he conceived, by thinking that he was to die the next morning. When the night came, and the time of going to bed, he told the other catholic, to take his rest; but, for my part, said he,

* From the Journals of Douay college; from Dr. Champney's manuscript annals of queen Elizabeth, and another manuscript in my hands, by one that knew him, and from the History of the Persecutions of England, by Yepez, bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2, c. 18, p. 128.

for this one night which remains of life, I am willing to watch in prayer with Christ our Lord. And when the other catholic insisted that either the father should come to bed also, or should admit him to bear him company in his watching; he would not consent, but bid him go to bed, and leave him alone. The catholic submitted, and went to bed, and the priest, lighting a taper that was there, and setting it upon the stool, knelt down, and began to enter into very quiet prayer, as his companion took notice, who remained awake to see what passed.

'After one hour of silent prayer, the father began to speak, (as if he was holding a colloquy,) and by little and little to enter into a heat, so that his voice began to change like a man that was disturbed. At length, getting up, he went to the bed where his companion lay, and touching him with his hand, asked him if he was asleep? his companion answered, No. The priest begged of him then, that he would recommend him, to the best of his power, to our Lord, because he stood in need of his prayers. So he returned again to his place, and began in the same manner to be troubled as before, giving signs in his exterior of being in great anguish, and, as it were, out of himself, till, at length, he put out with his own hand, (like a man in anger,) the taper that was burning by him; with all this his trouble did not cease, but he still continued, as it were, in a conflict and agony, sometimes speaking low, and begging the assistance of our Lord and the Saints; at other times raising his voice as one angry and in a rage, and this lasted for the space of half an hour after he had put out the light; whilst the poor gentleman in bed was not a little terrified at seeing and hearing what passed; and begged of our Lord, as well as he was able, to deliver him from this affliction, for he plainly perceived that he was in a conflict.

'At length he saw him coming towards the bed, reciting, with much joy, the psalm, Laudate Dominum de Cœlis, &c. Praise ye the Lord in the heavens, &c., continuing it to the end; and then, as one inebriated with an abundance of consolations, he broke out into other praises of our Lord God, admiring his unspeakable mercies, and his divine sweetness towards the children of men. He set himself down on the bed by his companion, not having been able for many days to lift his feet up from the ground for the great weight of the bolts and chains, and remained, as one asleep, for a quarter of an hour; but, at length, he broke out again into the praises of God, and asked his companion, if he had not been frightened? The gentleman answered, he had; and withal begged of him, that he would tell him what was the meaning of that great noise, and of those changes and alterations he had discovered that night; the priest answered, That though, as to his own part, it would signify little to relate it, yet, as it might be of some comfort to the catholics to know what had passed, he would tell him the whole matter.

'After a while, said he, that I had been in quiet prayer, my flesh began to creep upon me, and my hair to stand on end, and I perceived myself quite changed, and, on a sudden, I saw before my eyes a most ugly monster, which began to terrify me; and when I least looked for it, assaulted me with these words: Thou thinkest to-morrow to be a martyr, and to go straight to heaven, but I assure thee it will not be so,

for I know thou art condemned to hell, and that the sentence is passed against thee in God's tribunal, which cannot be recalled; and to-morrow, though thou shalt be drawn to the gallows, thou shalt not be executed, but they will keep thee two years longer in prison, with these bolts and chains which thou hast on, and will give thee only two morsels of black bread, and a little water every day; and thou shalt be abhorred by all, and shall lead the most miserable life that ever man led upon earth: therefore, that thou mayest be delivered from so great sufferings, it will be better for thee at present to put an end to thy life by a knife or a halter, and not wait for to-morrow. And though I shook him off, said the father, many times, answering what God put in my mind, he never left off importuning me, and whatever way I turned my eyes, he placed himself always before me, giving me intolerable trouble with his horrid figure. And when I extinguished the light, it was that I might no longer see so frightful a sight, but he still continued terrifying and molesting me very much, and the conflict went on still increasing, till our merciful Lord, taking pity of my weakness, sent me succour from heaven. And this was, that at the time when I found myself in the greatest straights, I saw a great light come in at the door, with two persons, who, as I believe, were our Lady and St. John the Evangelist; who, by their presence, gave me unspeakable comfort; and then the monster that had troubled me began to draw back and tremble, and one of them said to him, Begone from hence thou cursed creature, thou hast no part in this servant of Christ, who will shed his blood to-morrow for his Lord, and will enter into his joy Immediately the monster disappeared, and they likewise, leaving me so full of consolation that I cannot express it. Upon this, I came with great joy of heart, and canticles of praise in my mouth, and sat me down here in the manner that you saw, not being sensible whether I was on the ground or in bed, in heaven or in earth. This one thing I beg of you for Christ's sake, that you do not speak one word of this to any one till you see my race finished, and till I am delivered of the burden of the flesh.' Having said this, they both glorified our Lord, and so continued till the morning, discoursing together, with great satisfaction, of heavenly things, &c.

'But the impudent enemy was not contented with having failed in this first attempt, but returned again to persecute this Soldier of Christ, who being now upon the ladder, at the gallows, in profound prayer, before the hangman had put the rope about his neck, the devil envying the happiness with which God rewarded his servant, and the consolation that he gave him in prayer, flung him down off the ladder; but yet he received no manner of hurt, though the fall was very high, and with great violence, as it appeared to the standers by. This gave occasion to the heretics, that were there, to cry out, that the papist was in despair, and that he wanted to kill himself. But the father mounted the ladder again, and told them with a great serenity of countenance and of heart, smiling, It is not as you think, my brethren, that I had a mind to kill myself; but it was the enemy who wanted to rob me of this glorious death, and out of envy, flung me off the ladder; and this is not the first time that he has sought to deprive me of the crown which God gives me; who has permitted him to do what he has done in your

presence, that you might know how little he is able to do; for, how much soever he has sought it, he has not been able to do me any hurt, either in soul or body; neither can he do any hurt to the servants of God, more than their Lord is pleased to permit for their greater good; and upon this occasion, speaking more at large, and with greater liberty, to the people, he delivered many things of edification, exhorting them to the catholic faith: and passing through the usual course of the ordinary butchery, he gloriously finished his career, and went to enjoy his God for ever.

This year, 1587, I find in the Douay memoirs, mention of two others, the one a priest, the other a secular gentleman; both some time members of Douay college, who perished in prison for religious matters. The priest was Martin Sherton; the gentleman's name was Gabriel Thimbleby.

This year also about thirty priests were committed prisoners to Wisbitch castle in Cambridgeshire. Several had been sent thither in the foregoing years; but most of these being dead, the whole number of prisoners there, at this time, were thirty-three priests, and one lay gengleman, viz, Thomas Pounds, Esq., a zealous catholic, and great sufferer for his faith.

NICHOLAS GARLICK, PRIEST.—1588.*

'Nicholas Garlick,' says Mr. Bagshaw, 'was descended of honest parentage, in a little town called Vinting, in Glossopdale, within the county of Derby: and was, for the space of seven years, schoolmaster at Tidswell, (in the same county,) so well discharging his duty therein, that, by his good and most charitable care, he had of his scholars, as if they had been his own children, he caused three of them to take the same venture, and most happy course that he himself did, (viz., to go over) to the English college, then at Rhemes; who were all made priests, and returned to their country with happy success, by increasing servants of God unto their mother, the catholic church; whereof one, called Christopher Buxton, was martyred, "October 1, 1588," at that memorable place of our former saints of England, Canterbury.'

Mr. Garlick was made priest, as appears by the Douay journal, in the latter end of March, 1582, and was sent upon the English mission, January 25, 1582–3. How long he laboured here, before his first commitment, I have not found; but certain it is, that he was a prisoner in 1585; and was one of those priests who were sent into banishment

* From the journals or diary of Douay college; from the catalogue of martyrs drawn up by order of the bishop of Chalcedon, in 1626; from Dr. Champney's manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and from two other manuscript relations in my hands; the one sent over by Mr. Robert Bagshaw, priest, some time scholar to Mr. Garlick; the other, by the reverend and learned Mr. Richard Broughton, vicar-general of the northern parts, penned by one that was present at the execution of Mr. Garlick, and his two companions.

that year. Upon this occasion, he made a short visit to his mother college, where he arrived October 17; but on the 19th of the same month, he set out for England, in the company of Mr. John Harrison, priest, who afterwards suffered in the same cause. Mr. Garlick's missionary labours seem to have been in his own country of Derbyshire, where he was apprehended some time between the Lent and Summer assizes, 1588, together with Mr. Robert Ludlam, who was afterwards his companion in death. They were taken in the house of Mr. John Fitzherbert, by George, earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to Derby jail, where they found Mr. Richard Sympson, who had been condemned in the Lent assizes before, for being a priest: but was reprieved, as it was commonly apprehended and spoken, because he either actually had gone to the protestant church and service, or had made promise, or given hopes, he would so do. Him these two confessors of Christ encouraged, in such manner that he did not only repent him of his act or promise, but, as we shall see by-and-by, suffered death with them at the Summer assizes, being within one fortnight, or a little more, after the imprisonment of the said Mr. Garlick and Mr. Ludlam.

At these assizes, these two glorious men, says Mr. Broughton's manuscript, 'with much constancy and Christian magnanimity, without the least sign of fear or dismay, professing themselves to be catholic priests, greatly rejoicing in that sacred calling and functions, were condemned to the terrible death of drawing, hanging, and quartering, for being of that holy religion and profession; and were, thereupon, after many hard usages, cruelly put to death at the said town of Derby, July 24, 1588.'

They were all three drawn together on hurdles, to the place of execution; where, when they were arrived, it seems Mr. Sympson was to have gone first up the ladder; but whether he showed, on this occasion, some signs of fear, as Dr. Champney's manuscript signifies, or whether it was, that Mr. Garlick only apprehended a danger lest his companion's courage should fail him, if he were to be the first in the combat, he hastened to the ladder, and kissing it, went up first, and with remarkable joy and alacrity, finished his course.

ROBERT LUDLAM, PRIEST.*

He was born of honest parentage, near Sheffield, performed his studies abroad in the English college, then residing at Rhemes; where he was made priest, and from thence sent into England upon the mission, anno 1582. Mr. Bagshaw gives him this character, that 'for his modesty and good life, and zeal to win souls to God, he was beloved of all that love the catholic church.' He was apprehended, tried, and condemned, at the same time, and for the same cause, as Mr. Garlick, viz. for being a catholic priest, and remaining in this realm contrary to the

* From the same manuscripts.

statute: and he showed the same courage and constancy, both at his trial, and at his death. Whilst Mr. Garlick was under execution, Mr. Ludlam stood by with a smiling countenance, discovering in his exterior the interior joy of his heart, that he was going to suffer death for such a cause. When he was upon the ladder, and just ready to be cast off, looking up towards heaven, with a smiling countenance, (as we learn from an eye-witness of his death,) as if he had seen some heavenly vision of angels, he uttered these his last words, as speaking to saints or angels appearing to him, *venite benedicti Dei*, come you blessed of God. And with these words, he was flung off the ladder, and so went to enjoy their happy company.

RICHARD SYMPSON, PRIEST.*

Richard Sympson, according to Mr. Bagshaw's relation, was born in Lancashire, of good and honest parents; but the Douay journal calls him, *Ehoracensis* of Yorkshire; and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, names the place of his birth, viz: Well, near Rippon, in that county. 'He had been a minister, says Mr. Bagshaw; but, after knowledge of the absurdity and falsehood of his religion, he became priest, and used much preaching in defence of the catholic faith to win souls.' It appears from the Douay journal, that, after his conversion, he suffered a long and severe imprisonment in York, for the catholic religion. After which, going abroad, he was admitted into Douay College, May the 19th, 1577; and, not long after, made priest and sent into England. Here he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was sent from prison into banishment, in 1587. But quickly returned again into the vineyard, and was apprehended again a second time, going from Lancashire into Derbyshire, and committed to the county jail, at Derby, and there tried and condemned at the Lent assizes, 1588, for being a priest, made by the authority and rights of the Roman church.

He was reprieved till the Summer assizes; and, as it is said, made some steps towards a conformity, or at least gave some hopes to the adversaries of a compliance; but he was reclaimed by Mr. Garlick and Mr. Ludlam; and bitterly repented himself of this slip, punishing himself for it, with fasting, watching, and hair cloth, for the remainder of his life, which was but short; for the protestants finding themselves disappointed of their hopes, ordered him for execution, together with the other two, whom we have spoken of. 'He suffered with great constancy, says an eye-witness, though not with such remarkable signs of joy and alacrity, as the other two.

'Their heads and quarters, were set upon poles in divers places in and about the town of Derby; and the penner of this, their martyrdom,

* From the same manuscript.

(who was also present at their deaths,) with two other resolute catholic gentlemen, going in the night divers miles, well armed, took down one of their heads, from the top of a house standing on the bridge, and a quarter, from the end of the bridge; the watchmen of the town seeing them, (as was afterwards confessed,) and making no resistance. These they buried with as great decency and reverence as they could. Soon after, the rest of the heads and quarters were taken away secretly by others.'

Of these three priests, thus writes the author of an ancient ode, or poem, who seems also, to have been an eye-witness of their death:

When Garlick did the ladder kiss,
And Sympson after hie,
Methought that there St. Andrew was
Desirous for to die.

When Ludlam looked smilingly,
And joyful did remain,
It seem'd St. Steven was standing by,
For to be stoned again, &c.

And what if Sympson seem'd to yield,
For doubt and dread to die;
He rose again, and won the field,
And died most constantly.

His watching, fasting, shirt of hair;
His speech, his death, and all,
Do record give, do witness bear,
He wail'd his former fall.

WILLIAM DEAN, PRIEST.*

William Dean was born in Yorkshire, and was an alumnus and priest of the English college, then residing at Rhemes; from whence, he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1582. Dr. Champney and father Ribadaneira, give him the character of *vir morum gravitate and doctrina conspicuus*, a man remarkably grave and learned: but the iniquity of the times permitted him not to employ his talents to the best advantage. He fell into the hands of the persecutors, some time before 1585, and was one of those priests that were banished in the beginning of that year. He quickly returned again to his missionary labours, and falling a second time into the adversaries hands, was tried and condemned, August 22, 1588, for being made priest by Roman authority, and remaining in this realm, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth.

* From the Douay Diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue, Dr. Champney's Manuscript, Ribadaneira's Appendix to Saunder's De Schismate, Angl. chap. 1. and Bishop Yepez's History of the Persecution of England, book v. chap. 1.

It is here to be observed, that as soon as the queen and her council, were delivered from their apprehensions of the Spanish armada, they immediately raised a greater persecution than ever, against the English catholics, though no ways concerned in that designed invasion. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, the queen's great favorite, and the capital enemy of the catholics, is believed to have been the chief promoter of those cruelties. By his instigation a new proclamation was published against the papists, and six new gallowses were erected in and about London, for the executing of them This wicked Haman, (who had been heard to say, that he desired to see all the streets of London washed with the blood of papists,) had drawn up a long list of them whom he particularly designed for the butchery. For a prelude to this tragedy, and for the hanselling his new gallows, 'on the 26th of August, says Mr. Stow, in his annals, in the sessions hall, without Newgate, of London, were condemned six persons, for being made priests beyond the seas, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute: four temporal men, for being reconciled to the Roman church, and four others, for relieving and abetting the others. And on the 28th, William Dean, and Henry Webley were hanged at Miles-end: W. Gunter, at the theatre; R. Morton and Hugh Moor at Lincoln's-inn-fields; T. Acton Clerkenwell. Thomas Felton and James Clarkson between Branford and Hounslow. And on the 30th of August, Richard Flower, Edward Shelly, R. Leigh, R. Merton, J. Roch, and Margaret Ward, gentlewoman, (who had conveyed a cord to a priest in Bridewell, by means of which he made his escape,) were hanged at Tyburn.'

Thus the unhappy Leicester was filling up the measure of his sins, when he was overtaken by divine Justice, and carried off by death, on the 5th of September, within a week after these executions. However, the queen, who was almost the only person that regretted his death, took care that the catholics should have no great reason to rejoice at it, when, in the following months, she caused a great many of those whom Leicester had marked out for the slaughter, to be put to death in divers parts of the kingdom. Of this Leicester, Dr. Heylin, the protestant historian, in his History of the Reformation, p. 339, 340, gives this character, 'that he was a man, so unappeasable in his malice, and unsatiable in his lusts; so sacrilegous in his rapines, so false in promises, and treacherous in point of trust; and, finally, so destructive of the rights and properties of particular persons, that his little finger lay far heavier on the subjects, than the loins of all the favourites of the two last kings.' So far the doctor, who informs us, in the same place, that this man had the disposing of all offices in court and state, and of all preferments in the church; so that catholics had little good to expect in a reign where Leicester did all.

But to return to Mr. Dean; he was, on the 28th of August, drawn to Mile's-end-green, and there executed according to sentence. At the place of execution he was beginning to speak of the cause for which he and his companions were condemned to die. But his mouth was stopped by some that were in the cart, in such a violent manner, that they had like to have prevented the hangman of his wages. With Mr. Dean was executed Henry Webley, a layman, for having been aiding and assisting to him.

WILLIAM GUNTER, PRIEST.*

William Gunter was born at Ragland, in Monmouthshire; was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, anno 1587. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned, barely for his priestly character, and the exercise of his functions in this realm; and he was drawn, on the 28th of August, from Newgate to the new pair of gallows set up at the theatre, and there was hanged, bowelled, and quartered. He suffered, as did all the rest that were executed at this time, with great constancy and joy. And though they were not permitted to speak, yet their very silence spoke for them, and strongly recommended the religion for which they so willingly died.

ROBERT MORTON, PRIEST, AND HUGH MOOR, GENTLEMAN.†

Robert Morton was born in Yorkshire, and going abroad, had his education partly in the English college at Rome, and partly in that of Douay, at that time residing at Rhemes. In the latter he was promoted to priesthood; and from thence was sent missioner into England, anno 1587. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned by the sanguinary statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, barely for his priestly character and functions. He received sentence of death on the 26th of August, 1588, and on the 28th of the same month, was drawn from Newgate to a new pair of gallows, set up in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. With him was executed,

Hugh Moor, gentleman, born at Grantham, in Lincolnshire; who, after a protestant education, being reconciled to the catholic church, went abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, and was for some time a student there; but returning into England, was apprehended and cast into prison, and, after some time, tried and condemned, for being reconciled to the catholic church, and going abroad to a Roman seminary. He absolutely refused to go to church, for this would have made atonement for his pretended treason; and, therefore, had sentence to die, and was executed accordingly, August 28, in Lincoln's-inn-fields.

Of these two, and of all the others that suffered at this time, father Ribadaneira, in his appendix to Dr. Saunders's history, writes, that they all suffered with admirable constancy and patience, yea, with joy and pleasure; that they were not allowed, indeed, to speak to the people, because the persecutors were afraid lest their words should make a strong

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and a letter of a missioner, written the December following, apud Yepez, p. 6.

† From the same memoirs.

impression on the minds of the hearers, in favour of the old religion. But that the very death of so many saint-like, innocent men, (whose lives were unimpeachable,) and of several young gentlemen, which they endured with so much joy, strongly pleaded for the cause for which they died.

THOMAS HOLFORD, ALIAS, ACTON, PRIEST.*

'Mr. Thomas Holford, (whom Stow calleth Acton,) was born in Cheshire, but in what place I know not; "the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue says, it was at Aston," his father being a minister. I knew him in Herefordshire, where he was schoolmaster to Sir James Scudamore, of Holm Lacy, that now is, and his two brethren, Mr. Harry and John. After my first coming over into England, going unto Hereford city, where I was born, to see my parents, I did send for him, and so dealt with him, *gratia Dei cooperante*, "with the help of God's grace," that before I knew any thing of it, he was gone to Rhemes, "to the English college then residing there," where he received holy orders, and was returned again within the space of two years.

'Meeting with him again some four years after, I acquainted him where I lay myself; where, to his welcome, at his first coming, the house was searched upon All Souls day, when Mr. Bavin was making a sermon. The pursuivants were Newall and Woresley; but we all three escaped. After that, he fell into a second danger, in the time of the search for Babington and his company, (of which tragedy, Sir Francis Walsingham was the chief actor and contriver, as I gathered by Mr. Babington himself, who was with me the night before he was apprehended): for after he "Mr. Holford," had escaped two or three watches, he came to me; and the next day the house where I remained, was searched, but we both escaped by a secret place, which was made at the foot of the stairs, where he lay, going into a hay-barn. Which troubles being passed, Mr. Holford, the next year after, went into his own country, which was Cheshire, hoping to gain some of his friends there unto the catholic church: but there he was apprehended, and imprisoned in the castle of West Chester, and from thence, was sent, with two pursuivants (as I take it,) to London, who lodging in Holborn, at the sign of the bell, or the Exchequer (I do not well remember whether,) the good man rising about five in the morning, pulled on a yellow stocking upon one or his legs, and had his white hose on the other, and walked up and down the chamber. One of his keepers looked up, (for they had drank hard the night before, and watched late,) and seeing him there, fell to sleep again. Which he perceiving, went down into the hall. The tapster met him, and asked him, What lack you, gentleman? but the tapster being gone, Mr. Holford went out, and so down Holborn to the conduit, where a catholic gentleman meeting him, (but not knowing him), thought he was a madman. Then he turned into the little lane into Gray's-inn-fields, where

* From a manuscript Relation, by the Reverend Mr. Davis.

he pulled off his stocking and boot hose. What ways he went afterwards, I know not; but betwixt ten and eleven of the clock at night, he came to me, where I lay, about eight miles from London. He had eaten nothing of all that day, his feet were galled with gravel stones, and his legs all scratched with briars and thorns (for he dared not to keep the highway,) so that the blood followed in some places. The gentleman and mistress of the house caused a bath, with sweet herbs, to be made, and their two daughters washed and bathed his legs and feet; after which, he went to bed.

'After this escape, he avoided London for a time, but the next year, 1588, he went to London to buy him a suit of apparel. At which time, going to Mr. Swithin Well's house, near St. Andrews's church in Holborn, to serve God, (i. e., to say mass) Hodgkins the pursuivant, espying him as he came forth, dogged him into his tailor's house, and there apprehended him.

'He was executed on the 28th of August, at Clerkenwell.' So far Mr. Davis.

JAMES CLAXTON, PRIEST, AND THOMAS FELTON, GENTLEMAN.*

Mr. James Claxton, or Clarkson, was born in Yorkshire, studied in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, and was there made priest; and from thence, was sent upon the English mission, anno 1582. He was apprehended and committed to prison some time in or before the year 1585, for he was one of those priests that were sent into banishment in that year. But he returned again to his missionary labours; and falling again into the hands of the persecutors, was tried and condemned, upon the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for being a priest, and remaining in this realm. He had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, and was executed between Branford and Hounslow, on the 28th of August, 1588.

'Thomas Felton was born, says my manuscript, about the year of our Lord, 1567, at Bermondsey-abbey, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, within a mile of Southwark, London, in Surry. He was son to John Felton, gentleman, who suffered at London, in the year 1570, for setting up the bull of Pius V., concerning the excommunication of queen Elizabeth. Being yet a young youth, he was taken by the old lady Lovett, to be her page; but not staying there long, he was sent over to the English college, at Rhemes, to be brought up in piety and learning. In both which he profited so much, that shortly after he became a clergyman, receiving tonsure by the hands of the cardinal de Guise, then archbishop of Rhemes; which was in the year 1583. After that he had continued a while longer in the college of Rhemes, he had a desire to enter into the order of the Minims; and was admitted thereinto by the commendations of Dr. Allen, then president of the

* From the Douay records, and from a manuscript in my hands, by Mrs. Salisbury, sister to Mr. Felton.

English college. But his body not serving well for the strictness of that life, he was enforced, within a while, to return into his native country, and resolving to return again beyond the seas, it happened that he was stayed at the seaside by the officers; and, after examination, sent up to London, and committed to the Compter, in the Poultry. In which place, he remained prisoner some two years. In this time, an aunt of his, one Mrs. Blount, out of love to Thomas, laboured much, by the means of some friends she had at court, to procure his liberty, which was at length effected. After his releasement, thinking to pass over into France, as formerly he intended, he was, the second time intercepted, and committed to Bridewell; from whence, after some time of durance, he was released by the procurement of the lady Lovett, his mistress in time past, then prisoner in the Fleet for her religion. Being a second time released, he again adventured to get beyond the seas, to the college of Rhemes: but was again, the third time stayed, and apprehended at the port: and, there, withal, committed again to Bridewell, from whence he had been delivered but a little before.

'In this, his imprisonment, he was very cruelly treated: for, first he was put into *Little Ease*, where he remained three days and three nights, not being able to stand, or lie, or sit, and fed only with bread and water, as both the keeper's wife, and Thomas himself, afterwards told Frances Felton, (then a maid, but afterwards married to one Mr. Salisbury,) his own sister. After this, he was put into the mill to grind, and was fed no otherwise, all the while he laboured in it, than he had been before in *Little Ease*, viz. with bread and water only. Then he was hanged up by the hands, to the end to draw from him, by way of confession, what priests he knew beyond the seas, or in England: which punishment was so grievous, that, therewith, the blood sprung forth at his fingers' ends. At another time, upon a Sunday, he was violently taken by certain officers, and carried betwixt two, fast bound in a chair, into the chapel at Bridewell, to their service. He having his hands at first at liberty, stopped his ears with his fingers, that he might not hear what the minister said: then, they bound down his hands also, to the chair; but being set down to the ground, bound in the manner aforesaid, he stamped with his feet, and made that noise with his mouth, shouting and hollowing, and crying oftentimes, *Jesus, Jesus*, that nothing which the minister said could be heard by any then present at the service. His sister, Frances Felton, afore-mentioned, who, at that time, came to the prison to visit him, was present at the church at this passage, not being then a catholic.

'After this, he was called to the bar, at the sessions of Newgate; the Spanish fleet making towards England, having then newly been defeated, he was questioned, whether he would have taken the queen's part, or the pope's and Spaniards', if those forces had landed? He answered, he would have taken part with God and his country. Then the judge asked him, whether he did acknowledge the queen to be the supreme head of the church of England? Whereupon, he made answer, That he had read divers chronicles, but never read that God ordained a woman should be supreme head of the church. For this

speech of his, the judge condemned him. The next day, being Wednesday, the 28th of August, he was hanged near Branford, in Middlesex, with a priest, at the same time condemned with him, whose name was Mr. James Claxton or Clarkson. They were carried together, from Bridewell, on horseback, about four of the clock in the afternoon, and presently hanged, after their arrival at the place of execution. He suffered, about the age of twenty, or twenty-one. His friends had got a pardon for him, after his condemnation, which was brought to him immediately before he was to go to the place of execution; which, notwithstanding, he refused to accept of, choosing rather to die for God, than to live any longer in this world.' So far the manuscript relation of Mrs. Salisbury. Others say, that he was condemned for being reconciled to the catholic church. What his sister mentions, of his not accepting the pardon, I suppose must be understood by reason of some condition with which this pardon was clogged, which he could not, in conscience, accept of.

RICHARD LEIGH, PRIEST.*

He was born in London, and going abroad, was, for some time, student in the college of Rhemes, and from thence, in 1582, was, with several others, sent to Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest, and so went upon the English mission. Here, he was soon after apprehended and cast into prison, and then sent into banishment: but he returned again, to the work of his Lord, and fell a second time, into the hands of the persecutors, by whom he was marked out for the slaughter, amongt the many others that were butchered in this year of blood. The bishop of Tarrasona, who calls Mr. Leigh a learned priests, relates, p. 607, that he, being present, with many others, when a catholic gentleman was examined upon his religion, by Elmer, the protestant bishop of London; and the lay gentleman excused himself from entering into argument with his lordship: upon which, the prelate began to triumph, as if the gentleman could say nothing for his religion. Mr. Leigh thought himself obliged modestly to offer not only to satisfy the queries which the bishop had proposed, but, in all other points of religion, to give an answer to whatever his lordship should think fit to object. The bishop, instead of accepting the proffer, called him a popish dog, and a traitor, and delivered him up to the secular court for his mouth to be stopped with a halter, as it was, not long after; though this way of arguing and determining controversies, appeared not a little shocking even to the protestants themselves, who were witnesses of it.

Mr. Leigh was condemned, as we have already seen from Mr. Stow's chronicle, on the 26th of August, 1588, for no other crime, but for having been made priest beyond the seas, and remaining in this realm

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, from Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and from Bishop Yepez, l. 5, chap. 1.

contrary to the statute. For this, he had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, and was accordingly executed at Tyburn, August the 30th.

With Mr. Leigh were executed five others, viz: Edward Shelly, gentleman, of the family of the Shelleys, of Sussex, Richard Martin, Richard Flower, and John Roch, laymen, and Margaret Ward, gentlewoman; some for being reconciled to the church, others for abetting and relieving priests. And as for Mrs. Ward, as we have seen from Mr. Stow, her crime was the conveying a cord to a priest in Bridewell, by means of which he made his escape. But of her we shall say more by and by.

Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history, relates after Ribadaneira, l. 4, De Schism, and bishop Yepez, l. 5, chap. 1, that when these confessors of Christ were drawn through the streets of London, to Tyburn, a gentlewoman of fashion, animated with a zeal and fortitude above her sex, crying out with a loud voice, exhorted them to be constant in their faith; and then forcing her way through the crowd, and kneeling down, asked their benediction. Upon which she was immediately apprehended and committed to prison, as also was another catholic, who, at the place of execution, hearing one of the confessors earnestly requesting all catholics, if any were there present, to pray for him, because he stood in much need of their prayers, and not thinking it enough to pray sincerely in his heart, as others did, knelt down before all the multitude and prayed aloud for him, to the great encouragement of the confessor, and great mortification of the persecutors.

THE HISTORY OF

MRS. MARGARET WARD.*

Mrs. Margaret Ward was born at Congleton, in Cheshire, of a gentleman's family, and was in the service of a lady of distinction, when Mr. Matson, a secular priest, was confined in Bridewell for his religion. The story of this gentleman is thus related by the bishop of Tarrasona, l. 2. c. 5.

Richard Watson was a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, a virtuous and zealous missioner, who had laboured much in the Lord's vineyard; but being apprehended, and confined to Bridewell, was, at length, by force of torments, and the insupportable labours, and other miseries of the place, prevailed upon, through human frailty, to go once to the protestant church; upon which he was set at liberty. But such was the remorse he felt in his soul after this sin, that, instead of bettering his condition, by being thus enlarged, he found his case far worse, and the present torments of his mind much more insupportable than those

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history of the persecution, l. 5, chap. 2.

which he before had endured in his body; the more because he had now lost his God, whose divine grace had formerly been his comfort and support; whereas he now could find no comfort, either from God or man; but the heavens were become to him as of brass, and the earth as iron.

In this melancholy condition, he went to one of the prisons, where some others, his fellow priests, were confined, to seek for counsel and comfort from them; and here, having confessed his fault, with great marks of a sincere repentance, and received absolution, desiring to repair the scandal he had given, in the same place where he had sinned, he returned to the church of Bridewell, and there, in the middle of the congregation, declared with a loud voice, That he had done very ill in coming lately to church with them, and joining in their service, which, said he, you untruly call the service of God, for it is, indeed, the service of the devil. He would have said much more, but was prevented by the people, who immediately laid hold of him, and stopping his mouth, dragged him to prison, where they thrust him into a dungeon so low, and so straight, that he could neither stand up in it, nor lay himself down at his full length to sleep. Here they loaded him with irons, and kept him for a whole month upon bread and water, of which they allowed him so small a pittance, that it was scarce enough to keep him alive, not suffering any one to come near him to comfort him or to speak to him.

At the month's end, he was translated from this dungeon to a lodging at the top of the house, where, at least, he could see the light, and was less straightened for room; but the adversaries of his faith made this lodging more troublesome to him than the former, by plying him continually, sometimes with threats, sometimes with prayers and promises, to engage him to go again to church, and to seem, at least, outwardly, whatever he might inwardly believe, to be of their religion; so that their continued opportunities made him perfectly weary of his life. In the mean time, the catholics, who heard of his sufferings, durst not attempt to come near him, to succour or comfort him, for fear of being taken for the persons who had persuaded him to what he had done, till Mrs. Margaret Ward, a gentlewoman of a courage above her sex, undertook to do it.

She was in the service of a lady of the first rank, who then resided at London, and hearing of the most afflicted condition of Mr. Watson, asked and obtained leave of her lady to go and attempt to visit and relieve him. In order to this, she changed her dress, and taking a basket upon her arm, full of provisions, went to the prison, but could not have leave to come at the priest, till, by the intercession of the jailor's wife, whom Mrs. Ward had found means to make her friend: with much ado she obtained permission to see him from time to time, and bring him necessaries, upon condition that she should be searched in coming in and going out, that she might carry no letter to him, or from him; which was so strictly observed for the first month, that they even broke the loaves or pies that she brought him, lest any paper should thereby be conveyed to him; and all the while she was with him, care was taken that some one should stand by to hear all that was said. But, at

length, beginning to be persuaded that she came out of pure compassion to assist him, they were less strict in searching her basket, and in harkening to their conversation, so that he had an opportunity of telling her, that he had found a way by which, if he had a cord long enough for that purpose, he could let himself down from the top of the house, and make his escape.

Mrs. Ward soon procured the cord, which she brought in her basket under the bread and other eatables, and appointed two catholic watermen, who were let into the secret, to attend with their boat near Bridewell, between two and three o'clock the next morning; at which time, Mr. Watson, applying to the corner of the cornish, his cord, which he had doubled, not sufficiently considering the heighth of the building, began to let himself down, holding the two ends of the cord in his hands, with a design of carrying it away with him, after he got down, that it might not be discovered by what means he had made his escape. But, by that time he had come down something more than half the way, he found that his cord, which he had doubled, was not now long enough; and he, for some time, remained suspended in the air, being neither able to ascend or descend, without danger of his life.

At length, recommending himself to God, he let go one end of his cord, and suffered himself to fall down upon an old shed or penthouse, which, with the weight of his body, fell in with a great noise. He was very much hurt and stunned by the fall, and broke his right leg and right arm; but the watermen run in immediately to his assistance, and carried him away to their boat. Here he soon came to himself, and, feeling the cord, remembered his coat which he had left in the fall, which he desired one of the watermen to go and bring him. And when they were now advanced in their way, he bethought himself of the cord, and told the watermen, that if they did not return to fetch it, the poor gentlewoman that had given it him, would certainly be put to trouble. But it was now too late; for the noise having alarmed the jailor, and others in the neighbourhood, they came to the place, and finding the cord, immediately suspected what the matter was: and made what search they could to find the priest, but in vain; for the watermen, who had carried him off, took proper care to conceal him, and keep him safe, till he was cured: but God was pleased, that, instead of one who thus escaped from prison, two others, upon this occasion, should meet with the crown of martyrdom, as we shall now see.

For the jailor, seeing the cord, and being convinced that no one but Mrs. Ward could have brought it to the prisoner, and having before found out where she lived, sent early in the morning justices and constables to the house, who, rushing in, found her up, and just upon the point of going out, in order to change her lodgings. They immediately apprehended her, and carried her away to prison, where they loaded her with irons, and kept her in this manner for eight days. Dr. Champney and father Ribadaneira add, that they hung her up by the hands, and cruelly scourged her, which torments she bore with wonderful courage, saying,—They were preludes of martyrdom, with which, by the grace of God, she hoped she should be honoured.

After eight days, she was brought to the bar, where, being asked by the judges, if she was guilty of that treachery to the queen, and to the laws of the realm, of furnishing the means, by which a traitor of a priest, as they were pleased to call him, had escaped from justice? She answered, with a cheerful countenance, in the affirmative: and that she never, in her life, had done any thing of which she less repented, than of the delivering that innocent lamb from the hands of those bloody wolves. They sought to terrify her by their threats, and to oblige her to confess where the priest was, but in vain; and, therefore, they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death upon her, as in cases of felony: but, withal, they told her, that the queen was merciful; and that if she would ask pardon of her majesty, and would promise to go to church, she should be set at liberty, otherwise, she must look for nothing but certain death.

She answered, that as to the queen, she had never offended her majesty; and that it was not just to confess a fault, by asking pardon for it, where there was none: that as to what she had done in favouring the priest's escape, she believed the queen herself, if she had the bowels of a woman, would have done as much, if she had known the ill treatment he underwent. That as to the going to their church, she had, for many years, been convinced that it was not lawful for her so to do, and that she found no reason now to change her mind, and would not act against her conscience; and, therefore, they might proceed, if they pleased, to the execution of the sentence pronounced against her; for that death, for such a cause, would be very welcome to her; and that she was willing to lay down, not one life only, but many, if she had them, rather than betray her conscience, or act against her duty to God and his holy religion.

She was executed at Tyburn, August 30, 1588, showing to the end a wonderful constancy and alacrity; by which the spectators were much moved and greatly edified.

Whilst these things were acting, Mr. Watson was under cure in the waterman's house, who, as soon as he was recovered, thought proper to withdraw further from danger; and that he might be the better disguised, changed clothes with the waterman, who joyfully accepted the change, and put on, with great devotion, the clothes of one whom he regarded as a confessor of Christ. But not long after, walking in the streets, he met the jailor, who took notice of the clothes, and caused him to be apprehended and carried before a justice of the peace, where, being examined how he came by those clothes, he confessed the whole truth; upon which he was committed, prosecuted, and condemned; and making the same answers as Mrs. Ward had done, with regard to the begging the queen's pardon, and going to church, he endured the same death with much spiritual joy in his soul, and a constancy which many admired, and were very much edified by it.

WILLIAM WAY, PRIEST.*

He was born in Cornwall, had his education in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; was an alumnus and priest of that college, and from thence was sent upon the English mission, in 1586. When and how he was apprehended I have not found, or how long he had been in prison before his execution, or any other particulars relating to him, only, that he was prosecuted and condemned upon the penal statutes, for having been made priest beyond the seas by Roman authority, and coming into this realm, and remaining here. For this supposed treason he was hanged, bowelled, and quartered at Kingston, in Surry. Some say, on the 1st of October; but the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue says, on the 23d of September, who believes him to be the same whom Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, calls Flower, when writing of the year 1588, he says, 'on the 23d of September, a seminary priest, named Flower, was hanged, headed, and quartered, at Kingston.' Though bishop Yepez, and others, speak of Mr. Flower, and Mr. Way, as of two different persons.

ROBERT WILCOX, EDWARD CAMPIAN, AND CHRISTOPHER BUXTON, PRIESTS. †

Robert Wilcox was born at Chester, and performed his studies at Rhemes, where the English college then resided. Of this college, he was an alumnus and priest; and from hence, was sent upon the mission in 1586. His mission seems to have been in Kent. When, and how he fell into the hands of the persecutors, I have not found; but only, that he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, merely, upon account of his character and functions; and, in consequence of this sentence, was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Canterbury. Raissius says, it was some time in September. Others affirm it was on the 1st of October, 1588. Mr. Edward Campian, and Mr. Buxton, priests, and Mr. Widmerpool, a layman, suffered with him. Mr. Wilcox was the first who was called upon to go up the ladder, which he did, with great cheerfulness; and, when he was up, turning to his companions with a smiling countenance, he bid them be of good cheer, telling them, That he was going to heaven before them, where he should carry the tidings of their coming after him.

He suffered with great constancy and alacrity, to the great edification of the faithful, and confusion of the persecutors.

* From the Douay Diaries and Catalogues.
† From the same memoirs, and from Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

Edward Campian was born in Kent, of a gentleman's family, was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence, he was sent upon this mission, in 1587. He was apprehended, prosecuted and condemned to die, merely for his character and exercising his priestly functions in England; and for this supposed treason was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, on the same day, and at the same place, with Mr. Wilcox, and with the same courage and cheerfulness.

Christopher Buxton was born in Derbyshire, and brought up in Mr. Garlick's school at Tidswell in that county; from whence, he passed over to the college then residing at Rhemes, and there, for some time, prosecuted his studies. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history, with Raissius and Molanus, in their printed catalogues, call him a priest of Douay college; but as I find not his name in the old Douay catalogue of those that were sent priests from Rhemes upon the mission, I rather believe the account given by the bishop of Chalcedon, who calls him alumnus and cleric of the college of Douay, during its residence at Rhemes, but priest of the college of Rome. He was condemned for the same cause as Mr. Wilcox and Mr. Campian, viz. for coming into England, being a priest, and remaining there contrary to the statute; and suffered at the same time and place, and with the like courage. He was the youngest of the three, and was obliged to stand a spectator of the barbarous butchery of his companions: but, when the persecutors, thinking, perhaps, that his constancy had been shook with the sight of this scene of blood, offered him his life upon condition that he would conform to their religion, he generously answered, that he would not purchase a corruptible life at such a rate; and that, if he had a hundred lives he would willingly lay them all down in defence of his faith.

Robert Widmerpool, who suffered at the same time, was a gentleman, born at Widmerpool, in Nottinghamshire, who was, for some time, tutor to the sons of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland. The cause for which he was condemned to die, was his hospitality to priests, and in particular, his having introduced a priest into the house of the countess of Northumberland. At the place of execution, he, with great affection, kissed both the ladder and the rope, as the instruments of his martyrdom; and having now, the rope about his neck, began to speak to the people, giving God most hearty thanks, for bringing him to so great a glory, as that of dying for his faith and truth, in the same place where the glorious martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, had shed his blood for the honour of his divine Majesty. Some of the people, at these words, cried out, away, away with the traitor; but he, not moved at all, with their clamours, looking round him, and recommending himself to the prayers of the catholics, was flung off the ladder, and so happily exchanged this mortal life for immortality.

RALPH CROKETT AND EDWARD JAMES, PRIESTS.*

Ralph Crokett was born at Barton, upon the hill in Cheshire, performed his studies at Rhemes, and was an alumnus and priest of the college then residing in that city: from whence, he was sent upon the English mission in 1585. The particulars of his missionary labours, or of his apprehension and trial, I have not found, only, that he was prosecuted and condemned upon the penal statute of 27 Elizabeth, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason, barely upon account of his priestly character and functions.

He was drawn, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at Chichester, October 1, 1588.

Edward James was born at Braiston, in Derbyshire, and was, for some time, student in the college of Rhemes; from whence, he was sent to Rome, 1588. Here he was made priest; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended, prosecuted, and condemned, barely upon account of his priestly character; and was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, on the same day, and at the same place, with Mr. Crokett.

Their quarters were set upon poles over the gates of the city; through one of which a catholic man passing early in the morning, found one of these quarters which had fallen down, which, by the size, was judged to be Mr. Crockett's, (he having been a tall man, whereas, Mr. James was of low stature.) This quarter was carried off, and sent over to Douay, where I have seen it.

JOHN ROBINSON, PRIEST.†

Mr. Robinson was born at Fernsby, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. His character, in Dr. Champney is, that he was a man of extraordinary christian simplicity and sincerity; in a word, a true Israelite, in whom there was no guile. After having lived some time in the world, in a married state, becoming a widower by the death of his wife, he went over to Rhemes, where the college then was; and there applying himself to his studies, was, at length, made priest, and sent upon the mission. He no sooner came to England, than he was apprehended in the very port, and sent up to London; where, after some months imprisonment, he was brought to the bar, and condemned to die upon account of his priestly character. Dr. Champney relates of him, that he was used to say, If he could not dispute for his faith, as well as some others, he could die for it as well as the best. He was sent down to suffer at Ips-

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and the Douay Journals.

† From the Douay catalogues, Champney's manuscript, and the relation of the Reverend Mr. Joseph Haynes.

wich, in Suffolk, where he was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, October 1, 1588. Concerning him, thus writes the Reverend Mr. Haynes, Mr. John Robinson, a secular priest, being, in the year 1588, prisoner in the Clink at London, when the rest that had been there prisoners with him (whom he called his bairns, and they, for his age and sincerity, called him father,) were, for the catholic faith, sent into divers parts of the kingdom to be executed; the good old man, being left alone, lamented for divers days together exceedingly, until at last, a warrant was sent from the council to execute him also. The news whereof, did much revive him; and to him that brought the warrant, he gave his purse, and all his money, and fell down on his knees and gave God thanks. Being to set forward in his journey, they willed him to put on boots; for it was in winter, and as far as Ipswich in Suffolk, where he was sent to suffer. Nay, said the good man, these legs had never boots on yet, since they were mine, and now surely they shall perform this journey without boots, for they shall be well paid for their pains.'

He left behind him, a son, Francis Robinson, who was also a priest, and a true heir of his father's virtue.

The next that occur, in the catalogues of those that suffered this year, 1588, are Mr. Hartley and Mr. Weldon; of whom Mr. Stow, in his Chronicle, writes thus; 'The 5th of October, J. Weldon and W. Hartley, made priests, at Paris, and remaining here contrary to the statute, were hanged, the one at the Mile's-End, the other nigh the theatre; and Robert Sutton, for being reconciled to the see of Rome, was hanged at Clerkenwell.

WILLIAM HARTLEY AND JOHN WELDON, PRIESTS.*

William Hartley was born in the diocese of Litchfield, performed his higher studies in the college of Rhemes; from whence, he was sent priest upon the English mission, anno 1580. Mr. Stow says, he was ordained at Paris, which may very well be; for the superiors of the college had an indult from the pope, to present their alumni for holy orders, to any of the bishops of the province of Rhemes, or Sens, one of which, the bishop of Paris was at that time. Mr. Hartley had not laboured above a twelvemonth, in the vineyard of his Lord, before he was apprehended in the house of Lady Stoner, and carried prisoner to the Tower, August the 13th, 1581, together with Mr. John Stoner and Mr. Steven Brinkley, lay gentlemen. Here he was confined till September 16, 1582, and then, was translated from the Tower to another prison, where he remained till January, 1585; when, with about twenty

* From the Doury diary and catalogues, and from the journal of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 till 1585.

other priests, he was shipped off into banishment. Upon this occasion he returned to Rhemes, to the college; but after some short stay there, set out again for England, being more afraid of being wanting to the cause of God, and the salvation of souls, than of a cruel death, which he was certainly to look for, if he fell again, as most probably he would, into the hands of the persecutors. In effect, he was again apprehended, some time in or before the year 1588, and then brought upon his trial, and condemned to die, upon account of his priestly character. He was executed near the theatre, October 5, 1588, his mother looking on, as Raissius relates, "Catalog. Martyr Anglo Duac, p. 52," and rejoicing exceedingly, that she had brought forth a son, to glorify God by such a death.

On the same day, John Weldon, priest "of the college of Douay, according to Champney and Molanus," condemned for the same cause, was drawn to Mile's-End-Green, and there executed. About the same time, (some say the same day,) Richard Williams, a venerable priest, who had been ordained in England, before the change of religion, was also, for religious matters, hanged at Holloway, near London.

Robert Sutton, layman, suffered on the same day at Clerkenwell. The cause of his death, was purely his religion, viz: because he had been reconciled to the church of Rome. His life was offered him, at the gallows, if he would acknowledge the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, as I learn from the copy of a letter, which I have in my hands, written by Mr. William Naylor, who was an eye-witness of his death. 'I saw says he, one Mr. Sutton, a layman, and a schoolmaster, put to death at Clerkenwell, in London; to whom the sheriff promised to procure his pardon, if he would but pronounce absolutely the word *all;* for he would that he should acknowledge the queen to be supreme head in all causes, without any restriction; but he, "Mr. Sutton," would acknowledge her to be supreme head in all causes temporal, and for that he would not pronounce the word all, without any restriction, he was executed. This I heard and saw.' So for Mr. Naylor.

JOHN HEWIT AND EDWARD BURDEN, PRIESTS.*

These two were both priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. The former fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith whilst he was as yet only deacon, and was sent into banishment in 1585, when returning to Rhemes, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission. The latter, who was a native of the bishoprick of Durham, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford, was made priest in 1584, and sent into England in 1586. They were both condemned upon account of their priesthood, and were hanged, drawn, and quartered at York, the former on the 5th of October, the latter on the 29th of November, 1588.

* From the Douay diaries and catalogues.

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The next that occur, in the catalogues of those that suffered this year, 1588, are Mr. Hartley and Mr. Weldon; of whom Mr. Stow, in his Chronicle, writes thus; 'The 5th of October, J. Weldon and W. Hartley, made priests, at Paris, and remaining here contrary to the statute, were hanged, the one at the Mile's-End, the other nigh the theatre; and Robert Sutton, for being reconciled to the see of Rome, was hanged at Clerkenwell.

WILLIAM HARTLEY AND JOHN WELDON, PRIESTS.*

William Hartley was born in the diocese of Litchfield, performed his higher studies in the college of Rhemes; from whence, he was sent priest upon the English mission, anno 1580. Mr. Stow says, he was ordained at Paris, which may very well be; for the superiors of the college had an indult from the pope, to present their alumni for holy orders, to any of the bishops of the province of Rhemes, or Sens, one of which, the bishop of Paris was at that time. Mr. Hartley had not laboured above a twelvemonth, in the vineyard of his Lord, before he was apprehended in the house of Lady Stoner, and carried prisoner to the Tower, August the 13th, 1581, together with Mr. John Stoner and Mr. Steven Brinkley, lay gentlemen. Here he was confined till September 16, 1582, and then, was translated from the Tower to another prison, where he remained till January, 1585; when, with about twenty

* From the Doury diary and catalogues, and from the journal of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 till 1585.

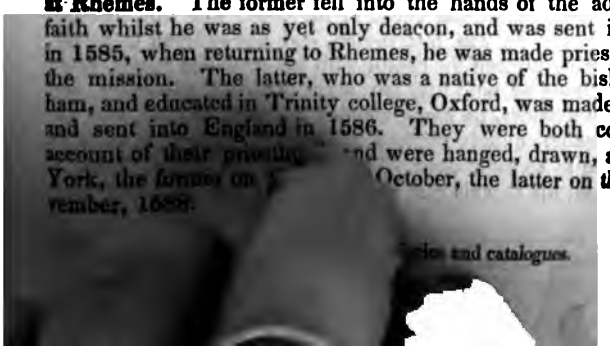
other priests, he was shipped off into banishment. Upon this occasion he returned to Rhemes, to the college; but after some short stay there, set out again for England, being more afraid of being wanting to the cause of God, and the salvation of souls, than of a cruel death, which he was certainly to look for, if he fell again, as most probably he would, into the hands of the persecutors. In effect, he was again apprehended, some time in or before the year 1588, and then brought upon his trial, and condemned to die, upon account of his priestly character. He was executed near the theatre, October 5, 1588, his mother looking on, as Raissius relates, "Catalog. Martyr Anglo Duac, p. 52," and rejoicing exceedingly, that she had brought forth a son, to glorify God by such a death.

On the same day, John Weldon, priest "of the college of Douay, according to Champney and Molanus," condemned for the same cause, was drawn to Mile's-End-Green, and there executed. About the same time, (some say the same day,) Richard Williams, a venerable priest, who had been ordained in England, before the change of religion, was also, for religious matters, hanged at Holloway, near London.

Robert Sutton, layman, suffered on the same day at Clerkenwell. The cause of his death, was purely his religion, viz: because he had been reconciled to the church of Rome. His life was offered him, at the gallows, if he would acknowledge the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, as I learn from the copy of a letter, which I have in my hands, written by Mr. William Naylor, who was an eye-witness of his death. 'I saw says he, one Mr. Sutton, a layman, and a schoolmaster, put to death at Clerkenwell, in London; to whom the sheriff promised to procure his pardon, if he would but pronounce absolutely the word *all;* for he would that he should acknowledge the queen to be supreme head in all causes, without any restriction; but he, "Mr. Sutton," would acknowledge her to be supreme head in all causes temporal, and for that he would not pronounce the word all, without any restriction, he was executed. This I heard and saw.' So for Mr. Naylor.

JOHN HEWIT AND EDWARD BURDEN, PRIESTS.*

THESE two were both priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. The former fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith whilst he was as yet only deacon, and was sent into banishment in 1585, when returning to Rhemes, he was made priest, and sent upon the mission. The latter, who was a native of the bishoprick of Durham, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford, was made priest *in 1584,* and sent into England in 1586. They were both condemned upon account of their priesthood, and were hanged, drawn, and quartered at York, the former on [illegible] October, the latter on the 29th of November, 1588.



This same year also, William Lampley, layman, suffered at Gloucester, for the catholic religion.

JOHN AMIAS AND ROBERT DALBY, PRIESTS.—1589.*

John Amias, (some call him Ann,) was a native of Yorkshire, an alumnus of Douay college during its residence at Rhemes, where he was made priest the 25th of March, 1581, and sent upon the English mission on the 5th of June of the same year, together with Mr. Edmund Sykes.

Robert Dalby was a native of the Bishoprick of Durham, an alumnus also and priest of the same cellege, sent upon the mission in 1588. They both fell into the hands of the persecutors, and were condemned to die the death of traitors, upon account of their priestly character. They suffered together at York, on the 16th of March, 1588–9. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history, "*ad annum Elizab.*, 31," gives the following account of them. 'This year, on the 16th of March, John Amias and Robert Dalby, priests of the college of Douay, suffered at York, as in cases of high treason, for no other cause but that they were priests, ordained by the authority of the see of Rome, and had returned into England, and exercised there their priestly functions for the benefit of the souls of their neighbours. I was myself an eye-witness of the glorious combat of these holy men, being at that time a young man, in the twentieth year of my age; and I returned home confirmed by the sight of their constancy and meekness, in the catholic faith, which, by God's grace, I then followed, for there visibly appeared in those holy servants of God, so much meekness, joined with a singular constancy, that you would easily say, that they were lambs led to the slaughter.

'They were drawn about a mile out of the city to the place of execution, where being arrived, and taken off the hurdle, they prostrated themselves upon their faces to the ground, and there employed some time in prayer, till the former, "Mr. Amias," being called upon by the sheriff, rose up, and, with a serene countenance, walked to the gallows and kissed it: then kissing the ladder, went up. The hangman, having fitted the rope to his neck, bid him descend a step or two lower, affirming, that by this means he would suffer the less. He then, turning to the people, declared, "That the cause of his death was not treason, but religion; but here he was interrupted, and not suffered to go on. Therefore, composing himself for death, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, forgiving all who had any ways procured his death, and praying for his persecutors, he recommended his soul to God, and being flung off the ladder, quietly expired, for he was suffered to hang so long till he seemed to be quite dead. Then he was cut down, dismembered and bowelled, his bowels cast into a fire that was prepared hard

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and the manuscript history of Dr. Champney, who was an eye-witness of their death.

by for that purpose, his head cut off, and the trunk of his body quartered. All this while his companion, "Mr. Dalby," was most intent on prayer; who, being called upon, immediately followed the footsteps of him that had gone before him, and obtained the like victory. The sheriff's men were very watchful to prevent the standers by from gathering any of their blood, or carrying off any thing that had belonged to them. Yet one, who appeared to me to be a gentlewoman, going up to the place where their bodies were in quartering, and not without difficulty making her way through the crowd, fell down upon her knees before the multitude, and, with her hands joined, and eyes lifted up to heaven, declared an extraordinary motion and affection of soul. She spoke also some words which I could not hear for the tumult and noise. Immediately a clamour was raised against her as an idolatress; and she was drove away, and whether or no she was carried to prison, I could not certainly understand.' So far Dr. Champney.

GEORGE NICOLS AND RICHARD YAXLEY, PRIESTS.*

George Nicols was a native of Oxford, and an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the mission, in 1583. My author gives him the character of a man of extraordinary virtue and learning, and of a zealous and laborious missioner, who, during the six years of his mission, was the happy instrument, in the hands of God, of the conversion of many souls. His mission was chiefly in and about Oxford: where, amongst other pious adventures, the writers of his life particularly take notice of the reconciliation of a noted highwayman, who being apprehended and committed to Oxford castle, was, by the conversation of some catholics, who were prisoners there for their religion, brought to a sense of his crimes, and a desire of confessing them, and dying in the catholic faith; insomuch that he did nothing else, night and day, but bewail his sins, longing for the hour when he might cast himself at the feet of a catholic priest to confess them. His catholic fellow prisoners found means to acquaint Mr. Nicols with these particulars; and failed not to instruct their convert how to prepare himself for a visit from this gentleman; who, on the very morning of the day of execution (no opportunity offering before) came to the jail, together with a crowd of others, whose curiosity brought them to see this famous malefactor before his death; and passing for a kinsman and acquaintance of the prisoner, after mutual salutations, he took him aside, as it were to comfort and encourage him, and heard his confession, for which he had prepared himself by spending the whole night before in prayers and tears; and which he

* From the Douay catalogues and Father Ribadaneira, in his appendix to Dr. Saunders, chap. 3, from the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution, book V., chap. 3, and from Dr. Champney's Manuscript.

made with great signs of a truly contrite heart; and having given him absolution, he left him wonderfully comforted, and armed against the terrors of death, which he now with joy was ready to welcome. The prisoner then declared himself a catholic; and though many persuasions were used to make him return to the protestant religion, he persisted to the end in his resolution of dying in the old faith, and professed, under the gallows, That if he had a thousand lives, he would joyfully part with them, rather than renounce the catholic Roman faith.

Richard Yaxley, who was Mr. Nicol's companion in death, was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, of a gentleman's family, and was also an alumnus and priest of the same college, and was sent from Rhemes upon the English mission, in 1586. He was by many years younger than Mr. Nicols, and having his mission in the same country, regarded him as his father. They were apprehended together at the house of a pious catholic widow, who kept the St. Catharine's Wheel, in Oxford, by the officers of the university, who broke in at midnight, and hurried them away, together with Mr. Belson, a catholic gentleman, who was come thither to visit his ghostly father, Mr. Nicols, and Humphrey ap Richard, the servant of the inn. The next morning they were all carried before the vice-chancellor, where several doctors were assembled, with many others who had the curiosity to see and hear the prisoners. Here they were examined concerning their religion, and they all readily answered, They were catholics. Then they were farther interrogated, if there were not any priest among them? After some demur, for fear of prejudicing any other persons, Mr. Nicols, judging that it would be for the greater glory of God to confess his character, stoutly said,—I confess that, by the grace of God, and of the holy see apostolic, I am a priest of the true catholic Roman church. The vice-chancellor and his assessors, from hence inferred, that he must needs be a traitor; and withal, some of them charged him with blasphemy, in taking to himself the name of priest, which, as they pretended, belonged to Christ alone. This brought on a dispute concerning religion, in which Mr. Nicols pressed his adversaries so close, that the standers by appearing not a little moved with his arguments, the vice-chancellor thought proper to put an end to the controversy, by sending away the two priests to one prison, and Mr. Belson and the servant to another; and ordered them all to be put in irons. Having thus, as they flattered themselves, tamed their spirits, they sent one of their most celebrated divines to the two priests, to confer with them concerning the blessed sacrament: but Mr. Nicols managed this controversy, also, so well, and urged so home the plain words of Christ, in the institution of the blessed sacrament, together with the current doctrine of the holy fathers, and of all antiquity, and the authority of the church, and of her general councils, compared with the novelty of the opposite doctrine, the inconstancy and infinite dissentions of its teachers, and uncertainty what they would be at, that he stopped the mouth of his adversary, to the great advantage of the catholic cause, in the minds of many who came into the prison to hear the dispute. Henceforward it was thought proper to let disputing alone, and to attack them another way. Therefore, the next day, they were all four brought, in their irons, before the vice-chancellor and his

council, and examined again; not now concerning their faith, but why they, being priests, had presumed to come over into England? How they had employed their time here? with whom they had conversed? and upon what subjects? what acquaintance they had amongst catholics, &c.? To these questions the servants of God answered, that they came over upon no other errand, but to win souls to Jesus Christ, and to teach them the catholic faith; that this was their whole business here; and that they neither knew, nor treated, nor thought of any thing else, but how to discharge this great duty, though they were sensible of the danger which they thereby incurred by the laws; but they thought this was the least they could do for the honour and service of him who had died for them; and for whom they should be glad to sacrifice their lives. But as for any other catholics, they could not be prevailed on to name any, or bring any into danger. Upon this, they were sent back to their prisons, and the queen's council was informed of all that had passed.

Soon after this, an order came down from the council, to have the prisoners sent up to London; who, pursuant to the instructions given from above, were set upon *Rosinantes*, with their hands tied behind them, and the two priests also, for greater disgrace, with their legs tied under their horses' bellies; and, in this manner, were conducted, under a strong guard, from Oxford to London, being treated all the way with great cruelty by their guards, and affronted and abused by the populace, more especially when they came to London, where they were attended from the very skirts of the town to the gate of the prison by an insolent mob, loading them with reproaches and injuries, which they bore with an invincible patience, setting before their eyes the sufferings of their Redeemer. And to add to their affliction, a young gentleman of the university, a graduate in arts, who, out of pure compassion, had attended them all the way from Oxford, and afforded them what service he could, was, in reward of his charity, taken up as soon as he came to London; and, whereas, the persecutors could not proceed against him with any colour of law, they charged him with being mad, and as such, confined him to Bedlam, to be there treated (as one that had lost his senses) with low diet, and to be beaten into his senses again. In which manner, they kept him a long time, for no other fault, but that of his having been serviceable to these servants of God in their journey.

After they had remained some days in prison, at London, they were carried before secretary Walsingham, the capital enemy of the catholics, who put the like questions to them as the vice-chancellor had done before: to which, Mr. Nicols would give no other answer, but, that they were all catholics, and that he, for his own part, was, though unworthy, a priest of the holy Roman church. If you are a priest, said the secretary, then, of course, you are a traitor. A strange consequence, honoured sir, said Mr. Nicols, since, it is certain, that they, who first converted England from paganism, were all priests. But they, said the secretary, did not disturb the nation as you do, nor stirred up seditions against their sovereigns. To which the confessor replied, that, if preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, if instructing the ignorant in the

catholic faith, be disturbing the nation, or stirring up sedition, then were they equally guilty; if not, both we and they are equally innocent; nor can there be any treason in the case. With this, the two priests were ordered to Bridewell, where they were tortured, and hanged up in the air, for the space of five hours together, to make them confess by whom they had been harboured or entertained, &c. But these torments, they bore with great courage and constancy, and generously refused, to the end, to name any one who might be brought into trouble upon their account. Artifices were also employed, and a pretended convert was sent to Mr. Nicols, desiring to be addressed by him, to some priest, that was at liberty, for further instructions. But the man of God, who was very discreet, discovered the trick, and would have nothing to say to the false catechumen. After this, they separated the two priests from each other, and thrust Mr. Nicols down into a dark and stinking dungeon, full of nauseous insects; but translated Mr. Yaxley from Bridewell to the Tower, where he was every day put upon the rack, till, at length, it was resolved in the council, that he should be sent back to Oxford, to be executed there, for an example to the scholars, and other inhabitants of that city.

This resolution was no sooner taken, than the prisoners, under the same guard, as before had brought them up to town, and with the like cruel treatment, were conducted back again to Oxford, to be tried at the assizes there; and that none of them might escape, sir Francis Knollys, one of the privy council, was appointed to be present at their trial, to overawe the jury, that they might bring in a verdict agreeable to the inclinations of the court. And first, the good widow, their hostess, was tried, and cast in a præmunire, condemned to the loss of all her goods, and to perpetual imprisonment; which sentence, she received with joy, only regretting, that she was not to die with her ghostly fathers. Then the two priests were condemned to die, as in cases of high treason: and, lastly, Mr. Belson and the servant being convicted of having been aiding and assisting to the priests, were, on that account, sentenced to die, as in cases of felony. They all received their respective sentences with cheerfulness, giving thanks to God for the honour he did them, of dying for his cause; and mutually embraced one another, with extraordinary marks of the inward joy of their hearts. They were drawn to the place of execution, on July the 5th, 1589, still retaining the same serenity in their countenance, and joy in their hearts; and meeting there, with an infinite multitude of people, assembled to see their last conflict, they saluted them, saying, Behold, we are here brought to die for the confession of the catholic faith, the old religion, in which our forefathers and ancestors all lived and died.

The first that was called upon to go up the ladder, was Mr. Nicols, who, after having made his prayer to God, and to the people, the profession of his faith, would have spoken more at large upon the subject, but was interrupted, and forbid to go on; so recommending his soul into the hands of his Creator, he was thrown off the ladder, and happily finished his course. He was followed by Mr. Yaxley, who, after having embraced the dead body of his companion with great affection, and recommended himself, in this, his last conflict, to the prayers of his

happy soul, going up the ladder, and beginning to speak to the people, was, in like manner, interrupted; and, after a short profession of his faith, was also flung off. The standers by seemed to have a more than ordinary compassion for him, upon account of his youth, beauty, and sweet behaviour, and the consideration of his family; but all these things he despised, for the sake of his master; for whom he willingly offered himself a sacrifice. Their bodies were cut down, bowelled, and quartered; and their heads were set on the old walls of the castle, and their quarters, over the gates of the city. Some false zealots disfigured their faces, cutting and hacking them with their knives, because of the extraordinary beauty which was observed in them; and it was much taken notice of, that in the disposing of their quarters, the right hand of Mr. Nicols, instead of hanging down from the shoulder, as is natural on the like occasions, stood up, erected on high, and turned against the city, in the posture and manner of one that was threatening.

THOMAS BELSON, GENTLEMAN.*

Thomas Belson was born at Brill, the seat of the family, in the county of Oxford. I find him in the Douay diary at the college of Rhemes, in 1584: from whence, he departed for England, on the 5th of April of that year, in the company of Mr. Francis Ingolby, priest, who suffered at York, in 1586. We have already seen how he was apprehended in the company of Mr. Nicols and Mr. Yaxley, examined both at Oxford, and at London, and finally tried and condemned with them, for his hospitality and charity to them; and God was pleased he should be their companion in death; for no sooner was Mr. Nicols and Mr. Yaxley dead, but Mr. Belson was also ordered up the ladder to finish his course. He first embraced the dead bodies of his pastors, which were then in quartering, and begged the intercession of their happy souls, that he might have the grace to imitate their courage and constancy. He added, that he looked upon himself very happy, that he had been their ghostly child, and was now to suffer with them, and should quickly be presented before the Almighty, in so good company. And thus, with great cheerfulness, he delivered his body to the executioner, and his soul to his Maker.

The last in the combat was Humphrey Prichard, a Welchman, a plain, honest, and well-meaning soul; and, as our authors all agree, a great servant of God; who, for twelve years, had done signal services to the poor afflicted persecuted catholics in those evil days. He came to the gallows, with a cheerful and smiling countenance, and being now upon the ladder, and turning to the people, he said, I call you all to

* From the same writers, and the Douay diary.

witness, in the presence of God, and of his holy angels, that I am a catholic, and that I was condemned to die, for the confession of the catholic faith; and that I die willingly for the catholic faith. A minister that stood by, told him, that he was a poor ignorant fellow, and did not know what it was to be a catholic. To whom Humphrey replied, that he very well knew what it was to be a catholic, though he could not, perhaps, explain it in the proper terms of divinity: that he knew what he was to believe, and for what he came there to die; and that he willingly died for so good a cause. With that he was thrown off the ladder, and so reposed in the Lord.

They all suffered, July 5, 1589.

WILLIAM SPENSER, PRIEST.*

William Spenser was born in Yorkshire, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: from whence he was sent upon the English mission, in 1584. The particulars of his labours and sufferings I have not found, only that he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, for receiving holy orders beyond the seas, by authority derived from the bishop of Rome, and coming over to England, and there exercising his priestly functions. He received the sentence of death with an undaunted courage, and suffered with great constancy; being hanged, drawn, and quartered, at York, the 24th of September, 1589.

With Mr. Spenser was hanged, one Robert Hardesty, a layman of great probity and piety, for having harboured and relieved the confessor of Christ, knowing him to be a priest.

CHRISTOPHER BALES, OR BAYLES, PRIEST.—1590.†

Christopher Bayles was born in the parish of Cunsley, in the bishoprick of Durham, and performed his studies abroad, partly in the English college of Rome, and partly in that of Rhemes. From the latter he was sent priest upon the English mission in 1588. Here, after some time, he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith; and besides the miseries usually attending imprisonment, suffered much

* From the Douay diary, catalogues, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

† From Ribadaneira's Appendix, c. 4, Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue.

from their cruelty, being grievously racked, in order to oblige him to confess where he had said mass, and by whom he had been entertained or relieved; insomuch, that, at one time, he was hung up in the air for twenty-four hours together; all which he bore with wonderful patience and courage, though, otherwise, of an infirm body, and inclined to a consumption. At length, being brought to the bar, he was arraigned, tried, and condemned, upon the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, for being made priest beyond the seas, and coming into England to exercise his priestly functions. When sentence was to be pronounced upon him, and the judge, according to custom, asked if he had any thing to alledge for himself? He desired to ask one thing, which was, whether St. Augustin, the monk, sent by the people of Rome, to preach the christian catholic faith to the English, was guilty of treason in complying with that commission, or no? to which, when the court had answered, that he was not: Why then, said the confessor, do you arraign and condemn me for a traitor, who do the same thing as he did? and to whom nothing can be objected, but that what might equally be objected to him? they told him the difference was, that, by their laws, his case was now made treason; and without any further arguing, proceeded to pronounce the sentence of death in the usual form. He was drawn to Fleet-street to a pair of gallows, erected over against Fetter-lane, and was there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, March the 4th, 1589–90.

On the same day, were hanged, Nicholas Horner, a layman, born at Grauntley, *in* Yorkshire, for relieving and assisting the said Mr. Bayles; and Alexander Blake, also a layman, for the same cause. Of all these, thus writes Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 'Christopher Bayles, made priest beyond the seas, was convicted of treason, for remaining in this realm contrary to a statute: Also, Nicholas Horner, and Alexander Blake, convicted of felony, for relieving of Bayles, contrary to the like statute. These were all executed on the 4th of March. Bayles was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, in Fleet-street; Horner was hanged in Smithfield; Blake, in Grays-inn-lane.'

The bishop of Tarrasona, in his history of the English persecution, book 11, chap. 18, Numb. 3 and 4, relates of Mr. Horner, that he was apprehended once before, for harbouring priests, and at that time, was kept so long in a filthy dungeon, that, with the dampness of the lodging, one of his legs was mortified, so that he was obliged to have it cut off. But that, whilst the surgeon was at work, God was pleased to favour him with a vision, which so strongly drew his attention, and so sweetly entertained him, that he was not at all sensible of so painful an operation. After this, the persecutors having some compassion for him, set him at liberty. Till, being accused a second time, of relieving priests, and convicted of this felony, and not consenting to save his life by going to the protestant church, he was condemned to die. The night before his execution, finding himself overwhelmed with anguish and fear, he betook himself to his prayers, and then seemed to perceive a crown hanging over his head; and lifting up his hands to take hold of it, to see what it should be, he could feel nothing. Afterwards rising from his prayers, he perceived the same crown still over his head, and that,

as he moved or changed his place, it still moved with him, and this for the space of above an hour. Which vision afforded him unspeakable comfort, and caused him to die the next day with extraordinary marks of joy. This vision was related by the confessor himself to a friend, who was with him in prison, a little before he was carried out to execution; who wrote the whole account to father Robert Southwell, on the 18th of March, of the same year, which letter, says my author, I have seen. The same is confirmed by father Ribadaneira and Dr. Champney, in their histories.

MILES GERARD AND FRANCIS DICONSON, PRIESTS. *

These two were both priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; the former was born in Lancashire, of a gentleman's family, the latter in Yorkshire. They were sent together upon the English mission, from Rhemes, on the 31st of August, 1589; though Mr. Gerard had been ordained priest in 1583. The ship in which they went for England was overtaken by a violent storm, by which they were cast away upon the coast of Kent. But it was not God's will that they should perish by this less glorious death, his divine providence having reserved for them the crown of martyrdom. They escaped therefore to the shore, where they met with a more violent storm, for being immediately apprehended, (upon suspicion, or the information of some of the ship's crew,) and cast into prison, they were arraigned, tried, and condemned for coming into England, being priests; and, upon this account, had sentence of death, as in cases of high treason, and they both suffered with constancy, at Rochester, April 30, 1590.

EDWARD JONES AND ANTHONY MIDDLETON, PRIESTS.†

The former was born in North Wales, in the diocese of St. Asaph; the latter in Yorkshire. They both were priests of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from which Mr. Middleton was sent upon the English mission, in 1586, Mr. Jones in 1588. Their missionary labours were employed in and about London, and with great fruit; the more, because Mr. Middleton being low of stature, and of a young look, for a long time was not suspected to be a priest: and Mr. Jones, though his time upon the mission had not been long, being a zealous preacher,

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue and Dr. Champney's MS.

† From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, Dr. Champney's MS. and father Ribadaneira, chap. 4.

had justly acquired to himself a great esteem amongst the catholics. They were both apprehended by the means of certain priest-catchers, who, to bring about their villainy more effectually, had feigned themselves catholics. Ribadaneira, who is followed by Dr. Champney and Mr. Raissius, affirms, that they were hanged up without any formal trial, before the doors of the houses where they were taken, Mr. Jones in Fleet-street, near the conduit, Mr. Middleton at Clerkenwell. And, that upon the gallows on which they were hanged, the executioners had caused to be written in great letters, *For treason and foreign invasion*, to make their cause more odious to the people: but that this artifice did not take, and the spectators, instead of applauding their proceedings, departed highly displeased with these tyrannical measures. Mr. Middleton desired to have leave to speak to the people, which not being allowed him, he contented himself with this short speech, I call Almighty God to witness, that I here die barely for the catholic faith, and for being a priest, and a preacher of the true religion; and I beseech the divine Majesty to vouchsafe to accept of this my death for the forgiveness of my sins, and the advancement of the catholic faith, and the conversion of heretics. A gentleman there present, cried out, Sir, you have spoken very well, and what is sufficient. With this Mr. Middleton was flung off the ladder, and, as the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue affirms, from the testimony of eye-witnesses, was cut down and bowelled whilst he was yet alive. They suffered on the 6th of May, 1590.

This same year, four other gentlemen of the same character were executed at Durham, of whom we are now to speak. Wilson and Molanus put them in the following year, but they are certainly mistaken, as appears from the Douay register, followed by Dr. Champney, by the bishop of Chalcedon, and Raissius.

EDMUND DUKE, RICHARD HILL, JOHN HOG, AND RICHARD HOLIDAY, PRIESTS.*

Edmund Duke was born in Kent, and was first a student in the English college, then residing at Rhemes, where I find him promoted to minor orders, September 23, 1583; from thence he was sent to Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest.

Richard Hill, John Hogg, and Richard Holiday were all born in Yorkshire, all students of the college then residing at Rhemes, and were made sub-deacons at Soisson, the 18th of March, 1589, deacons at Laon, the 27th of May, and priests, at Laon, the 23d of September, in the same year. They were all sent together upon the English mission (with Mr. Duke, who was lately returned from Rome,) on the 22d of March, 1589–90. They landed in the north of England, and travelling

* From the Douay diary, bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue, and Dr. Champney's MS.

through the country, which they were not well acquainted with, they were, upon a slight suspicion, stopped in a village, where they staid to rest themselves, and were carried before a neighbouring justice of the peace, who, upon examination, finding them to be priests, committed them to Durham jail. Here they had some conflicts about religion, as well with the prebendaries of Durham, as with some other ministers; in which, says my author, "Dr. Champney, in his manuscript," the confessors of Christ came off victorious. But there was another more effectual way of stopping their mouths, which was to arraign and condemn them for transgressing the statute of Elizabeth, 27, which forbids, upon pain of death, priests, made by Roman authority, to come over into England, or remain here. Of this transgression, they were all found guilty, and upon this account alone had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. They suffered at Durham, May 27, some say May 6, 1590. The meekness and constancy which appeared in them, in this last scene of life, edified many, and was admired by all. It was also taken notice of, as a thing very extraordinary, as we learn from a letter of Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, priest, that the well, out of which they took water to boil the quarters of these four holy priests, did presently dry up, and so continued for many years after.

This year put an end to all the plots and stratagems of that unwearied persecutor of the English catholics, and capital enemy of the missioners, Sir Francis Walsingham, principal secretary of state to queen Elizabeth. He died miserably on the 6th of April, 1590, of an ulcer and impostume in his bowels, which reduced him to that wretched condition, that whilst he was yet alive, he yielded so insupportable a stench that scarce any one could bear to come near him. Ribadaneira and Champney relate, that amongst other attempts he made to ruin the seminaries abroad, he once, by his emissaries, procured to have the well poisoned, which supplied the college of Rhemes with water, in order to destroy by poison, all the priests and students; and that another time he caused poison to be given to Dr. Allen, the institutor and first president of that community: but the providence of God defeated these and many others of his plots. He maintained so many spies abroad, and was at such expenses to bring about his wicked enterprises, that he not only spent what was allowed him by the queen for that purpose, which was very considerable, and the salary of his place, but also his whole estate, leaving nothing to his only daughter, but his debts, who, says Dr. Champney in his manuscript, having renounced heresy, now embraces the catholic faith.

1591.—This year the persecution, which had something relented, began again to rage as much as ever. The first that felt the fury of it was Mr. Robert Thorp, priest, (Ribadaneira, being a stranger to the English names, calls him Therfeus), and his harbourer, Mr. Watkinson.

ROBERT THORP, PRIEST.*

Robert Thorp was born in Yorkshire, and was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent upon the English mission, May 9, 1585. He employed his labours in Yorkshire, his native country. Dr. Champney, who was acquainted with him, writes of him as follows: 'This holy priest, whom I knew in my younger days, and to whom, I have often confessed my sins, had laboured for a long time, and with very great fruit, in the vineyard of the Lord. He was a man of low stature, of infirm health, and but indifferent in point of learning, but of great devotion and piety; but though he was naturally timorous and weak, yet he suffered death for the catholic faith, with great constancy and fortitude.'

The manner of his apprehension is thus related by the lady Babthorpe, who then lived in that country, but after her husband's decease, became a nun at Louvain. 'To my remembrance,' says she, 'it is twenty-nine years since we were committed to Sheriff-Hutton castle: the president (of the North,) was then the earl of Huntington, and the archbishop's name was Piers, who had been a priest. And for the manner of Mr. Thorp's taking and death, I can remember no more, but that on a Palm-Sunday's evening, "rather on the eve of Palm-Sunday," he was, by an evil neighbour, seen to go into Thomas Watkinson's house; or, as some said, that neighbour saw some of Thomas Watkinson's servants get palms, which was sufficient to assure them that he had a priest in his house: for they knew well that priests used much to come to his house; but they could not be sure of the time; so now thinking they were sure of one, they went with speed to one Mr. John Gates, a justice of the peace, living in Houldone, some three miles off, one who was always ready on such evil employments; who, with his company, came so early on Palm-Sunday, in the morning, that, as I heard, they took them in their beds, and carried them away to York, where they were martyred. The manner of their deaths, I remember not, only this, that the good old man, "Watkinson" was offered his life if he would go to church, which he refusing, was martyred with the priest.'

This Thomas Watkinson, who suffered with Mr. Thorp, was a yeoman of Menthorpe, in Yorkshire, a good religious catholic, who lived a kind of a solitary life, and afforded what aid and assistance he could to the missioners. He suffered with great constancy, though naturally he was also timorous, and now advanced in years.

Mr. Thorp was condemned merely upon account of his priesthood; and Mr. Watkinson, merely for harbouring priests. The former was hanged, drawn and quartered; the latter only hanged.

They suffered at York, May 31, 1591.

* From the Douay Diary and Catalogues, from Ribadaneira, chap. 7. Champney's manuscript, and the relation of the lady Babthorpe.

MONFORD SCOT, AND GEORGE BEESLEY, PRIESTS.*

Monford, or Montford Scot, was born of a gentleman's family, in the Diocese of Norwich, and was far advanced in his studies before he left England, which was in the year 1574. At which time he was admitted, by Dr. Allen, into the college lately instituted at Douay, and there applied himself to the study of divinity. He was one of the eldest sons of that fruitful mother, and stands the nineteenth in the list of her priests, according to the order of their ordination, and the thirty-first in the list of the missioners sent from thence into England. He was made priest in 1575, and sent upon the mission in 1577, before the removal of the college to Rhemes. Dr. Champney gives him this character:—'He was,' says he, 'a man of wonderful meekness, and of so great abstinence and devotion, that his diet, on common days, was bread and water, and he would take but little more on Sundays, and holidays; and so addicted was he to prayer, that he spent whole days and nights almost in this exercise, insomuch, that his knees were grown hard by the assiduity of his prayers, as it is related of St. James; which, when one of the standers by perceived, whilst his body was quartered, he said aloud; I should be glad to see any one of our ministers, with their knees as much hardened by constant prayer, as we see this man's knees are. And so great and so general was the veneration that this holy priest had acquired, that Topcliff, that noted persecutor, loudly boasted, that the queen and kingdom were highly obliged to him, for having apprehended and brought to the gallows a priest, so devout and so mortified. He was prosecuted and condemned, barely upon account of his character, and was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, on the 2d of July, 1591, in Fleet-street. He suffered with wonderful constancy, and no less modesty and spiritual joy, to the great edification of the spectators, and the admiration even of the greatest enemies of his faith and character.'

George Beesley, priest, suffered at the same time and place, and with the like constancy and alacrity, and edification of the faithful. He was born at a place called the Mount, in Goosenor parish, in Lancashire, and was an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes: he was ordained priest, in 1587, and sent upon the English mission in 1588. He was a man of singular courage, young, strong, and robust, before he fell into the hands of the persecutors: but whilst he was in their hands, he was so frequently and cruelly tortured by the unhappy Topcliff, in order to oblige him to confess what catholics he had conversed with, and by whom he had been harboured or relieved, that he was reduced to a mere skeleton: insomuch, that they, who were before acquainted with him, could scarce know him to be the same man, when they saw him drawn to execution. Yet all these torments he endured with invincible courage and patience, and would not be induced to name any one, or bring any one into danger on his account.

* From the Douay Diary and Carrington, from father Ribadeneira, chap. 7. and from Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

He was condemned, merely for his priestly character, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth, 27; and was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, in Fleet-street, July 2. Some say, that the servant of the inn, where he was apprehended, was executed at the same time, for aiding and assisting him. Mr. Beesley left behind him, a brother of the same character, who, for many years after, laboured in the Lord's vineyard.

ROGER DICONSON, OR DICKINSON, PRIEST. *

Roger Diconson, (whom Ribadaneira calls de Kinsonio, from which, some have given him the name of Kinson,) was born at Lincoln, and was an alumnus and priest of the English college, then residing at Rhemes. He was ordained priest at Laon, in April, 1583, and sent upon the mission, the 4th of May, the same year. The particulars of his missionary labours, apprehension, and trial, I have not found; only, that he was condemned, merely on account of his priesthood, and suffered, as in cases of high treason, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, with a constancy worthy of the cause for which he died.

He was executed at Winchester, July 7, 1591.

Ralph Milner, layman, suffered at the same time and place, for relieving the said Mr. Diconson. He was born at Flacsted, in Hampshire; and had a wife and eight children living, at the time of his condemnation. The judge, as it were, out of pity, advised him to go but once to church, that by this condescension he might escape the ignominious death of the gallows, and live for the good of his family: but Mr. Milner answered with true christian fortitude, would your lordship then advise me, for the perishing trifles of this world, or for a wife and children, to lose my God? No, my lord, I cannot approve or embrace a counsel so disagreeable to the maxims of the gospel. He was executed, therefore, according to sentence; and suffered with extraordinary courage and constancy.

At the same assizes, were also condemned, † seven maiden gentlewomen, of good families, for having received Mr. Diconson into their houses to say mass to them. But the judge, who thought they would be sufficiently terrified by the sentence of death, gave them a reprieve, and so ordered them back to prison; at which, they all burst out into tears, and begged that the sentence of death pronounced against them, might be put in execution; and that they might die, with their ghostly father and pastor; it being just, that as they had a share in his supposed guilt, so they should be also sharers in his punishment; adding withal, that they trusted in God, that he who had given them the grace to do

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, from Dr. Champney's manuscript, and from a relation sent over to England, recorded by father Ribadaneira, c. 7.

† Septem nobiles virgines. Champney in MSS. Ribadaneira in Appendice, c. 7.

what they had done, would also strengthen them to suffer death with courage and constancy for the holy catholic faith.

Some time this year, 1591, (the particular day or month, I have not found,) William Pikes, a layman, suffered at Dorchester, as in cases of high treason, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, and denying the queen's spiritual supremacy. He was, as I learn, from a written relation of the reverend Mr. Manger's, born in Dorsetshire, and dwelt in a village called Moors, in the parish of Parley, four or five miles from Christ's church, in Hampshire. He was hanged, cut down alive, bowelled, and quartered. Being cut down all alive, says a manuscript relation, in my hands, 'and being a very able, strong man, when the executioner came to throw him on the block to quarter him, he stood upon his feet; whereupon the sheriff's men over-mastering him, threw him down, and pinned his hands fast to the ground with their halberts; and so the butchery was perfected.'

This year, on the 29th of November, a new proclamation was published against the catholics, as if the laws hitherto made, and all the fines, imprisonments, banishments, and deaths suffered in consequence of those laws, had not been sufficient. Of this proclamation, Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was supposed to be the author.

EDMUND GENINGS, ALIAS IRONMONGER, PRIEST.*

Edward Genings, (whom Stow, in his chronicle, calls Ironmonger, from the name under which he concealed himself upon the mission,) was born at Lichfield, in Staffordshire, in the year 1567, and was brought up in the protestant religion. From his very infancy he was wonderfully grave, and took no delight in the childish plays of those of his age, 'but greatly loved,' says his brother, p. 17, 'to behold the heavens, and therefore, he usually went forth in the evening to delight himself with the sight of the skies bedecked with stars. And, on a time, in these his tender years, going forth at night, according to his custom, this strange spectacle appeared to him in the air; he saw, as it were, armed men with weapons, killing and murdering others that were disarmed, and great store of blood running every where about them.

'This strange sight put him into a great fear, which caused him to run in hastily to tell his mother, who was then a widow, what he had seen, and she presently went forth with three or four of her neighbours, and they were all eye-witnesses of the same spectacle. Thus much I myself have heard them report, who also affirmed that myself was then present; but being very young, I cannot remember it. This happened in the beginning of our chiefest persecution, not long before the glorious death of father Campion and the rest.'

* From the Douay diary; but principally from his life, written by his brother, John Genings, and published at St. Omer's, in 1614.

When he was about the age of sixteen, he was recommended by his schoolmaster (wonderfully taken with his docility and modesty,) to Mr. Richard Sherwood, a catholic gentleman, to serve him in quality of his page. In this service he learned from his master, who was a gentleman much persecuted for his conscience, the catholic religion; and not long after, when he was little more than seventeen years of age, Mr. Sherwood having determined to cross the seas and consecrate himself to God in an ecclesiastical state, (as he afterwards did, being made priest at Rhemes, as appears by the college diary, in 1584, and sent upon the mission the 2d of August, that same year, with Mr. Robert Dibdale,) Mr. Genings, finding in himself a strong call to the same kind of life, with earnest and repeated entreaties, obtained to be sent over to Rhemes, where the college then resided, with recommendations to Dr. Allen, then president there, afterwards cardinal.

No sooner was he received into the college, but, with all diligence and alacrity, he applied himself to his studies; but, above all, to the study of the science of the saints, the fear and love of God, in which he made great progress, to the satisfaction of his superiors, one of whom has given him in writing a character to this effect: 'Edmund Genings was provident and wise in counsel, humble in obedience, devout in Christ, strong in faith, prompt in good works, most true and sincere in his words, remarkable in his goodness, excellent in charity. He was often afflicted and sick; he suffered all patiently; there was ever in him a discretion in all his actions, and a love towards all, worthy of imitation.'

He was of a very weak constitution of body, and by the extraordinary pains he took, partly in his studies, and partly in his spiritual exercises, he fell into a great sickness, which was followed by a continual ague, and other infirmities, which at length brought him into a most dangerous consumption, insomuch that the physicians despaired of his recovery. This determined the president to send him into England, to try if the change of air might do him any service. He left Rhemes not without great regret, and went on his journey as far as Havre de Grace, in Normandy, being recommended to two or three banished English priests who were there; who, after one fortnight of his stay in that place, procured him a passage in a ship bound for London, and provided him all things necessary for his journey. When, behold! on a sudden, Mr. Genings, who was very unwilling to risk himself amongst his protestant relations, not having yet finished his studies, and attained to the order of priesthood, which he was so desirous of, and therefore had heartily prayed to God for the recovery of his health, desires of these good gentlemen, (who had been witnesses, during his abode with them, of the divers grievous assaults of his illness which he had suffered,) to have a little longer patience with him, and not to insist, as they did, upon his going on board, for that he felt himself very much better, and almost as well as ever he was in his life. They condescended to his desires, and found him, in effect, so suddenly and so wonderfully changed, that, on the very next day, he was not only able to eat his meat with a good appetite, but also to go a good long walk, and give such other tokens of health, as appeared not a little extraordinary. This

sudden recovery of his was esteemed miraculous; upon which he returned to Rhemes, and there took up again, though with a greater fervour than ever, the course of life which his sickness had obliged him to interrupt, ever aspiring to the sacred order of priesthood, by which he might be qualified to assist the souls of his neighbours, and return to his own country to meet there with the crown of martyrdom. His common expression (as his brother relates from the testimony of his fellow collegians,) as often as occasion was offered of talking of England, and martyrdom there, being this, *vivamus in spe, vivamus in spe*, let us live in hope, let us live in hope.

The superiors of the college considering his fervour, procured a dispensation from Rome, that he might be made priest before his time, being but twenty-three years of age. The preparation he made for worthily receiving this holy order was very great, and the impression which his meditations on the dignity of the priesthood, and the greatness of the charge, &c., made upon his mind, was so strong, that it produced a wonderful effect, in his very body, of a shaking, as it were a palsy, which continued with him to his dying day. At this time, for his greater exercise of humility, patience, and charity, he was made prefect of the infirmary: in which office, he so laboured about the sick students, even in the meanest services, that he was called the very pattern of piety and humility. He was ordained priest, *extra tempora* (by an indult granted to the college by Gregory, XIII.,) at Soissons, March 18, 1590, together with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who suffered at York, in 1595; and he was sent upon the English mission, by Dr. Barret, then president of the college, on the 9th of April following, in the company of the same Mr. Rawlins, and Mr. Hugo Sewel. In their way they met with a party of Hugonots, belonging to the garrison of Crippy, who robbed them, and stripped them, and carried them into that town. The governor of which, as Mr. Genings writes to Dr. Barret, April 17, from Abbeville, treated them very ill, threatened them with death, and thrust them into a dark dungeon, where they remained from Tuesday till Thursday night. 'But we,' says he, 'despised their threats, rejoicing that we suffered these cruelties from them, for the self-same causes, for which we shall suffer death in England, if God gives us strength: so that neither the prison, nor the want of meat, clothes, or beds, any ways terrified us. On Thursday, in the evening, after we had eat nothing that day but a little black bread, we had our papers restored to us, and we were put out of the town, and about ten o'clock at night, we arrived at the suberbs of La Fere, God Almighty showing us the way, which we knew not. When we had here rested our wearied bodies, the next day, the Governor of La Fere, gave us a crown, and sent us away in peace; and now we are at Abbeville.' So far, Mr. Genings, in his letter to Mr. Barret, recorded in the Douay diary.

He and his companions embarked at Treport, on the coast of Normandy, in a French vessel, the master of which, promised to set them ashore, in the night, on the English coast. They landed near Whitby, in Yorkshire, on the side of a high cliff, with great danger of their lives: and when they came into the town to refresh themselves, they found in

the inn, one Ratcliffe, a pursuivant, who suspected them, and put them many questions, concerning their arrival thither; but their time was not yet come; and God delivered them out of his hands, and conducted them safe to a catholic gentleman's house, within two or three miles of Whitby: and here they parted from one another; and Mr. Genings, after half a year's stay in the northern parts of the kingdom, going to Lichfield, his native city, in order to gain there, the souls of his nearest relations, found that most of his friends and kindred were dead, except one brother, whom he heard to be in London, but in what part of the town, he could not learn. But as he understood the state of his soul to be, at that time, very bad, his charity determined him to go up to London, to seek after this strayed sheep. Here, for a whole month, he left no place untried, where he could suspect his brother might be: but still not finding him, and having now, no hopes of meeting with him, he resolved to leave the town for a time. When, behold! God Almighty brought him to the sight of his brother, though, at first, without knowing him, and that in a strange manner. "And thus it was, says this brother in his life, p. 54," 'as I have heard from his own mouth.

'Having, as I have said, a determination to leave London for a while, he walked forth of his inn one morning (certain days before he purposed to travel,) to visit a friend of his, on the other side of the city; and passing by St. Paul's church, when he was on the east side thereof, he suddenly felt a great alteration in his body, insomuch as his face glowed, and, as he thought, his hair stood an end, and all his joints trembling for fear; his whole body seemed to be bathed in a cold sweat. This strange accident, causing him to fear some evil to be imminent towards him, or danger of taking, he looked back to see if he could perceive any body pursuing him, but seeing no body near, but only a youth, in a brown coloured cloak, making no reflection who it should be, he went forward to his intended place to say mass that day. Not long after, on the very morning before he purposed to depart out of the town, the blessed man, recollecting himself in his devotions, seriously prayed, that his departure without finding his desired brother, might increase his patience; and although it afflicted him very much, yet he cried out, *fiat voluntas tua: my will is thy will, sweet Lord, thy will be done.* His devotions being finished, he went abroad to another place, where he had promised to celebrate mass that day before his departure. Which done, he was returning homewards towards his inn, upon Ludgate-hill, suddenly, as he was going, he felt the same motions as he had done the time before; and as the lamb naturally feareth the ravening wolf, so his innocency fearing the worst, looked back to see who followed him; and behold no man of mark, but a youth in a brown cloak, at the same instant reflecting on the time past, when he suffered the like agitation, and steadfastly viewing the young man, (whom he had left a little boy in the country, and had not seen of eight or nine years,) he was struck with this thought, this may be my brother. Upon this, he approached the youth, and courteously saluting him, inquired what countryman he was? and hearing that he was a Staffordshire man, civilly demanded his name; who

made answer, his name was Genings. By which, he knew he certainly was his brother, so long sought after. Then casting an eye towards heaven, by way of love and thanks, smiling upon the party, he told him, he was his kinsman, and was called Ironmonger; and asked him, what was become of his brother Edmund? The youth, not suspecting him to be the man, told him, he had heard he was gone to Rome, to the pope, and had become a notable papist, and a traitor both to God and his country; and that if he did return, he would be hanged infallibly. Mr. Edmund hearing this, and smiling at the boy's folly, told him, that he had heard his brother was a very honest man, and loved both the queen and his country, but God above all. But tell me, said he, good cousin John, do you not know him, if you see him? To which John answered, No: but beginning to suspect that he was his brother, and a priest, told him, he could not tell him what he was, but that he greatly feared he had a brother a papist priest, and that he was the man; swearing withal, that if it was so, he would discredit himself and all his friends; and protesting, that in this he would never follow him, although in other matters, he would greatly respect him.'

In a word, Mr. Edmund, upon this occasion, discovered himself to his brother, though not telling him that he was a priest, but did not find in him any present dispositions towards his conversion; neither was it a proper time, or place, to treat upon that subject. Therefore, taking his leave of him, he promised to see him again, after his return out of the country, and then to impart to him some affairs of great consequence. But the conversion of his brother, was to be the fruit of his martyrdom; which, after labouring for some short time in preaching, catechising, and performing other his priestly functions, in the country, he came to meet with in London, as we shall now see.

It was on the 7th of November, 1591, Mr. Genings returned to London, and met that evening, in a catholic house in Holborn, Mr. Polidore Plasden, a very virtuous and godly priest, and a fellow collegian of his, at Rhemes; and treating with him where they should say mass the next day, it being the Octave of All Saints, they concluded to say their mattins together, and to celebrate the next morning, at the house of Mr. Swithin Wells; and acquainted some friends with this design. Here, on the next day, Mr. Genings being at the consecration, and Mr. Plasden, "and Mr. White," priests, Mr. Brian Lacy, gent., John Mason, and Sydney Hodgson, laymen, Mrs. Wells and others being present, Topliffe, the arch priest-catcher, with other officers, came in, and broke open the chamber door, where he was celebrating. Upon this occasion, the gentlemen before named arising from their devotions, thought proper to oppose force to force, so to prevent the profanation of the sacred mysteries; and one of the laymen seeing Mr. Topliffe obstinately bent upon coming in, run upon him to thrust him down stairs, and, in the struggle fell with him. In the mean time, Mr. Plasden, having appointed the rest to keep the broken door, went to the altar and bid Mr. Genings go forward and finish the mass. Then returning to the door, and seeing Mr. Topliffe hastening up with a broken head, and fearing he would raise the whole street, to pacify him, told him, he should come in presently, and they would all yield them-

selves up his prisoners; which they did, as soon as the mass was ended: when Topliffe, and the rest, rushing in, took Mr. Genings as he was, in his vestments, and all the rest, men and women, to the number of about ten, with their church stuff, books, &c., and carried them to Newgate; who were, shortly after, all examined, by justice Yonge, and returned to prison, to take their trials the next sessions. Mr. Wells, who was absent when this happened, at his return, finding his house ransacked, and his wife carried away to prison, went forthwith to justice Yonge, to expostulate with him about the matter, and to demand his wife, and the keys of his lodging. But the justice, without more ado, sent him to bear the rest company, with a pair of iron bolts on his legs; and examining him the next day in Newgate, upon his answering, that he was not, indeed, privy to the mass being said in his house: but wished he had been present, thinking his house highly honoured, by having so divine a sacrifice offered therein, the justice told him, that though he was not at the feast, he should taste of the sauce.

On the 4th of December, Mr. Genings, and all the rest, were brought upon their trial, and a jury was impanelled to find them all guilty; and yet, all they could prove against them, was no more, than that one of them had said mass in Mr. Well's house, and the rest had heard the said mass. Many bitter words and scoffs were used by the judges, and others upon the bench, particularly to Mr. Genings, because he was very young, and had angered them with disputes. And the more to make him a scoff to the people, they vested him, not now in his priestly garments (in which they had before carried him through the streets) but in a ridiculous fool's coat, which they found in Mr. Well's house. In conclusion, the next day the jury brought in their verdict; by which the three priests were all found guilty of high treason, for returning into the realm, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth; and all the rest of felony, for being aiding and assisting to the priests. And it was appointed that they should all die at Tyburn, except Mr. Genings and Mr. Wells, who were to be executed before Mr. Well's own door, in Gray's-inn-fields. The judges, after pronouncing sentence, began to persuade them to conform to the protestant religion, assuring them, that by so doing, they should obtain mercy; but otherwise they must certainly expect to die. But they all bravely answered,—That they would live and die in the true Roman and catholic faith, which they and all antiquity had ever professed; and that they would, by no means go to the protestant churches, or once think that the queen could be the head of the church in spirituals.

At their return to Newgate, the three priests were cast into the dungeon: and, whilst they were there, justice Yonge, Mr. Topliffe, and others, twice or thrice came to the prison, and calling for Mr. Genings, promised him both life and liberty, if he would go to their church, and renounce his religion; giving him also hopes of a living and promotion, in that case; but they found him still constant and resolute. With which they being highly offended, put him into a dark hole within the prison, where he could not so much as see his own hands, nor get up or down without hazard of breaking his neck. Here he remained in

prayer and contemplation, without any food or sustenance, till the hour of his death.

On the 10th of December, at eight in the morning, Mr. Plasden, Mr. White, &c., were carried to Tyburn, and there executed; Mrs. Wells, to her great grief, was reprieved, and died in prison. Mr. Genings and Mr. Wells, were brought, according to sentence, to Gray's-inn-fields, over-against Mr. Well's door, to suffer there. Where, after a few speeches of some ministers that were there present, Mr. Genings was taken off the sled, and, like St. Andrew, joyfully saluted the gibbet prepared for him. 'Being put upon the ladder (p. 84), many questions were asked him by some standers by, whereto he still answered directly. At length Mr. Topliffe cried out, with a loud voice, Genings, Genings, confess thy fault, thy popish treason, and the queen, by submission, no doubt, will grant thee pardon. To which he mildly answered, I know not, Mr. Topliffe, in what I have offended my dear anointed princess; for if I have offended her, or any other, in any thing, I would willingly ask her and all the world forgiveness. If she be offended with me, without a cause, for professing my faith and religion, because I am a priest, or because I will not turn minister against my conscience, I shall be, I trust, excused and innocent, before God. I must obey God, saith St. Peter, rather than men, Acts, v. And I must not, in this case, acknowledge a fault where there is none. If to return into England priest, or to say mass, be popish treason, I here confess I am a traitor; but I think not so: and, therefore, I acknowledge myself guilty of these things, not with repentance, or sorrow of heart, but with an open protestation of inward joy, that I have done so good deeds; which, if they were to do again, I would, by the permission and assistance of God, accomplish the same, although with the hazard of a thousand lives.'

Mr. Topliffe being very angry at this speech, scarce giving him liberty to say a *pater noster*, bid the hangman turn the ladder; which being done, he presently caused the rope to be cut; the holy priest being little or nothing stunned, stood on his feet, casting his eyes towards heaven, till the hangman tripped up his heels, to make him fall on the block, on which he was to be quartered. After he was dismembered, the violence of the pain, caused him to utter these words, with a loud voice, *Oh it smarts!* which Mr. Wells hearing, replied, '*Alas! sweet soul, thy pain is great, indeed, but almost past; pray for me now, most holy saint, that mine may come.*' After he was ripped up, and his bowels cast into the fire, 'if credit may be given, says his brother, "p. 86." to hundreds of people standing by, and to the hangman himself, the blessed martyr, his heart being in the executioner's hand,' uttered these words, *sancte Gregori ora pro me:* which the hangman hearing, swore a most wicked oath, *Z——ds! see, his heart is in my hand, and yet Gregory is in his mouth. O egregious papist.*'

Among many catholics that were present at his execution, there was a devout virgin, who had wholly dedicated herself to the service of God; who had a great desire to get, if possible, some little part of his flesh, or of his blood, to keep as a relic: but not being able to come near the gibbet for the crowd, she followed his quarters, as they were

carried back again to Newgate to be boiled; when many running to see them before they were carried up to boiling; to satisfy their curiosity, Bull, the hangman, took up one of the fore-quarters by the arm; which, when he had showed to the people, he flung down carelessly into the basket again, so that both the hand and arm hung out over the sides of the basket; which, the said virgin seeing, drew near to touch it, and laying hold of his anointed thumb, by a secret instinct, gave it a little pull, only to show her love, and desire of having it; when, behold! to her great surprise, the thumb was instantly separated from the rest of the hand, and remained in her hand, which she carried off without being taken notice of by any one.

This young gentlewoman, presently after this miraculous acquisition, took a resolution to renounce entirely the world, and all its vanities; and going beyond the seas with this, her relic, became a nun of the order of St. Augustin; and hearing of this martyr's own brother, says my author, speaking of himself, p. 94, living in the seminary of Douay, sent him, for a token, a little piece of the same thumb, enclosed in a letter, written with her own hand, protesting the verity of all the aforesaid narration.

But the most wonderful event that followed Mr. Genings's death, was the sudden conversion of this same brother; which he, speaking of himself in the third person, thus relates, p. 98, &c. 'This martyr's brother, called John Genings, being in London at the very time of his brother's apprehension, condemnation, and execution, hearing of the same, rather rejoiced, than any way bewailed the untimely and bloody end of his nearest kinsman, hoping, thereby, to be rid of all persuasions, which he mistrusted he should receive from him, touching the catholic religion,' "having been brought up, as he tells his reader, a little above, in great prejudices to catholics, and rather inclined to puritanism." 'But, about ten days after his execution, towards night, having spent all that day in sport and jollity, being weary with play, he resorted home; where, to repose himself, he went into a secret chamber. He was no sooner there set down, but forthwith his heart began to be heavy, and he began to weigh how idly he had spent that day. Amidst these thoughts, there presently was represented to his mind, a strange imagination and apprehension of the death of his brother: and, amongst other things, how he had, not long before, forsaken all worldly pleasures, and, for his religon only, endured intolerable torments. Then, within himself, he made long discourses concerning his religion, and his brother's, comparing the catholic manner of living with his, and finding the one to embrace pain and mortification, and the other to seek pleasure; the one to live strictly, and the other licentiously; the one to fear sin, the other to run into all kind of sin. Upon this, being struck with exceeding terror and remorse, he wept bitterly, desiring God, after his fashion, to illuminate his understanding, that he might see and perceive the truth. O! what great joy and consolation did he feel at that instant! what reverence, on the sudden, did he begin to bear to the blessed virgin, and to the saints of God, which before, he had scarce heard talk of! what strange motions, as it were inspirations, with exceeding readiness of will to change his religion, took possession

of his soul! and what a heavenly conceit had he of his dear brother's felicity! He imagined he saw him; he thought he heard him. In this ecstasy of mind, he made a vow upon the spot, as he lay prostrate on the ground, to forsake kindred and country, to find out the true knowledge of his brother's faith. Which vow, he soon after performed, and departed England without advertising any one of his friends, and went beyond the seas to execute his promise.'

'This Mr. John Genings became afterwards an alumnus of Douay college, where he was made priest in 1607, and was from thence sent upon the mission, in 1608. After some time he entered into the holy order of St. Francis, and was the happy instrument of procuring a convent for his Order at Douay, in 1617, and of restoring the English Franciscan province, of which he was the first provincial; which has since furnished the mission with many zealous apostolical labourers and holy martyrs.

SWITHIN WELLS, GENTLEMAN.*

He was the sixth son of Thomas Wells, Esq., of Brambridge, near Winchester, and brother to that worthy confessor, Gilbert Wells, Esq., renowned for his immoveable constancy amongst many, and great persecutions which he suffered under queen Elizabeth for the catholic religion. Mr. Swithin was virtuously educated from his infancy, and carefully instructed in all manner of learning fitting his age and condition. He was good natured, pleasant in conversation, courteous, generous, courageous, and every way a gentleman in his comportment. He took to wife a virtuous gentlewoman, who, as we have seen, was condemned with him, but did not die with him, being reserved to suffer a longer and more lingering martyrdom in prison.

'As Mr. Wells grew more mature in age, so he did in virtues. And although he was much delighted in hawking, hunting, and other such like gentleman's diversions, yet he so soberly governed his affections therein, as to be content to deprive himself of a good part of those pleasures, and retire to a more profitable employment of training up young gentlemen in virtue and learning, with such success, says my author, that his school hath been, as it were, a fruitful seminary to many worthy members of the catholic church, whereof one hath already gained the crown of martyrdom; others yet remain, some industrious and painful workmen in the happy harvest of souls, and some strong and immoveable pillars to support the catholic cause against so many grievous storms and tempests as are daily raised against it.'

We have already seen in what manner Mr. Wells was apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned to die: and how he refused to save his life

* From Mr. John Gennings's relation of the life and death of Mr Wells, and from Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

by renouncing his religion. The following letter, which he wrote to his brother-in-law, Mr. Gerard Morin, (a constant professor of, and sufferer for the catholic faith,) whilst he was in prison, before his condemnation, as it excellently expresses the interior dispositions of his soul, deserves particularly to be here recorded.

'The comforts which captivity bringeth, are so manifold, that I have rather cause to thank God highly for his fatherly correction, than to complain of any worldly misery whatsoever. Dominus de cælo in terram aspexit ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, &c. Potius mihi habetur affligi pro Christo, quam honorari a Christo. These, and the like, cannot but comfort a good christian, and cause him to esteem his captivity to be a principal freedom, his prison a heavenly harbour, and his irons an ornament. These will plead for him, and the prison will protect him. God send me, withal, the prayers of all good folks to obtain some end of all miseries, such as to his holy will and pleasure shall be most agreeable. I have been long time in durance, and endured much pain; but the many future rewards in the heavenly payment, make all pains seem to me a pleasure: and truly custom hath caused, that it is now no grief to me at all to be debarred from company, desiring nothing more than solitariness; but rather rejoice, that thereby I have the better occasion, with prayer, to prepare myself to that happy end for which I was created and placed here by God, assuring myself always of this one thing, that how few soever I see, yet am I not alone, Solus non est cui Christus comes est. "He is not alone who has Christ in his company." When I pray, I talk with God, when I read, he talketh to me, so that I am never alone. He is my chiefest companion, and only comfort. Cum ipso sum in tribulatione.

'I have no cause to complain of the hardness of prison, considering the effects thereof, and the rather, because I fasten not my affection upon worldly vanities, whereof I have had my fill to my great grief and sorrow. I renounced the world before ever I tasted of imprisonment, even in my baptism; which being so, how little doth it import in what place I be in the world, since, by promise, I vowed once never to be of the world, which promise and profession, how slenderly soever I have kept heretofore, I purpose, for the time to come, God assisting me with grace in my commenced enterprise, to continue to my life's end. The world is crucified to me, and I to the world. God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of Christ. I utterly refuse all commodities, pleasures, pastimes, and delights, saving only the sweet service of God, in whom is the perfection of all true pleasures. Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas præter amare Deum. "Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity besides loving God." I am bound and charged with gyves, yet am I loose and unbound towards God; and far better I account it to have the body bound, than the soul to be in bondage. I am threatened hard with danger of death, but if it be no worse, I will not wish it to be better. God send me his grace, and then I weigh not what flesh and blood can do unto me. I have answered to many curious and dangerous questions, but I trust with good advisement, not offend-

ing my conscience. What will become of it God knows best, to whose protection I commit you.

E carcere et catenis ad regnum,
Tuus dum vixero.

Sw. W.

Mr. Wells received the sentence of death with undaunted courage, and religiously prepared himself for it. The morning he was to die, his wife (who had also received the like sentence for the like guilt of harbouring priests,) was brought out of prison with him and Mr. Genings, in order, as it was supposed, for execution; but she was remanded back to prison by the sheriff, there to wait the queen's pleasure. That which would have afforded great joy to another, was grievously afflicting to this good lady, who lamented to see herself left behind, and not suffered to bear her husband and her ghostly father company in so glorious a death. She lived ten years a close prisoner in Newgate, exercising herself there in fasting, watching, and continual prayer, and died most holily, in 1602. Mr. Wells was carried to be executed, with Mr. Genings, in Gray's-inn-fields, over against his own door. In the way, seeing, by chance, an old friend of his, he could not forget his wonted mirth; but saluted him in these words, 'Farewell, dear friend; farewell all hawking, hunting, and old pastimes; I am now going a better way.' At the place of execution, he was first witness of the bloody butchery of Mr. Genings; but so far from being terrified by it, or desiring any respite or delay of execution, he rather expressed a desire to have his death hastened. 'Despatch, said he, Mr. Topliffe, despatch: are you not ashamed to suffer an old man to stand here so long in his shirt, in the cold. I pray God make you, of a Saul a Paul, of a persecutor a catholic professor.' And in these and other like sweet speeches, says my author, p. 109, full of Christian piety, charity, and magnanimity, he happily consummated his course, the 10th of December, 1591.

EUSTACHIUS WHITE, PRIEST.*

Eustachius White was born at Louth, in Lincolnshire. His father was an earnest protestant; who, upon his son's conversion, was so highly offended, as to lay his curse upon him; but God turned his curse into a blessing. Mr. Eustachius going abroad, became an alumnus, first of the college of Douay, then residing at Rhemes, and afterwards of that of Rome, where he was made priest. He returned to Rhemes in October, 1588; and from thence, in the November following, was sent upon the English mission. Mr. John Genings, in his life of his

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and other manuscripts in my hands, and from the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution, p. 812, 813.

brother, reckons Mr. White in the number of those who were taken together in Mr. Well's house; and certain it is, that he suffered on the same day with Mr. Genings and Mr. Plasden; but except we suppose him to have been twice apprehended, I have some reason to think there may be a mistake in that particular of his being taken with Mr. Genings: for I have a manuscript in my hands, written by Mr. Stephen Barnes, priest, who was acquainted with Mr. White, which gives a very different account of his apprehension. For thus he writes to Mr. Barber, priest, then living in Douay college.

'Amongst your priests martyred, there is one Mr. Eustachius White, who used in our country, whom I knew. He was taken at Blanford, in this manner: coming, as I think, from London, he light in company of a west-countryman, whose name I know not, but he was somewhat belonging to the law. Riding with him, Mr. White being a fine gentleman-like man, and of good discourse and conversation, passed his time very well with him: and to feel the man's disposition in religion, talked of matters beyond the seas, as having been a traveller; and finding the lawyer well affected, as he thought, in religion, spoke the more freely, but no ways discovering what he was. Their ways lying together to Blanford but no farther, Mr. White would have taken his leave there, but the lawyer urged him, that they might there breakfast together before they parted; to whose importunity he yielded; and having a little bag at his saddle, in which, amongst other things, was his breviary, took that into the chamber with him; but after breakfast, having taken leave of his companion, and gone out of the town, the lawyer informed the officers that he was a seminary priest; and telling them which way he was to go, they made after him. Mr. White, in the mean time, missing his breviary, which he had left in the inn, turned back. The officers met him; but not suspecting him coming towards the town, nor he them, about what they were going, came directly to the inn, where he was taken. And being much urged, whether he was not a priest, easily confessed it, when he might do it without danger to any other. Having confessed himself to be a priest, they sent immediately for the minister, one Dr. Houel, a tall man, and a great opinion there was of his learning. They conferred together; what their controversy was, I know not, but Mr. White alledged for himself a place of scripture, which the doctor denied. Mr. White avouched, that it was so in their own book, and the other still denied it. Mr. White wished him to come again the next day, and bring his book with him, and if he could not show it in his book, he would go to church with him: the other answered as resolutely, That if it were so, he would never go to church more, but be a papist. Thus, for the present they left their disputation. The next day (the rumor of this, being spread about,) great numbers came, expecting surely to have the priest to church with them. The doctor also came, and brought his book with him; but being come into the room, he laid the book on the table, and his elbow upon it, and began to talk of other matters; but Mr. White repeating openly, the conditions agreed on the night before, asked him, whether he had brought his book? he answered, Yes: but he held it fast under his elbow, and

would have entered into other disputes; but Mr. White urged they were not needful; but that he should bring forth the book, and their conference would be ended: for so that either he must go to church, or the doctor be a papist. The doctor as yet, not offering to show the book, Mr. White endeavoured, with modesty, to take it from under his elbow; but he would not let it go: whereupon, Mr. White, turning to the audience, repeated the conditions again, and willed them to judge who had the right: and, withal, to consider well, with what false doctrine they were seduced; and so would deal no more with Dr. Houel. The people were much moved; and many, of whom I know some, that were very hot protestants before, became very calm: and the opinion of the common sort was, that there was not such a learned man again in England. He was detained there for some days, and afterwards sent for to London by a pursuivant, and there racked, as was said, seven times, and put to death. I heard, at that time, some of Blanford, say, that they hoped the town would join together, and put up a petition to the queen to beg him. This, I have heard from the mouths of some in Blanford, that were present, and told it me, while it was in every man's mouth: for I had occasion to come thither, very soon after.' So far, Mr Barnes.

The bishop of Tarrasona and Dr. Champney, confirm what is here said of Mr. White's being cruelly tortured in prison. And the former, in particular, relates, that Mr. White lying in Bridewell, at the mercy of the inhuman Topliffe, or Topcliffe, (for I find his name differently written), besides other cruel treatments, was once hung up for eight hours together, by the hands, in iron manacles, to oblige him to confess in whose houses he had said mass, or from whom he had received any relief, since his return into England; but though this torment was so grievous that the sweat which the violence of the pain forced from his body, passed all his garments and wet the very ground under him, as was attested by eye-witnesses; yet nothing could be extorted from him, which might prejudice the persecuted catholics; and under the greatest of his pains, he cried out,—Lord, more pain, if thou pleasest, and more patience! Though Mr. White had been thus inhumanly handled by the tyrant, he told him, with a great deal of meekness and humility, Mr. Topcliffe, I am not angry at you for all this, but shall pray to God for your welfare and salvation. Topcliffe replied in a passion,—That he wanted not the prayers of a traitor, and that he would have him hanged the next sessions. Then, said Mr. White, I will pray for you, sir, at least, at the foot of the gallows; for you have great need of prayers.

Mr. White was condemned merely on account of his priesthood; and was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, December 10, 1591.

POLYDORE PLASDEN, PRIEST.*

Polydore Plasden, whom Mr. Stow calls Blaxton, was a native of London, and performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay, then residing at Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome. From whence he was sent priest upon the English mission. We have already seen, in the life of Mr. Genings, all that regards Mr. Plasden's apprehension, trial, and condemnation. He was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, for being a priest and returning into England to exercise his priestly functions here.

He was drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered December 10, 1592.

With Mr. White and Mr. Plasden, three others were executed for being aiding and assisting to priests, viz: Mr. Brian Lacy, gentleman, John Mason, and Sydney Hodgson. They all constantly chose to die for their religion, rather than to save their lives by occasional conformity.

Of all these executions, thus writes the protestant historian, Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 1591. "The 10th of December, three seminary priests, for being in this realm contrary to the statute, and four others, for relieving them, were executed. Two of them, viz., a seminarist, named Ironmonger, and Swithin Wells, gentleman, in Gray's-inn-field's, on the north side of Holborn; Blaxton and White, seminarists, and three others, their abettors, at Tyburn.'

WILLIAM PATENSON, PRIEST—1592.†

William Patenson, or Patteson, was a native of the bishopric of Durham, an alumnus and priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. He was ordained in 1587, and sent upon the English mission in 1589. Falling into the hands of the persecutors, he was prosecuted and condemned to die, as in cases of high teason, merely upon account of his priestly character and functions. This holy man, the night before his execution, was put down into the condemned hole, with seven malefactors, who were all to suffer on the next day; and being more concerned for their eternal salvation, than his own temporal life, he so movingly preached to them repentance for their sins, and a sincere conversion to God and his church, that six of the seven were reconciled by him; and, on the next morning, professed themselves determined to die in the catholic faith, as they did, with great marks of repentance for their past crimes, and a willingness to suffer that ignominious death in satisfaction for them. The persecutors were so en-

* From the Douay Diary, and the bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue.

† From the Douay Catalogues, manuscript history of Dr. Champney, and father Ribadaneira, in his appendix, c. 10.

raged at this, that they treated Mr. Patenson, on this account, with more than ordinary cruelty, causing him to be cut down immediately, and butchered whilst he was alive, and in his perfect senses.

He suffered at Tyburn, January 22, 1591–2.

THOMAS PORMORT, OR, PORTMORE, PRIEST.*

Thomas Pormort, or Portmore, was born in Lincolnshire, of a gentleman's family. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome, to which he was sent from Rhemes, in 1581. At Rome, he was made priest, and from thence he was sent upon the English mission. He fell into the hands of the persecutors, in August, 1591, and was committed to the Tower, where he was several times cruelly racked, to extort from him, by force of torments, the names of those who had harboured or relieved him. But his constancy was proof against all their torments, although, by the violence of them, his body was all disjointed, and his belly broken. So they proceeded to his trial, and condemned him to die, as in cases of high treason. The crimes for which he was sentenced to death, and afterwards executed, are thus set down by Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 1591.

'The 8th of February, Thomas Pormort was convicted of two several high treasons; the one for being a seminary priest, and the other for reconciling John Barwys, haberdasher. John Barwys was also convicted of high treason, for being reconciled, and of felony, for relieving the said priest, contrary to the statute. Thomas Pormort was executed in Paul's church-yard, February 20.

This year, 1592, on the 23d of June, Robert Ashton, gentleman, born at Croston, in Lancashire, was executed at Tyburn, for procuring a dispensation from Rome, to marry his second cousin. *Catalog. Chalced., &c.* And in the same month, Thomas Metham, one of the first missioners from Douay, afterwards a jesuit, died a prisoner for his faith, in Wisbich castle.

* From the Douay Diary and Catalogues, from Ribadaneira, chap. 7, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.

EDWARD WATERSON, PRIEST.—1593. *

Edward Waterson was born at London; and being come to man's estate, travelled, with certain merchants, into Turkey, to see those eastern regions. Here, a rich Turk taking a liking to him, offered his daughter in marriage, if he would renounce the Christian religion: but this condition, Mr. Waterson, though at that time no catholic, rejected with horror. Coming back from Turkey, he took Rome in his way homewards, and there, was instructed and reconciled to the catholic church by the means of Mr. Richard Smith, (afterwards bishop of Chalcedon,) then living in the English college, in that city. From Rome, he went to Rhemes, where the college was, at that time, which is now at Douay. Here he was admitted a student, and here he lived, for some years, a great pattern of humility, penance, and other virtues. He had a most ardent zeal for the salvation of souls; and, upon that account, though he was but indifferently learned, he was desirous to be made priest, and to be sent upon the English mission. He had his desire, and was ordained priest the Saturday after Mid-lent Sunday, 1592, and was sent into England, the Whitsuntide following: on which occasion, he declared to his companions, That if he might have the kingdom of France, to stay there till the next Midsummer, he would rather choose to go for England, as he did; such was his desire of being serviceable to the souls of his countrymen.

Mr. Waterson was but a short time in England, before he was apprehended, tried, and condemned, for being made priest, by Roman authority, and coming into England, and remaining here. He received the sentence of death, with joy, and suffered with constancy. The Rev. archdeacon Trollop, relates, from the testimony of virtuous catholics, who were eye-witnesses, and related it to him, 'that whilst this blessed martyr was drawn upon the hurdle to his execution, upon a sudden, the hurdle stood still; and the officers, with all their whipping, and striving, could not make the horses to move it: and fresh horses passing by, they took them, and put them to the hurdle; yet they could not, (though they broke the tresses,) any way move him, or the hurdle; who, seeing their attempts to be frustrate, were forced to take the martyr from the hurdle, and to lead him on foot, to the place of execution, saying, it would be a note to the papists, which had happened that day.'

Dr. Champney adds, that being, upon this occasion, taken off the hurdle, he walked cheerfully towards the gallows, not as to a punishment, but as to a crown. And, that coming to the place, and recommending himself by a short prayer to God, as he was offering to go up the ladder, it was violently agitated of itself, without any visible hand, till the confessor made the sign of the cross, and then, the ladder stood still; and he ascending, was shortly after turned off; and according to sentence, cut down, bowelled, and quartered. I find Dr. Champney

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and from an MS. relation of his death, sent over to Douay by Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, archdeacon.

was Mr. Waterson's cotemporary at the college, and received clerical tonsure, with about forty others, on the same day as Mr. Waterson was made deacon, Frebruary 24, 1591.

Mr. Waterson suffered at Newcastle, upon Tyne, January 7, 1593.

JAMES BIRD, GENTLEMAN.*

James Bird was born at Winchester, of a gentleman's family. His parents brought him up in the protestant religion; which, upon a conviction of conscience, he afterwards forsook, and became a catholic; and, going abroad, was, for some time a student in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. At his return home, his zeal for his religion, caused him to be apprehended. The accusations laid to his charge, were, that he had been reconciled to the Roman church, and, that he maintained the pope to be, under Christ, the head of the church. When he was brought to the bar, he acknowledged the indictment; and thereupon received sentence of death, as in cases of high treason: yet, so that both life and liberty were offered him if he would but once go to the protestant church; but he chose rather to die, than to act against his conscience. And when his father solicited him to save his life by complying, he modestly answered, that as he had always been obedient to him, so would he willingly obey him in this also, if he could do it, without offending God. After a long imprisonment, he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Winchester, March 25, 1593.

He suffered with wonderful constancy and cheerfulness, being but nineteen years old. His head was set up on a pole, upon one of the gates of that city; which his father, one day passing by, and viewing the face of his son, thought that the head, bowing down, made him a reverence: upon which, he cried out, ah! my son Jemmy, who not only, living, wast ever obedient and dutiful, but now also, when dead, payest reverence to thy father! how far from thy heart was all affection or will for treason, or any other wickedness!

ANTONY PAGE, PRIEST.*

Antony Page was born of a gentleman's family, at Harrow, on the Hill, in the county of Middlesex. He performed his studies abroad, in Douay college, then residing at Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1591, and sent upon the mission, January 3, 1591-2. Dr. Champney, who was his cotemporary at the college, tells us, that he was a man of wonderful meekness, of a virginal modesty and purity, and of a more

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript.
† From the same catalogue and manuscript, and from the Douay diary.

than common learning and piety; who, for his singular candour of mind, and sweetness of behaviour, was dear to all. Falling into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, after suffering much in prison, and maintaining, by disputation, his religion, in some conferences with the ministers, he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, merely on account of his priestly character, and was drawn, hanged, and quartered at York, April 20, 1593.

JOSEPH LAMPTON, PRIEST.*

He was born of a gentleman's family, at Malton,† in Yorkshire, and going abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, there performed part of his studies, and being in his divinity, went from thence to Rome, to the English college of that city, in 1589. But he had not been here long, before his zeal for the salvation of the souls of his neighbours prompted him to desire to break off the course of his school divinity, and to return home to look after the lost sheep. So being made priest, he was sent upon the mission, where he was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison, and not long after brought to the bar, arraigned and condemned for being a priest, and coming into England to perform his priestly offices in this kingdom. For this, and no other treason, he had sentence to die the death of a traitor, which he suffered with great constancy and fortitude. He was cut down alive, and the hangman, (who was one of the felons, who, to save his own life was to perform that office,) having bugun the butchery, by dismembering the martyr, had so great a horror of what he was doing, that he absolutely refused to go on with the operation, though he was to die for the refusal, so that the sheriff was obliged to seek another executioner, whilst the martyr, with invincible patience and courage, supported a torment which cannot be thought of without horror, and which shocked even the most barbarous of the spectators; till, at length, a butcher from a neighbouring village was brought to the work, who, ripping him up, and bowelling him, set his holy soul at liberty, to take its happy flight to its sovereign and eternal good.

He suffered at Newcastle, July 27, 1593, in the flower of his age, (for he was not yet thirty,) and in the sight of his friends and relations.

WILLIAM DAVIES, PRIEST.‡

Mr. Davies was born, according to Yepez's relation, in Cærnarvon, according to the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, at Crois in Yris, in Denbigshire, of North Wales. He was, says the former, of one of the

* From the same catalogue and manuscript.

† Some say he was of the bishopric of Durham.

‡ From the Douay diary, and from the relation of one of his companions and fellow prisoners, recorded by bishop Yepez, in his history of the persecution, l. 5, c. 8.

best families of that country; but leaving home, he went beyond sea, and became a student in the college then residing at Rhemes. Here, in a short time, he made a great progress in virtue, and such was his zeal of souls, that he was very desirous, even before he had finished the usual course of his divinity studies, to run to the succour of numbers in his country, perishing through error and vice. He was made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1585. He chose his own country for the seat of his labours, and there, for several years, in the midst of difficulties and dangers, sought after the lost sheep, and brought many of them back to his Lord's fold; till, about the 20th of March, 1591–2, going to Holyhead, to procure a passage for four young men into Ireland, who from thence desired to go over into Spain, to the college of Valladolid, both he and his companions were taken up upon suspicion, at the instance of one Mr. Fulk, a great enemy of the catholics. They passed that first night in the hands of the dregs of the people, who entertained them all the night with scoffs and injuries; but the next morning they were hurried away to Beaumaris, which is the county town of Anglesey. Here they were all five examined.

1st. If they had any Agnus Dei's, or blessed medals, or pope's bulls, or if they had received any letters from the English seminaries abroad? They answered, No. They were asked, if they would swear it upon the bible? they answered, they would not; for they thought their word was enough.

2dly. They were asked where they were going? They answered, To Ireland.

3dly. They were asked if they would go to church, or take the oath of supremacy? They absolutely refused to do either. And so this day's work ended, after they had treated them with many injurious words and reproaches. The next day they were again brought before the magistrates, and examined more rigorously. And then Mr. Davies frankly confessed, that he was a priest of the seminary of Rhemes, and that he had returned home to administer the sacraments to his brethren, the catholics of this kingdom, and to bring back as many protestants as he could to the true catholic religion. They urged him much to tell them with whom he had lived all the time he had been in England; but he absolutely refused, whatever efforts they made, to give them any answer, to such questions as these, which might be of bad consequence to others.

Upon this confession, Mr. Davies was separated from his companions, and cast into a dark, stinking dungeon, between two walls of the castle of Beaumaris, where he was not suffered to see or speak with any one, till after about a month's time, his virtue and patience had gained so far upon the jailor, as to permit him, for about one hour in a day, viz: between eight and nine in the morning, to come out of his dungeon to breathe a better air, and to converse with his companions, who were kept prisoners in another part of the castle. They then found the means privately to procure a vestment, and other necessaries, to say mass, which Mr. Davies celebrated every day, and afterwards punctually returned to his dungeon to give God thanks, and there entertained himself with his Saviour. The jailor, by degrees, was still more indulgent

insomuch, that Mr. Davies and his companions wanted not opportunities of making their escape out of the castle; but they would not requite the jailor's kindness by exposing him to the danger of falling under any inconveniences on their account.

Whilst Mr. Davies was confined in the castle of Beaumaris, many, attracted by the reputation of his sanctity, had recourse to him from twenty, thirty, or forty miles round, some for counsel in their doubts, and comfort in their affliction, others to confess their sins, and treat with him of the salvation of their souls; and those who could not come in person, consulted him by letters: and it is not to be expressed how much the cause of religion and piety was thus, in a short time, advanced in all that neighbourhood; insomuch, that whereas before, there was scarce one to be found in those parts, who openly professed himself a catholic, there were now a great many, in spite of the ministers, who frequently came to the castle to dispute with Mr. Davies; amongst whom was one Mr. Burgess, a noted preacher, who brought with him two sacks of books; but gained nothing by the conference but his own confusion.

When the assizes came, Mr. Davies and his four companions were all brought to the bar; and he was arraigned of high treason, for having been made priest beyond the seas by Roman authority, and returning into this kingdom; and his companions of felony, for having been found in his company. The jury found them all guilty of their respective indictments; upon which, instead of being any ways dismayed, Mr. Davies began, with a joyful voice, the hymn *te Deum*, and his companions joined with him in the thanksgiving, till the officers of justice prohibited them to proceed. In the mean time, the people murmured aloud at the injustice of the verdict, till the judge, to appease them, told them, that as to the priest, nothing could be said to excuse him from the sentence of death: but as to the four youths who were taken in his company, he thought the jury had stretched the point too far, to bring them in guilty of felony, since it had not been made to appear in the trial, that they knew him to be a priest: and therefore they should be all five sent back to prison, till the queen and her council had been informed of the case, and should signify their pleasure what should be done with them.

Not long after this, Mr. Davies was ordered from Beaumaris to Ludlow, where, at that time, the council of the Marches of Wales resided: here the most learned ministers of that country were employed to confer with him, and the president of the council neglected no means of bringing him to conformity; and once, under pretence of a disputation to be held with the ministers, led him to church in the afternoon, and caused the common prayer service to be read there, that Mr. Davies might seem to countenance it by his presence. The confessor perceiving the artifice, would have gone out immediately, but the door was shut upon him, and he was kept there by force. Upon which, he began to recite, with a loud voice, the vespers of the Roman breviary, so that the minister could not be heard, and all was confusion. And when all was over, to prevent the scandal that might be taken from his having been there, he publicly declared, in the hearing of all the peo-

ple, calling God and his holy angels to witness, That he had been brought thither by a stratagem, and kept by force; and that he would rather die a thousand deaths, than willingly communicate in an heretical service.—The president told him he was a madman for refusing to purchase his life and liberty at so easy a rate as that of acquiescing to their liturgy; and so, with injuries and reproaches, sent him back to prison.

From Ludlow he was sent, bound, to Beudley, making the journey in three days, in company with a malefactor, who was ordered to the prison there. Here Mr. Davies was no sooner arrived, but, sick and weary as he was, he was thrust down into a dungeon, amongst felons that lay under sentence of death, so closely penned up together, that they had no room to stir; nor any other convenience to lie down to rest on, or even to sit on, than a sort of a stone seat, two feet high, which the malefactors very civilly offered Mr. Davies to sit on in the day, and sleep on at night. But his chief suffering here, was from the insupportable stench of the place, the prisoners being obliged to do all their necessities in that close place. From Beudley, he was shifted again to other prisons, till, at length, he was ordered back again to Beaumaris castle, to his own great satisfaction, who had made it his prayer to God, as he told his companions, that if his divine Majesty was pleased to do him that honour, of which he acknowledged himself infinitely unworthy, to shed his blood for his faith, it might be in that place, where no one had suffered before; and where the catholic religion was so little known, and in a manner quite forgot.

The resolution of sending back Mr. Davies to Beaumaris, coming to the knowledge of some catholic gentlemen, they formed the design of rescuing him on the way, out of the hands of the officers of justice, and setting him at liberty: but having imparted their design to him, he would, by no means, consent to it, assuring them withal, That were they to come to rescue him, he would not go along with them; such was his desire of suffering for Christ. And this plainly appeared, by what happened the night he was brought to Beaumaris; when the officers having lost their way in the dark, and giving him an opportunity of escaping, he would not make use of it; but being himself well acquainted with the country, served them as a guide, till they came to the castle.

Here Mr. Davies found his four companions, who were overjoyed to see him again; and with them he formed a kind of religious community in the prison, observing from this time, till his death, the following order or regulation of life: they all rose at four in the morning, and then employed one hour in mental prayer; they recited together the hours of the divine office; and Mr. Davies every day said mass to them, with great devotion, and many tears, which though he strove to conceal, he was not able, his heart being brim-full of divine consolations on these occasions. After mass and thanksgiving, they sung together the anthem *O Sacrum Convivium*, and then applied themselves to reading and studying, and Mr. Davies to his prayer. At their meals, the holy man taught them, both by word and example, to practice self-denial, by abstaining from what they had the most inclination to. After their

meals, they employed half an hour in reading in the Imitation of Christ, and other spiritual books. After which, Mr. Davies entertained them for a while with pious and edifying discourses, upon the subject of their spiritual lecture, or the lives of the saints, or the devotions that he had seen abroad, in catholic countries, &c. Then they recited together the litanies of the blessed virgin; and the remainder of the afternoon and evening, they spent in their studies, and in reciting their rosary; and Mr. Davies in mental prayer, and in treating with those that came to him about the concerns of their souls. At night, they recited together, the litany of the saints, and made their examination of consciences, and so went to rest. Twice in the week they confessed, and they communicated on all Sundays and holidays. And thus they spent the last six months, after Mr. Davies's return to Beaumaris, with so much comfort to their souls, that they seemed to be rather in heaven, than in a prison. Whilst the holy confessor, not contented, with the hardships and mortifications incident to imprisonment, wore all the while, night and day, a rough penitential hair shirt, woven like a net, which he concealed a long time; but, a little before his death, privately gave, as a token of his love, to one of his companions.

And now, the time was come, when God was pleased to crown his servant: for the judges coming again upon their circuit, to hold the assizes at Beaumaris, for the county of Anglesey, in 1593, had instructions from court to proceed against Mr. Davies, as in cases of high treason. In consequence of these instructions, he was brought to the bar, and received sentence of death, in the usual form. After which, the judges extolled to him the queen's clemency, and assured him, that he might not only save his life, but also look for encouragement and promotion, if he would but consent to go once to the protestant church; but neither the fear of a most cruel death, nor any worldly hopes, had any influence upon a soul that was fixed in God, as was that of Mr. Davies; who, with a loud voice and cheerful countenance, blessed the Lord that he was now to be so happy, as to shed his blood for the love of his divine Majesty.

Some days passed, before the sentence could be put in execution; for the people of Beaumaris had conceived so great an opinion of the sanctity of Mr. Davies, and so great a veneration for him, that not a man in the town would furnish, for love or money, any thing necessary for that purpose, such as ladder, rope, cauldron, wood, &c., much less, could any one be found there, who could be prevailed upon to do the hangman's office; so that the sheriff was obliged to hire two fellows from a distant place, to undertake the business, that if one failed, the other might perform the office; who, though at their coming to Beaumaris, they strove to conceal the design of their coming, yet being suspected by the people, were shut out from every house they came at, and were pelted with stones by the boys in the streets. In the mean time, some of the gentlemen of that county, made a fresh proffer to Mr. Davies, to rescue him out of the hands of the sheriff and his men, by force, on the morning designed for his execution; but he earnestly entreated them, for the love of Jesus Christ, not to think of any such en-

terprise, which would expose themselves to so great a danger, and do him no service.

On the 21st of July, in the morning, the prisoner was brought out to the hurdle, in order for execution; and passing before the window, where his companions stood, to take their last farewell of him, turning towards them, with a cheerful smile on his countenance, gave them his last benediction, which, they received on their knees, shedding many tears; for which, he rebuked them, as being altogether unseasonable, since he was going to be delivered from all his sufferings, and to enter into the joy of his Lord. When he was arrived at the place of execution, being taken off the hurdle, he mounted the ladder, and making the sign of the cross, began to speak to the people, who, with their heads uncovered, attended to his words; but the sheriff would not suffer him to go forward, but told him, he did not come there to preach, but to die; and, therefore, bid him prepare for death. The confessor obeyed, and having made a short profession of his faith, and declared, that the cause for which he died, was no other than his priestly character; prayed that his innocent blood, which he joyfully shed for his religion, might not cry to heaven for vengeance, but rather plead for mercy for that island; that it might once more be illustrated with the light of faith, which it had lost. Then taking the rope, he kissed it, and put it about his neck, saying, *Thy yoke, O Lord, is sweet, and thy burthen is light.* Then, having stood a while in silent prayer, with a serenity of countenance that was admired by all, he was turned off the ladder, and half hanged, and then cut down, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. His clothes, died in his blood, were purchased by his companions, and the hangman, not long after, for some crime, falling into the hands of justice, declared at the gallows, That, of all he had done in his life, nothing troubled his conscience so much as having embrued his hands in the blood of so holy a man; confessing, that God had justly, on that account, brought him to suffer a shameful death.

As to Mr. Fulk, who had caused Mr. Davies to be apprehended, of a rich man that he then was, in about a year's time he was obliged to sell all his substance, and became miserably poor, so as to have neither a farthing of money, nor credit with any one; and being despised by all, he privately withdrew, and was never heard of more. The constable also that apprehended Mr. Davies, was seized immediately with an inflammation in the great toe of his right foot, accompanied with most violent pains, which spread and communicated itself to all that side, till it reached his right hand, in spite of all the endeavours of physicians and surgeons, and corrupted the whole body, so as to yield a most loathsome stench, insupportable to himself, and to all that came near him. And in this manner he miserably expired.

One of Mr. Davie's companions, who was younger than the rest, was put into the hands of a country school-master, to be whipped into a conformity with the church by law established. But he found means to make his escape over into Ireland, where meeting with a young gentleman, formerly his school-fellow, and prevailing with him to be reconciled to the catholic church, they both went, not long after, over

into Spain, to the college of Valladolid, where they were both actually living, with great edification, when the bishop of Tarrasona was writing his account of Mr. Davies's martyrdom, viz: in 1598.

Mr. Davies suffered at Beaumaris, the 21st of July, 1593, after about sixteen months' imprisonment.

1594.—In the beginning of this year, or, according to the English account, in the latter end of 1593, viz: on the 4th of February, John Speed, layman, was executed at Durham. His guilt was, being aiding and assisting to priests, whom he used to serve in guiding and conducting from one catholic house to another. He died with constancy, despising the proffers that were made him to bring him to conform.

WILLIAM HARRINGTON, PRIEST.*

William Harrington, was born of a gentleman's family, at a place called St. John's Mount, in Yorkshire. He performed his studies abroad, in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. Here he was made priest; and from hence, he was sent upon the English mission in 1592. When, how, or where, he was apprehended, or any other particulars of his sufferings, or missionary labours, I have not been able to learn, only that he was condemned to die, on account of his priestly character and functions; and for this, and no other treason, was put to a most cruel death.

'The 18th of February,' says Mr. Stow, in his chronicle, 'one named Harrington, a seminary priest, was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, struggled with the hangman; but was bowelled and quartered.' So far Mr. Stow: where it is to be noted, that what the historian mentions of Mr. Harrington's struggling with the hangman, after he was cut down, cannot be drawn to an argument of his not being resigned to die; but only shows the efforts which nature will be sure to make in a man, whose senses are stunned by having been half hanged; and therefore, by the motions of his hands and body, strives to resist that unnatural violence which is offered by the hands and knife of the executioner.

Mr. Harrington suffered at Tyburn, February 18, 1594.

* From the Douay diary and catalogues, and from Stow's chronicle.

JOHN CORNELIUS, ALIAS, MOHUN, PRIEST. S. J.*

John Cornelius, alias, Mohun, was born at Bodmin, in Cornwall, of Irish parents, and brought up at school in the same town: from whence he was sent to Oxford by Sir John Arundel, who was much taken with his rare genius and diligence in learning. But Mr. Cornelius liking the old religion better than the new, left Oxford, and went beyond the seas to Rhemes, (the English college having been lately translated thither, from Douay,) and was there received by Dr. Allen, the institutor and first president of that seminary of martyrs. After some stay here, he was sent, in 1580, to Rome, to finish his studies in the English college of that city, where he remained for some years; and had the honour once to make an oration in Latin, and speak it in the pope's chapel on St. Stephen's day. Here he was made priest, and from hence was sent upon the English mission, where he laboured, with great fruit, for about ten years. He was a man of a most mortified life, and greatly addicted to prayer and contemplation; but, withal, zealous and diligent in his pastoral functions, and had a notable talent in preaching, so that he was admired and loved by all that knew him.

Mr. Manger relates of him, from the testimony of a worthy gentleman, who was familiarly acquainted with him, 'that he was very powerful in dealing with those who were possessed; and that from one, in the presence of the same gentleman, he forced the devil to bring forth, from her inward parts, a piece of a rusty knife, of an inch and a half in length, which he took out of her mouth, and a bag of sand of the fashion of a pincushion, and bigness of a little penny purse.' He adds also, from the same testimony, that when Mr. Cornelius was saying mass for the soul of John Lord Stourton, (who had died unreconciled, but with great desire of the sacraments, and more than ordinary marks of sorrow and repentance,) he had a vision after the consecration and elevation of the chalice, of the soul of the said Lord Stourton, then in purgatory, desiring him to pray for him, and to request of the lady, his mother,† to cause masses to be said for his soul. This vision was also seen at the same time, by Patrick Salmon, a good religious soul, who was then serving Mr. Cornelius, at mass.

Mr. Cornelius was apprehended in the house of the widow of Sir John Arundel, (upon the information of a wicked servant,) on the second Sunday after Easter, in April, 1594, by Mr. Trenchard, sheriff of Dorsetshire; and with him, Mr. Thomas Bosgrave, a Cornish gentleman, a kinsman of Sir John Arundel, was also hurried away to prison, because, seeing Mr. Cornelius in the hands of the officers, hurried away with-

* From a manuscript relation in my hands, penned by the Reverend Mr. Manger; and from the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution of England, l. 5. c. 4.; from a relation sent out of England, three months after Mr. Cornelius's martyrdom.

† She was the daughter of the Earl of Derby, and had for her first husband, the lord Stourton. After whose death, she was married to Sir John Arundel.

out any hat, he clapped his own hat upon the confessor's head, saying, the honour I owe to your functions may not suffer me to see you go bare-headed. Upon which the sheriff told him, he should bear him company; and, as we shall see by-and-by, for this offence he afterwards also suffered with him. John, or, as others call him, Terence Carey and Patrick Salmon, both natives of Dublin, and servants in the family, were also committed to prison upon this occasion, as aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius.

The confessor was first carried to the sheriff's house, where some protestant ministers strongly attacked him on the subject of religion; but Mr. Cornelius maintained the catholic cause with such strong argument, that the sheriff, fearing the influence his words would make upon those that were present, put a stop to the dispute. Shortly after, the council being informed of all that had passed, the confessor was ordered to be sent up to London, where he was examined by the lord treasurer, the archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the privy council, who strove to extort out of him, first by words, and afterwards by the rack, the names of such catholics as had harboured or relieved him; but his constancy was proof against all their efforts, and he refused to the last to make any discovery which might redound to the prejudice of his benefactors. Upon this he was sent back into the country, there to take his trial, and there to die. The three last days before the assizes, he spent wholly in prayer and pious exhortations to his fellow prisoners, without eating, in a manner, or sleeping, and so prepared himself for his conflict. After this, he was brought to the bar with his three companions, where they were all found guilty by the jury; Mr. Cornelius of high treason, for being a priest, and coming into this kingdom and remaining here; Mr. Bosgrave and the other two, of felony, for aiding and assisting Mr. Cornelius, knowing him to be a priest.

After the jury had brought in their verdict, the three laymen cast themselves at the feet of Mr. Cornelius, to crave his blessing; and they were all sent back to prison, sentence not being to be pronounced till the next day. They prepared themselves for it by prayer, and animated one another by pious colloquies, in which they passed that night; and, on the following day, they were all sentenced to die. It was observed, that judge Walmsley pronounced the sentence with tears in his eyes. Mr. Cornelius would have spoken to the judges after sentence was given, but was ordered to be silent. However, the judges assured them all, that their lives should be saved, if they would conform and go to the protestant church, which they all stoutly refusing, were sent back to prison, there to prepare for their last end.

They were condemned on the 2d of July, 1594, and on the 4th were carried out to their martyrdom. Mr. Cornelius was drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution; the other three walked on foot. The confessor animated them by the way to suffer death with courage and constancy; and, indeed, it appeared by their countenances that they went to the gallows with as much content and satisfaction as if they had been going to a feast. Mr. Cornelius made also the best use he could of his time, in favour of a malefactor, who was to suffer with them; whom he so effectually exhorted to faith and repentance, that the man declared

aloud, that he looked upon himself happy that he was to die in such good company.

The first that was ordered up the ladder was John Carey, a man of great courage. He kissed the rope when it was to be put about his neck, saying, O precious collar! then made a profession of his faith, for which he declared he died, and so was turned off. The next was Patrick Salmon, a man much admired and beloved for his virtues. In dying, he admonished the people that the only way to secure their eternal welfare, was to embrace that faith for which he and his companions laid down their lives. Mr. Bosgrave was called upon next, who being a man of reading, made a speech to the people of the certainty of the catholic faith, which was heard with great attention, the ministers standing by and not offering a word in vindication of their religion. And now it was come to Mr. Cornelius's turn to ascend the ladder; at the foot of which he knelt down and prayed a little while, then kissed the ground, and afterwards the feet of his companions, who were still hanging; then addressing himself to the gallows, he saluted it with those words of St. Andrew, O bona crux diu desiderata, &c. O good cross, a long time desired, &c. And going up the ladder, offered three several times to speak to the people, and was as often interrupted. Then he declared what had hitherto been kept a secret, viz: that he was admitted into the society of Jesus, in London, by the superior of the English jesuits, and was to have gone over with others to make his noviceship in Flanders, had he not been prevented by his apprehension. After which he prayed aloud for his persecutors, and for the conversion of the queen, and so was flung off the ladder, and shortly after cut down and quartered. His quarters were set up upon four poles, but afterwards were taken down by the catholics, and buried with the bodies of his companions. His head was nailed to the gallows, till it was removed at the desire of the town, apprehending the scourges of God upon them, as they had experienced before on the like occasions. Yet we are told, that the following year, a dreadful plague ensued amongst them, which carried off so many that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead.

Mr. Cornelius and his companions suffered at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594.

Since this was written, I received from the English college of St. Omer's, a copy of a manuscript concerning Mr. Cornelius, the original of which is kept in the archives of that college. In which are added the following particulars relating to the life of this holy servant of God. That he every day said mass at five o'clock in the morning, and never without tears; that whenever he read the passion of Christ, in the office of the holy week, he wept exceedingly; that he was sometimes in an ecstasy at his prayers; and that a gentleman who came to him for counsel, found him on his knees, his hands crossed before his breast, his eyes cast up to heaven, but without motion, and the whole man so absorbed in God, that the gentleman, for some time doubted whether he was alive or dead, and not without difficulty brought him to hear and see him; that he always wore a rough hair shirt, and used frequent disciplines, and for many years fasted four days in the week: that his

charity for the poor was such, as to give them all that came to his hands, committing the care of himself to God's providence; that he preached regularly twice a week; gave catechistical instructions for about an hour almost every day, and read some pious lessons for about half an hour in the evening, to such as more particularly aspired to perfection. In fine, that the mortification of his senses, and his recollection in God was so great, that for three whole years, that his lodging was in a room, the window of which looked upon the parish church, he had never observed it, nor knew whether the house in which he lived was leaded or tyled. The manuscript adds, that upon more occasions than one, his face was observed to shine with a certain heavenly light.

A copy of a Letter written by father Cornelius, half an hour before he was called out to suffer, to his ghostly child, Mrs. Dorothy, the eldest daughter to the lady Arundel, who had consecrated her virginity to God, and promised, by vow, to be a religious woman, of the order of St. Bridgit.

'He that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it; and he that hateth it, shall find it. If I find it, by the grace and infinite mercy of God, (though very unworthy and miserable), with exceeding great satisfaction, and never-ending pleasure, I shall remember you. In the mean time, whilst the soul remains in this body, pray you for me; for I have a great confidence that we shall see one another in heaven; if you keep inviolable the word you have given, first to God and then to St. Bridgit. I heartily recommend you to my poor mother, and the promise of your vow, concerning which, I have written to you three or four times, and wonder that you have taken no notice of it. The devil is always upon the watch: be you also watchful. Signify your will to me, that I may carry with me your resolution to St. Bridgit. I do not forget those whom I do not name. God be your keeper.

Yours,

JOHN, who is going to die for a moment, that he may live for ever.

JOHN BOST, PRIEST.*

MR. BOST, or Boast, was born of a gentleman's family, in the town of Penrith, (*vulgo Pereth.*) in the county of Cumberland. He was educated in one of our universities at home, where he also took the degree of master of arts; and was cotemporary with, and much esteemed by, Tobie Matthews, who, at the time of Mr. Bost's execution, was bishop of Durham, (afterwards archbishop of York,) and who, extolling his excellent parts, is reported to have said, upon that occasion,—It was pity so much worth should have died that day. But Mr.

* From two manuscript relations sent me from Douay; the one formerly sent over by the Reverend Cuthbert Trollop, archdeacon; the other by the Reverend Father Thuresby, of the Society of Jesus, and from letters written out of England, in 1504, recorded by the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history, l. 5, c. 5.

Bost left both the university and the kingdom, and all hopes of worldly preferment for conscience sake, and being reconciled to the catholic church, was received into the college lately translated from Douay to Rhemes; and after some time spent there in his studies, was made priest, and sent upon the English mission, in 1581. Here he laboured, for several years, with great zeal, and much fruit: insomuch, that he was, in a particular manner, sought after by the persecutors: and the earl of Huntington, in particular, then lord president of the North, and a most bitter enemy of the catholics, of all the priests in those provinces, was most intent upon the apprehending him. So that when the said lord president was promised, by one Francis Ecclesfield, to have two of the gravest priests of the north betrayed to him, he desired the traitor rather to be sure of Bost. At length, after many narrow escapes, he was betrayed, by the said Ecclesfield, into the president's hands, in this manner: the traitor having intelligence that Mr. Bost was in the house of Mr. William Claxton, "in the bishopric of Durham," signified the same to the lord president; and, to be more sure of his game, went thither to confession and communion; and having thus hypocritically and sacriligiously abused the sacred mysteries, he went forth, like another Judas, to accomplish his wicked project, and meeting Sir William Bowes and others, went along with them to the house in order to apprehend Mr. Bost. The holy man was so well concealed that, after a long search, they could not find him, so that they thought they had been deluded: but the traitor bid them pull down the house or burn it, for he was sure the priest was in it; upon which, they began to make breaches in the walls, and at length discovered their prey.

Mr. Bost being thus apprehended, was brought before the lord president, who made, upon that occasion, a prolix speech, concerning the long search that had been made for him, from time to time, for the space of some years; all which while, by his cunning tricks, he had deluded the diligence of the officers, whom he had employed to apprehend so nefarious a traitor; but that now, to his great satisfaction, he had taken him at last. To which speech, Mr. Bost, in the end, replied, with a smiling countenance; And after all this, my lord, you have but gotten Boast, (alluding to the earl's boast,) in having used such diligence for his apprehension. The confessor was shortly after sent up to London; where he was, for a long time, kept prisoner in the Tower, and often most cruelly racked, insomuch that he was afterwards forced to go crooked upon a staff. At length, after a hard imprisonment, and many torments endured at London, he was sent back again into the north, there to be tried and executed.

He was a man of great courage, learning, and wisdom: and no ways defeated or overcome by his sufferings. When he was brought to the bar for his trial, Mr. George Swallowell (who had lately been a reader of the protestant church, and was now arraigned for the catholic religion,) somewhat wavering, and being on the point of yielding through fear, Mr. Bost, in the public court, so effectually encouraged him to stand firm to the catholic faith, that he immediately declared himself sincerely penitent for his staggering; and Mr. Bost, putting his hand on his head, publicly absolved him. Upon which, some of the bench

cried out, Away with Bost, away with the traitor. Sentence was passed upon Mr. Bost, as in cases of high treason, merely upon account of the exercising his priestly functions in England. And, in consequence of this sentence, he was drawn to the place of execution, and there was scarce turned off the ladder, when he was immediately cut down, so that he stood on his feet, and was cruelly butchered alive; at the taking out of his heart, he spoke aloud thrice, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus forgive thee; as Thomas Forcer, Esq, a grave catholic gentleman, for a certainty affirmed to Mr. Trollop, the author of the manuscript relation of Mr. Bost's martyrdom.

He suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594; some say July 19.

JOHN INGRAM, PRIEST. *

Mr. Ingram was born of a gentleman's family, in Warwickshire. His parents were protestants; but he was happily reconciled to the catholic church, and, for recusancy, ejected out of New College, Oxon, and going abroad, was received alumnus in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence, he was sent to the English college of Rome, where he finished his studies, and was made priest; and from thence was sent upon the English mission. His missionary labours seem to have been in the north, upon the borders of Scotland: where, at length, he was apprehended, and sent up prisoner to the Tower of London, and there, at several times, most cruelly tortured by Topcliff, but he would, by no means, discover the names of any who had entertained or assisted him, which was what the tyrant pretended to extort; so that Topcliff, in a rage, said, *He was, of all others, a monster for his taciturnity.* At length, he was sent back again, into the north, to take his trial. Here, "in York castle, or in Durham jail," he wrote two letters, of which I have copies in my hands, to the catholics in other parts of the same prison, worthy of one that was going to be immolated for Christ. In the first, he earnestly exhorts them to constancy and perseverance in that holy profession for which they suffered; and arms them against the temptation of being staggered by the unhappy fall of two, whom he calls Iscariots, who had lately gone forth from them; and admonishes them of that apostle, that if himself, or an angel from heaven, should preach any gospel to them, than what they had received, he ought to be anathematized. Then he tells them, 'I say now to myself and you, *Let he that stands take heed, lest he fall.* And, *hold what thou hast, lest another take thy crown.* Pray, therefore, I conjure you, in the name of my sweet Saviour Jesus, for my constancy, courage, and zeal in my holy enterprise. For *the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak.* Desire Almighty God to overpoise the multitude

* From the bishop of Chalcedon's manuscript catalogue, and from two letters of Mr. Ingram, to his fellow prisoners; copies of which are kept in Douay college.

of my sins, with his precious blood, one drop of which, is sufficient to wash away the sins of the whole world. I am not, as yet, condemned, nor, to my knowledge, my blessed brother, "Mr. Bost," of whose security, temporal, I have no hope. As for my own part, I am, altogether in the same estate I was in before my departure; and, I take God to witness, that I have neither named house, man, woman, or child, in time of, or before my torments. I look for my trial on Thursday, and consequently for my death, to God's honour. Pray for me earnestly.'

In the latter, he writes thus: 'My dear concaptives, if the vessel of election St. Paul vouchsafed, not only by way of paper, to comfort oftentimes the christians of the primitive times, but also, to give his temporal benefactors a sweet surrender of thanks; it will fit me to imitate him in like matter and manner: first, to ascertain you, that in my pained body, my spirit is not pained, nor in any disaster, distress, or durance. For St. Paul testifies, that *The passions of this time are not condign of the future glory which shall be revealed in us.* And, for my part, I have long since imprinted in my heart, not to fear those that kill the body, but cannot destroy the soul. But rather to remember those golden sentences, which have issued out of the mouth of all verity. He that hateth his life in this world, keepeth it for life everlasting. And, he that confesses me before men, I will confess him before my Father, who is in heaven. And although, in my native country, I have taken great pains in God's vineyard, yet, I doubt not, if God will strengthen me, through yours and my patron's prayers, I shall purchase for our Babylonic soil, more favour by my death. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. To those that made that bountiful offer of a thousand crowns, for my life, as my lord chamberlain, in my presence, imparted, I return a thousand thanks, in sign of gratitude, meaning, (if God will give to a miscreant, and wretched sinner, constancy, forgiveness of my sins, and grace to die for his glory, and his spouse's consolation,) to make the return of my bloody sacrifice, for their oblation. To all my spiritual children, wheresoever they are now sorrowing, I most heartily send greeting; with humble request to God for their constancy in the true way of salvation. My carnal friends, I salute, and wish, as to my own soul, conversion from impiety, and irreligiosity to virtue, and St. Peter's sheepfold. I love them most entirely, but my Creator, in a far higher degree: for he that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me, saith our Saviour Christ. I send this, my last, written in haste; for I fear I shall have no means hereafter. Therefore, I desire God Almighty to protect you all, and bless and establish you to suffer persecution for justice sake. Thus, in post haste, *in visceribus Christi.* Adieu.

Mr. Ingram was tried and condemned at the same time with Mr. Bost, and for the same cause: that is, for his character and functions only, and not for any other treason.

He suffered, with great constancy, at Newcastle, July 25, 1594.

GEORGE SWALLOWELL. *

George Swallowell was born in the bishopric of Durham, and brought up in the protestant religion; and for some time officiated in the double capacity of reader and of school-master, at Houghton Spring, in the same bishopric. Going one day, to visit a catholic gentleman, imprisoned for his recusancy, and falling in discourse on the subject of religion, he was so close pressed by the gentleman upon the article of his mission, and that of his prelates, that he was forced, by way of a last shift, to shelter himself under the queen's spiritual supremacy, and to derive their commissions from her authority. The gentleman exposed to him, the absurdity of making a woman, whom St. Paul did not allow to speak in the church, the head of the church, and the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and treated so well, both this and other points of controversy, that Mr. Swallowell, who was none of those who are resolved to be rebels to the light, yielded to the strength of his arguments. And not content privately to embrace the truth, he, not long after publicly professed, from the pulpit, that he had hitherto been in an error, but was convinced, that they had no true mission in their church, and therefore he would no longer officiate there.

Upon this he was apprehended, and committed to Durham jail, and, after a year's imprisonment, was brought to the bar, at the same time with Mr. Bost and Mr. Ingram, priests, and stood between them. At first through fear of that cruel death to which he was condemned, he yielded to go to the church, and to conform to what the judges required of him. Whereupon, Mr. Bost, looking at him, said, George Swallowell, what hast thou done? At these words of the confessor of Christ, 'he was struck with a great damp and confusion, and desired the judge, and the lord president,(who at that time was the Earl of Huntington,) for God's sake to let him have his word again. To which the judge replied, Swallowell, look well what thou doest; for, although thou be condemned, yet the queen is merciful. But still he craved to have his desire granted. Then the judge answered, if thou be so earnest, thou shalt have thy word again; say what thou wilt. Then presently he recalled what he had formerly yielded unto, and courageously said, that in that faith wherein those two priests did die, he would also die; and that the same faith which they professed, he did also profess. With that, Mr. Bost looked at him again, and said, hold thee there, Swallowell, and my soul for thine; and with these words, he laid his hand upon his head. Then the lord president said, away with Bost, for he is reconciling him. Upon this, his judgment was pronounced, which was, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Darlington.'

Upon the day designed for execution, he was brought two miles off the place on foot, and then was put into a cart, where he lay on his

* From a manuscript in my hands, and from bishop Yepez's history of the persecutions, l. 5, c. 5, who had his information from letters sent over from England, two months after Mr. Swallowell's execution.

back, with his hands and eyes up to heaven, and so was drawn to the gallows. To terrify him the more, they led him by two great fires, the one made for burning his bowels, the other for boiling his quarters; and withal, four ministers attended him to strive to bring him over to their way of thinking; but he would not give ear to them, or stay with them, but went presently to the ladder, and there fell down upon his knees, and continued for some time in prayer: then making the sign of the cross, he went up the ladder: and having leave of the sheriff to speak, he said, I renounce all heresy; and spoke some other words which were not well heard by the people; with which the sheriff being offended, struck him with his rod, and told him, that if he had no more to say, he should go up further; for the rope should be put about his neck: which being done, Mr. Swallowell desired, if there were any catholics there, they would say three *paters*, three *aves*, and the *creed* for him: and so making the sign of the cross upon himself, he was turned off the ladder. After he had hung awhile, they cut the rope and let him fall; and the hangman, who was but a boy, drew him along by the rope yet alive, and there, dismembered and bowelled him, and cast his bowels into the fire. At the taking out of his heart, he lifted up his left hand to his head, which the hangman laid down again; and when the heart was cast into the fire, the same hand laid itself over the open body. Then the hangman cut off his head, and held it up, saying, behold the head of a traitor. His quarters, after they were boiled in the cauldron, were buried in the baker's dunghill.

He suffered at Darlington, *vulgo* Darnton, July 26, 1594.

EDWARD OSBALDESTON, PRIEST.*

This gentleman was of the family of the Osbaldestons of Osbaldeston, in the parish of Blackburn, in the county palatine of Lancaster. He had his education in Douay college, during its residence at Rheims. Here he was made priest, in 1585; and from hence was sent upon the English mission, April 27, 1589. After labouring here some years, he was apprehended by the means of one Clark, a fallen priest, at Towlerton in Yorkshire, on the 30th of September, 1594, and committed to York castle. His letter to his fellow prisoners gives an account of his apprehension, and the dispositions he was then in, and therefore deserves to be here inserted.

'I was apprehended at Towlerton by Thomas Clark, the apostate priest, upon St. Hierome's day, at night: a thing much more to my comfort, than at any other time; for that I had such a special patron to

* From the Douay manuscript, and the copy of a letter written by Mr. Osbaldeston, which I have in my hand.

commend myself to, and such a stout champion under Christ; and, besides, it pleased God, much to my comfort, to let this sign of his love fall unto me that day above all others; for that it was God's great goodness to call me to the honour of priesthood; and that, upon St. Hierome's day, I said my first mass, and consecrated the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, and received him with great reverence and devotion, and ever since, have honoured St. Hierome. And the morning before I came forth, I made my prayer to blessed St. Hierome; and, in his merits, I offered myself a sacrifice to God, and recommended myself to him, to direct me to his will and pleasure, and that I might walk aright in my vocation, and follow St. Hierome, as long as God should see it expedient for his church, and most for his honour and glory: and if it pleased him still to preserve me, as he had done before, I never would refuse to labour, or murmur at any pain or travail; and if it should please his majesty to suffer me to fall into the persecutors' hands, that then it would please his infinite goodness to protect me to the end; which I have no doubt but he will, after so many and so great goodnesses and gifts, as he hath bestowed on me over all my life, which are without number and inexplicable: wherefore my hope and trust is much helped, that now he will be most sure unto me, since this is the weightiest matter that I ever was about in my life: and so considering this, and infinite others, such like, I find great comfort, and fully trust in God's goodness, and distrust only in myself; but in him that comforteth me, I can do all things. And this actual oblation of myself that morning, and this that ensueth, maketh me very comfortable, and bringeth me into many good and heavenly cogitations, feeling his strength so much as I have done in lesser matters, and further off from him than this is; therefore I nothing doubt, by his grace, but he will grant me to finish that which was for him, and by him, begun; which I pray God I may worthily do when his good will and pleasure is, and not before; and that I may not wish or desire any thing in this life but what may best please him and honour him, and our blessed lady his mother, and all the court of heaven, the most, and edify the people, and strengthen them in the way to Jesus, the king of bliss.

'The manner of my apprehension' was thus: Abraham Sayre and I came to the inn a little before Mr. Clarke, and we all came before night; I knew him not fully, for I thought he had been in the south: but at supper I looked earnestly at him, and I thought it was he, and yet I still persuaded myself that he knew me not, and if he should know me, he would do me no harm, which fell out otherwise; God forgive him for it. For when we were going to bed, he went and called the curate and constable, and apprehended us, and watched us that night, and came with us to York, and stood by when I was examined before the council, but said nothing then that I feared; and he was present afterwards when I was called again, and since I have been nothing said unto; what will follow, God knoweth; but I will not be partial to myself, but prepare me for death, and what else may befal unto me. Now I pray you, for God's sake, what you hear or learn let me know; and what is the best course for me to take in all points, and

how my brethren have behaved themselves in this case, that have gone before me; and, for myself, I yield me wholly to obedience to you in that blessed society and number in the castle; and desire, in all points, to live in discipline and order, and as the common live, and what I have, or shall have, it shall be in common. And therefore I pray you direct me in all things, both for my apparel and diet, and every thing; and as my brethren have gone before me, so would I follow in the humblest sort.' So far the letter.

As to other particulars relating to Mr. Osbaldeston, I have found none; but only that being brought upon his trial he was condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, on account of his priestly character and functions; and suffered at York the 16th of November, 1594.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL, PRIEST, S. J.—1595.*

Robert Southwell was of a family of good repute, born at St. Faith's, in Norfolk, and was sent over, young, to Douay, where he was, for some time, alumnus of the English college, or seminary in that university. From thence he went to Rome, and there was received into the society of Jesus, when he was but sixteen years of age. Having finished his noviceship, and gone through his course of philosophy and divinity with great satisfaction of his superiors, he was made prefect of the studies in the English college of Rome, and took that opportunity of applying himself to the study of his native language, in which he proved no small proficient, as the elegant pieces, both in prose and verse, which he has published in print, abundantly demonstrate.

In 1584 he was sent upon the English mission, and there laboured with great fruit in the conversion of many souls, and amongst them of several persons of distinction, till the year 1592, when he was betrayed and apprehended in a gentleman's house, at Uxenden, in Middlesex, within seven miles of London, and was then committed to a dungeon in the Tower, so noisome and filthy, that when he was brought out at the end of the month, to be examined, his clothes were quite covered with vermin. Upon this, his father presented a petition to the queen, humbly begging, that if his son had committed any thing, for which, by the laws he deserved death, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentleman, he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to order that he should be treated as a gentleman, and not be confined any longer to that filthy hole. The queen was pleased to have regard to this petition, and to order Mr. Southwell a better lodging; and to give leave to his father to supply him with clothes, and other necessaries, and, amongst the

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and the bishop of Tarrasona's history of the persecution, l. 5, c. 6, who has transcribed the account of his martyrdom, from a letter of father Garnet's, written the 4th of March following, who declares that he had his information from eye-witnesses.

rest, with the books which he asked for, which were only the holy bible, and the works of St. Bernard.

He was kept in prison three years, and, at ten several times, was most cruelly racked, till, at length, a resolution was taken on a sudden in the council to have him executed. Some days before his execution, he was removed from the Tower to Newgate, and there put down into the hole called Limbo, from whence he was brought out to suffer on account of his priesthood, the 21st of February, 1594–5, having been condemned but the day before. Care was taken not to let the people know beforehand the day he was to die, to hinder their concourse on that occasion; and a famous highwayman was ordered to be executed at the same time, in another place, to divert the crowd from the sight of the last conflict of the servant of Christ: but these precautions availed nothing, great numbers, and amongst them, many persons of distinction, flocked to Tyburn, to be witnesses of his glorious martyrdom. Hither Mr. Southwell was drawn on a sled, through the streets, and when he was come to the place, getting up into the cart, he made the sign of the cross in the best manner that he could, his hands being pinioned, and began to speak to the people these words of the apostle, Rom. xiv. Whether we live, we live to the Lord, or whether we die, we die to the Lord: therefore, whether we live or die, we belong to the Lord. Here the sheriff would have interrupted him, but he begged leave that he might go on, assuring him, that he would utter nothing that should give offence. Then he spoke as follows: 'I am come to this place to finish my course, and to pass out of this miserable life; and I beg of my Lord Jesus Christ, in whose most precious passion and blood I place my hope of salvation, that he would have mercy on my soul. I confess I am a catholic priest of the holy Roman church, and a religious man of the Society of Jesus; on which account, I owe eternal thanks and praises to my God and Saviour.' Here he was interrupted by a minister telling him, that if he understood what he had said in the sense of the council of Trent, it was damnable doctrine. But the minister was silenced by the standers by, and Mr. Southwell went on, saying, 'Sir, I beg of you not to be troublesome to me for this short time that I have to live: I am a catholic, and in whatever manner you may please to interpret my words, I hope for salvation by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. And as to the queen, I never attempted, nor contrived, or imagined any evil against her; but have always prayed for her to our Lord; and for this short time of my life still pray, that, in his infinite mercy, he would be pleased to give her all such gifts and graces, which he sees, in his divine wisdom, to be most expedient for the welfare, both of her soul and body, in this life and in the next. I recommend, in like manner, to the same mercy of God, my poor country, and I implore the divine bounty to favour it with his light, and the knowledge of his truth, to the greater advancement of the salvation of souls, and the eternal glory of his divine Majesty. In fine, I beg of the Almighty and everlasting God, that this, my death, may be for my own and for my country's good, and the comfort of the catholics, my brethren.'

Having finished these words, and looking for the cart to be immediately drove away, he again blessed himself, and, with his eyes raised up to heaven, repeated, with great calmness of mind and countenance, those words of the psalmist, *in manus tuas, &c.* Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, with other short ejaculations, till the cart was drawn off. The unskilful hangman had not applied the noose of the rope to the proper place, so that he several times made the sign of the cross whilst he was hanging, and was some time before he was strangled; which some perceiving, drew him by the legs to put an end to his pain: and when the executioner was for cutting the rope, before he was dead, the gentlemen and people that were present, cried out three several times, hold, hold: for the behaviour of the servant of God was so edifying in these his last moments, that even the protestants, who were present at the execution, were much affected with the sight. After he was dead, he was cut down, bowelled, and quartered.

Two Letters of Father Southwell, written before his apprehension, to a friend of his at Rome.—Translated from the Bishop of Tarrasona's History, p. 647.

THE FIRST LETTER.

1. 'As yet we are alive and well, being unworthy, it seems, of prisons. We have oftener sent, than received, letters from your parts, though they are not sent without difficulty; and some, we know, have been lost.

2. 'The condition of catholic recusants here, is the same as usual, deplorable, and full of fears and dangers, more especially since our adversaries have looked for wars. As many of ours as are in chains, rejoice, and are comforted in their prisons; and they that are at liberty set not their hearts upon it, nor expect it to be of long continuance. All, by the great goodness and mercy of God, arm themselves to suffer any thing that can come, how hard soever it may be, as it shall please our Lord; for whose greater glory, and the salvation of their souls, they are more concerned than for any temporal losses.

3. 'A little while ago, they apprehended two priests, who have suffered such cruel usages in the prison of Bridewell, as can scarce be believed. What was given them to eat, was so little in quantity, and withal, so filthy and nauseous, that the very sight of it was enough to turn their stomachs. The labours to which they obliged them were continual and immoderate; and no less in sickness than in health; for, with hard blows and stripes, they forced them to accomplish their task, how weak soever they were. Their beds were dirty straw, and their prison most filthy.

4. 'Some are there hung up, for whole days, by the hands, in such manner that they can but just touch the ground with the tips of their toes. In fine, they that are kept in that prison, truly live *in lacu miseriæ and in luto fœcis*, psalm xxxix. This purgatory we are looking for every hour, in which Topliffe and Young, the two executioners of the catholics, exercise all kinds of torments. But come what pleaseth God, we hope we shall be able to bear all in him that strengthens us. In the mean time, we pray, that they may be put to confusion who work

iniquity: and that the Lord may speak peace to his people, psalm xxiv. and lxxxiv., that, as the royal prophet says, his glory may dwell in our land. I most humbly recommend myself to the holy sacrifices of your reverence, and of all our friends, January 16, 1590.'

THE SECOND LETTER.

1. 'We have written many letters, but, it seems, few have come to your hands. We sail in the midst of these stormy waves, with no small danger; from which, nevertheless, it has pleased our Lord hitherto to deliver us.

2. 'We have altogether, with much comfort, renewed the vows of the society, according to our custom, spending some days in exhortations and spiritual conferences. *Aperuimus ora, and attraximus spiritum.* It seems to me that I see the beginnings of a religious life set on foot in England, of which we now sow the seeds with tears, that others hereafter may, with joy, carry in the sheaves to the heavenly granaries.

3. 'We have sung the canticles of the Lord in a strange land, and, in this desert, we have sucked honey from the rock, and oil from the hard stone. But these our joys ended in sorrow, and sudden fears dispersed us into different places: but, in fine, we were more afraid than hurt, for we all escaped. I, with another of ours, seeking to avoid Scylla, had like to have fallen into Charybdis; but, by the mercy of God, we passed betwixt them both, without being shipwrecked, and are now sailing in a safe harbour.

4. 'In another of mine, I gave an account of the late martyrdoms of Mr. Bayles and of Mr. Horner, and of the edification which the people received from their holy ends. With such dews as these, the church is watered, *ut in stillicidiis hujusmodi lætetur germinans*, psalm lxiv. We also look for the time, (if we are not unworthy of so great a glory) when our day, (like that of the hired servants) shall come.—In the mean while, I recommend myself very much to your reverence's prayers, that the father of lights may enlighten us, and confirm us with his principal spirit. Given March 8, 1590.'

An account of Father Southwell's trial, from a Latin manuscript kept in the archives of the English college at St Omers.

After father Southwell had been kept close prisoner for three years, in the Tower, he sent an epistle to Cecil, lord treasurer, humbly entreating his lordship, that he might either be brought upon his trial, to answer for himself, or at least, that his friends might have leave to come and see him. The treasurer answered, *That if he was in so much haste to be hanged, he should quickly have his desire.* Shortly after this, orders were given, that he should be removed from the Tower to Newgate: where he was put down into the dungeon called Limbo, and there kept for three days.

On the 22d of February, without any previous warning to prepare for his trial, he was taken out of his dark lodgings and hurried to Westminster, to hold up his hand there at the bar. The first news of this step towards his martyrdom, filled his heart with a joy which he could

not conceal. The judges, before whom he was to appear, were lord chief justice Popham, justice Owen, baron Evans, and Sergeant Daniel. As soon as father Southwell was brought in, the lord chief justice made a long and vehement speech against the jesuits and seminary priests, as the authors and contrivers of all the plots and treasons which he pretended had been hatched during that reign. Then was read the bill of indictment against father Southwell, drawn up by Cook, the queen's solicitor, to this effect:

Middlesex,

'The jury present, on the part of our sovereign lady the queen, that Robert Southwell, late of London, clerk, born within this kingdom of England; to wit, since the feast of St. John Baptist, in the first year of the reign of her majesty; and before the first day of May, in the thirty-second year of the reign of our lady, the queen, aforesaid, made and ordained priest by authority derived and pretended from the see of Rome, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and slighting the laws and statutes of this realm of England, without any regard to the penalty therein contained, on the 20th day of June, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our lady, the queen, at Uxenden, in the county of Middlesex, traitorously, and as a false traitor to our said lady, the queen, was, and remained, contrary to the form of the statute in such case set forth and provided, and contrary to the peace of our said lady, the queen, her crown and dignities.'

The grand jury having found the bill, father Southwell was ordered to come up to the bar: he readily obeyed, and bowing down his head, made a low reverence to his judges; then modestly held up his hand, according to custom; and being asked, whether he was guilty, or not guilty? he answered, I confess that I was born in England, a subject to the queen's majesty; and, that by authority derived from God, I have been promoted to the sacred order of priesthood in the Roman church; for which, I return most hearty thanks to his divine Majesty. I confess, also, that I was at Uxenden, in Middlesex, at that time; when, being sent for thither by trick and deceit, I fell into your hands, as it is well known: but that I never entertained any designs or plots against the queen or kingdom, I call God to witness, the revenger of perjury; neither had I any other design in returning home to my native country, than to administer the sacraments, according to the rite of the catholic church, to such as desired them.

Here the judge interrupted him, and told him, that he was to let all alone, and plead directly, guilty or not guilty. Upon which, he said, *He was not guilty of any treason whatsoever.* And being asked by whom he would be tried? he said, *By God, and by you.* The judge told him, he was to answer, by God and his country; which, at first, he refused, alledging, that the laws of his country were disagreeable to the law of God; and that he was unwilling those poor harmless men of the jury, whom they obliged to represent the country, should have any share in their guilt, or any hand in his death. But, said he, If through your iniquity, it must be so, and I cannot help it, be it as you will, I am ready to be judged by God and my country. When the twelve were to

be sworn, he challenged none of them, saying, that they were all equally strangers to him, and therefore, charity did not allow him to except against any one of them more than another.

The jury being sworn, Mr. Cook began to prove the heads of the indictment, that Mr. Southwell was an Englishman and a priest, by his own confession; and that his being so young, was a demonstration that he was made priest since the time mentioned in the statute, &c. The judge asked him, how old he was? he replied, That he was about the same age as our Saviour, viz. 33. Topliffe, who was present, took occasion from this answer, to charge him with insupportable pride, in comparing himself to our Saviour. But father Southwell refuted the calumny, confessing himself to be a worm of the earth, and the work and creature of Christ, his maker. In fine, after Mr. Cook had declaimed, as long as he thought fit, against the servant of Christ, and Topliffe and lord chief justice Popham, had loaded him with reproaches and injuries, to which father Southwell opposed a Christian constancy and modesty, the jury went aside, to consult about the verdict, and, a short time after, brought him in guilty. He was asked, if he had any thing more to say for himself, why sentence should not be pronounced against him? he said, nothing; But from my heart, I beg of Almighty God to forgive all who have been any ways accessory to my death. The judge, "Popham," exhorted him to provide for the welfare of his soul, whilst he had time. He thanked him, for this show of good-will; saying, that he had long since provided for that, and was conscious to himself of his own innocence. The judge having pronounced sentence according to the usual form, father Southwell made a very low bow, returning him most hearty thanks, as for an unspeakable favour. The judge offered him the help of a minister to prepare him to die. Father Southwell desired he would not trouble him upon that head; that the grace of God would be more than sufficient for him. And so, being sent back to Newgate, through the streets, lined with people, he discovered all the way, the overflowing joy of his heart, in his eyes, in his whole countenance, and in every gesture and motion of his body. He was again put down into Limbo, at his return to Newgate, where he spent the following night, the last of his life, in prayer, full of the thoughts of the journey he was to take the next day, through the gate of martyrdom, into a happy eternity; to enjoy for ever the sovereign object of his love. The next morning early, he was called to the combat, and, as we have seen above, gained a glorious victory.

Mr. Southwell's execution is mentioned by Mr. Stow, in his chronicle; 'February 20, "1594–5," says the historian, Southwell, a jesuit, that long time had laid prisoner, in the Tower of London, was arraigned at the King's-bench-bar. He was condemned and on the next morning drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.'

ALEXANDER RAWLINS, PRIEST.*

Mr. Rawlins, or Rawling, was a gentleman by birth, born in the confines of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, and brought up for some time in Oxford, as I conjecture from bishop Yepez, who, by a mistake, supposes him to have been a native of that city. Going abroad, he was received an alumnus in the English college then residing at Rhemes; and from thence was presented to holy orders, and ordained priest at Soissons, the 18th of March, 1590, at the same time with Mr. Genings, and with him was sent upon the English mission, the 9th of April, following. He laboured for some years in those perilous times, keeping himself out of the hands of the persecutors, till God was pleased to reward his labours with the crown of martyrdom. He was apprehended somewhere in Yorkshire, about the time that Father Walpole was sent back from London to York, to take his trial And it was resolved that they should suffer together.

When Mr. Rawlins was brought to the bar, and asked, according to custom by whom he would be tried? he boggled at the usual answer, by God and my country; where, by the name of the country, are meant the twelve men of the jury, declaring that he looked upon them as no ways qualified, being ignorant laymen, to judge in his case; and that he was unwilling that his blood should lay at their doors: let the judges, "Beaumont, Hilliard, and Elvin," who know better, take it upon their own consciences. This exception put the judges to some stand, who adjourned the cause to the afternoon; but then proceeded to his condemnation. He was sentenced to die merely for being a seminary priest, ordained by the authority of the bishop of Rome, and for returning into England to exercise his priestly functions, and pervert, as they call it, her majesty's subjects. He received the sentence with unspeakable joy, which was pronounced upon him in the usual form on Saturday, the 5th of April, and prepared himself that night, and the following day, to die on Monday.

On which day, being the 7th of April, 1595, he was brought out to the hurdle, on which he and father Walpole were to be drawn to the place of execution, without the city of York, and laid himself down on the left side of the hurdle, saying, That he left the more honourable place for his betters; and here he waited for two whole hours, before his fellow confessor was brought out to him, spending his time in prayer to God, and in speaking things of edification to the people. He was overjoyed to see him come, for the delay had given him some pain. They tenderly embraced each other; but to prevent as much as could be their pious communications, father Walpole was ordered to lie down with his head towards the horse's tail, by the feet of Mr. Rawlins. When they were arrived at the gallows, Mr. Rawlins was first ordered up the

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and bishop Yepez, l. 5, c. 9. sect. 9 and 10.

ladder, who cheerfully obeyed, and kissed first the gallows, then the ladder and afterwards the rope, as the happy instruments which were to send him to heaven. He was not allowed to speak in a manner at all, but was quickly turned off, having the sweet name of Jesus in his mouth, and so, happily finished his course; father Walpole being ordered to look on whilst the butchery was performed, in hopes of his being terrified by that scene of barbarity.

He suffered at York, April 7th, 1595.

HENRY WALPOLE, PRIEST, S. J.*

Henry Walpole was born of pious and catholic parents of an ancient family in Norfolk, and was the eldest of many sons, with whom God had blessed them. He was educated partly in Oxford and partly in Cambridge, and then was sent up to London by his father, to apply himself to the study of the laws, and took chambers in Gray's-inn for that purpose. In the mean time, he was a great reader of books of controversy, by which he was not only confirmed in his religion, but was also enabled to maintain it against all opponents, and even to gain many proselytes to it; to which the sweetness and agreeableness of his temper did not a little contribute. In fine, having by this means incurred the displeasure of the government, and being withal desirous to consecrate himself more closely to the service of God, and of his neighbours, he went abroad to the college then residing at Rhemes, the common refuge of those who left England for their religion. Here he arrived on the 7th of July, 1582, as appears by the Douay journal, where, at his first coming, he has this eulogium, 7° *die Julij ex Anglia ad nos venit D. Henricus Walpole vir discretus, gravis & pius.* On the 7th of July, Mr. Henry Walpole came to us out of England, a discreet, grave, and pious man. Here he remained till the following year, when, with four others, he was sent to the college of Rome; where, not long after, (viz. anno 1584,) he entered into the Society of Jesus. Three of his brothers, some time after, followed his example: and a fourth going abroad, also to secure his conscience, became an officer in the Spanish service, in the Netherlands.

After some years, spent in Italy, that climate not agreeing with father Walpole's health, he was sent by his superiors to Pont a Mousson, in Lorrain; and from thence, into Flanders; where, travelling on foot, he fell into the hands of a party of the Calvinists, then in arms against the king of Spain; and was, by them, carried into Flesbing, in Zealand, where he suffered much in prison, for the space of a whole

* From his life, published by the bishop of Tarrasona, in his history of the persecution, l. 5. c. 9 and from the Douay diary.

year. At the end of which time, one of his brothers procured his liberty. But his suffering on this occasion, so far from diminishing his courage, served only as a fresh spur to excite in him a new and more ardent desire of being sent over into England, for the conversion of souls; a happiness after which he had long aspired, hoping here to meet with the crown of martyrdom. But his superiors would not as yet consent to this proposition; but sent him into Spain, where two English seminaries had been lately established, the one, at Seville, the other, at Valladolid. He was for some time in both these houses, but longer in the latter, where he had the charge of minister, or vice-rector. From hence, he was sent back again into Flanders, with a commission of the king of Spain to the council there, in favour of anothe · seminary, for training up English youths in piety and learning, late erected at St. Omers.

At length, having happily discharged his commission, he had leave from his superiors, to go upon the English mission. He landed at Flamborough Head, in Yorkshire, being set ashore in the night, the 4th of December, 1593; but had not been above twenty-four hours at land, before he was apprehended, with his two companions, in a place called Killam, and three days after was carried prisoner to York. He was examined by the earl of Huntington, then lord president of the north, and by the council; and freely owned himself to be what he was: upon which, he was committed close prisoner to York jail, till the 25th of February following, when he was, by orders from the privy council, sent for up to London, and there committed to the Tower, where he remained for the space of a year; where, besides other hardships, he suffered the torture, according to the custom of that arbitrary reign, no less than fourteen times, as he himself declared a little before his death.

The various examinations that he underwent, and his answers, the conferences that he had with the protestant ministers, the letters he wrote, the particulars of his trial, the endeavours that were used to bring him to a conformity to the religion, by law, established, and the constancy with which he refused to be rescued out of prison, by some friends that would have attempted it, are set down at large by the bishop of Tarrasona, in twenty leaves in quarto, but are too long to be inserted in these memoirs. The conclusion was, that having been sent back to York, to take his trial, he was there sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, on account of his priesthood. He was brought in guilty, by his jury, on Thursday, the third of April, and received sentence on the Saturday following, and was ordered to prepare himself to die on the Monday, the 7th of the same month. He received the sentence with alacrity and thanksgiving, and was visited by many during the time which was allowed him to prepare for death, who were astonished to see the joy and comfort with which he looked for that happy hour. On the Monday morning he was drawn, as we have seen, to the place of execution, with Mr. Alexander Rawlins, who was appointed to suffer first; and when Mr. Rawlins was in quartering, they showed him to father Walpole, bidding him to be more wise than to follow his example; and offering him his life, if he would conform; which offer he

generously rejecting, went up the ladder; and there, being asked what he thought of the queen's spiritual supremacy? freely declared against it. They told him this was treason; yet they hoped he would die in peace, and join in prayer with them; he answered, that, by the grace of God, he was in peace with all the world, and prayed God for all, particularly for those that were the cause of his death; but as they were not of his religion, he ought not to join in prayer with them; yet he heartily prayed for them, that God would enlighten them with his truth, bring them back to his church, and dispose them for his mercy. Then begging the prayers of all catholics, he lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and recited aloud the Lord's prayer, and after it began the angelical salutation; which the persecutors had not the patience to hear, and therefore turned him off the ladder, and quickly cut the rope: and so dismembered, bowelled, and quartered him: a spectacle which drew tears from the eyes of a great part of the beholders, and served not a little to advance the glory of God, and the propagation of his church, in those northern parts of the kingdom.

Father Walpole was executed at York, the 7th of April, 1595. The earl of Huntington, the great persecutor of the northern catholics, did not survive the year. Bishop Yepez relates, in his history of the persecution, l. 2. c. 9. numb. 4, that he died in great anguish of mind, calling often for his brother, the honourable Walter Hastings, who was a catholic, and expressing a most anxious desire of seeing him: but whatever his motive might be for desiring to see his brother, he died without seeing him, in all appearance, in the same state in which he lived.

A copy of a letter of Father Walpole, after his apprehension, to Father Richard, a missioner of the society in Yorkshire, from a manuscript at St. Omers.

'Although your reverence has subscribed no name to your letter, I plainly understand it is from a friend, and from a fellow-soldier; which gives me a very great comfort. I should be overjoyed if I could confer with your reverence by word of mouth, about certain concerns of mine. In the mean time, most dear father, I recommend myself to your holy prayers, and those of the rest of our brethren and friends in Christ Jesus our Lord. I know not as yet what will become of me; but whatever shall happen, by the grace of God, it shall be welcome; for in every place, north or south, east or west, he is at hand, and the wings of his protection and government are stretched forth to every place where they are who truly serve and worship him, and study to promote the glory and honour of his most holy and most precious name. I trust that he will be glorified in me, whether in life or death; qui cæpit perficiet: mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum. Some come to dispute with me, but with clamours and empty words, more than with solid arguments. I cannot go on, custos adest. I recommend your reverence to our guardian angel, and to the whole court of heaven, and (above all) to our Lord Jesus Christ. Memento mei.'

Another Letter of father Walpole to the same, after his examination by Topliffe.

'Your reverence's letters give me great comfort, but if I could but see you, though it were but for one hour, it would be of greater service to me, than I can possibly express. I hope that what is wanting, my sweet Lord Jesus will supply by other means, whose heavenly comfort and assistance has always hitherto stood by me in my greatest necessities, and, I am persuaded, will continue so to do, since his love for us is everlasting.

'If I would write down all things that have here passed with our adversaries, it would be endless, and the work of a long time. In my examination I gave in, in writing, a long account of my life beyond the seas, of the places where I lived, and of my actions and designs; which, I assured them had no other butt than the only glory of God, and the increase of the holy catholic faith. With which view I told them I returned into England, with a great desire of the conversion, not only of the people, but most of all, of the queen herself, and of the whole English nobility; which I plainly assured them I should ever use my best endeavours to bring about, with the grace of God.

'To their queries concerning others, I refused to answer. And when Topliffe threatened that he would make me answer when he had me in Bridewell, or in the Tower, I told him, that our Lord God, I hoped would not permit me, for fear of any torments whatsoever, to do any thing against his divine Majesty, or against my own conscience, or to the prejudice of justice, and the innocence of others.

'I have had various conferences and disputations with many of the heretics. And whereas I believed I should have been tried at the last assizes in this city, "York," I sent in writing to the lord president, all those conferences and disputations, who had ordered me pen, ink, and paper for that purpose. To which I joined a large discourse, or treatise; in which I exhorted all to beware of the false prophets, and to give ear to the voice of the holy church, the spouse of the king, the house, the vineyard, and the city of Christ. One of the ministers complained of me much to the president, for being so bold as to put down such things in writing; but he could not refute what was written, and, indeed, they seem to me to be much confounded. Blessed be Jesus, qui dat os insipienti, cui non possunt resistere sapientes. I want very much to have a book or two for a few hours, and if I cannot have them, Jesus, our God and Lord is at hand, and he is the eternal wisdom. Your reverence will be pleased to pray to him that he may always stand by me, and that all things may turn out to his glory.

'I am much astonished that so vile a creature as I am should be so near, as they tell me, to the crown of martyrdom: but this I know for certain, that the blood of my most blessed Saviour and Redeemer, and his most sweet love, is able to make me worthy of it, omnia possum in eo qui me comfortat. Your reverence, most loving father, is engaged in the midst of the battle. I sit here an idle spectator of the field; yet king David has appointed an equal portion for us both, and love, charity, and union, which unites us together in Jesus Christ our Lord, makes us mutually partakers of one another's merits; and what can be more

closely united than we two, who, as your reverence sees, simul segregati sumus in hoc ministerium.

'The president inquired of me who was the superior of our society in this kingdom? whether it was this, or the other, or who it was? Topliffe answered, he knew who it was, and named him. I beg your reverence would communicate this letter to all our friends; I desire to give myself to every one of them, and more particularly to all our most dear fathers and brothers of the society of Christ, my Jesus, in whose prayers, labours and sacrifices, as I have a share, so have I a great confidence. About Midlent I hope my lot will be decided, either for life or death, for then the assizes will be held here again. In the mean while, I have leisure to prepare myself, and expect, with good courage, whatever his divine Majesty shall be pleased to appoint for me. I beg your reverence to join your holy prayers with my poor ones, that I may walk worthy of that high and holy name and profession to which I am called, which I trust in the mercy of our Lord he will grant me, not regarding so much my many imperfections, as the fervent labours, prayers, and holy sacrifices of so many fathers, and my brothers, his servants, who are employed over all the world in his service; and I hope, through the merits of my most sweet Saviour and Lord, that I shall be always ready, whether living or dying, to glorify him, which will be for my eternal happiness. And if my unworthiness and demerits shall keep me at present at a distance from the crown, I will strive to deserve it by a greater solicitude and diligence for the future. And, if in his mercy, our Lord shall grant me now to wash my garments in the blood of the Lamb, I hope to follow him for ever, clothed in white.

'I can never end when I get any time to write to your reverence, which I have been seldom able to do; and whether, as long as I live, I shall ever have another opportunity, I know not. I confessed in my examinations, that I had laboured for the increase of the two seminaries in Spain, and for that of St. Omers; and, that I had returned hearty thanks to his catholic majesty, for his great favours to the seminary of St. Omers: I also confessed, that all my actions had always in view the good of others, and no one's harm; the procuring peace among all, and the propagating our holy catholic faith, and the kingdom of Christ, to the utmost of my power. This was the sum of my general confession, which I gave in writing, signed by my own hand, to the president and to Topliffe. They asked me, what I would do, if the pope should wage war against England? I answered, that the circumstances of that time would give me more light; and that I should then have recourse to our Lord God for counsel, and would think seriously on it before I would any ways intermeddle with things of War. *Hæc & hujusmodi, de quibus postea.* May Jesus be always with your reverence. *Oremus pro invicem.*

An extract of a letter of father Henry Garnet's, superior of the English jesuits, concerning father Walpole's treatment in the Tower, and his return to York; written October 23, 1595, translated from the bishop of Tarrasona's history, p. 695, 696.

'Blessed father Walpole met in the Tower of London with the greatest misery and poverty, so that the lieutenant himself, though otherwise a hard-hearted and barbarous man, was moved to enquire after some of the father's relations, and told them, that he was in great and extraordinary want, without bed, without clothes, without any thing to cover him, and that at a season, when the cold was most sharp and piercing; so that himself, though an enemy, out of pure compassion, had given him a little straw to sleep on. Besides this, the father himself, in public court, upon occasion of answering some question that was put to him, declared, *That he had been tortured fourteen times:* and it is very well known, how cruel any one of those tortures is, which are now in use. For it is a common thing to hang them up in the air, six or seven hours by the hands; and, by the means of certain irons, which hold their hands fast, and cut them, they shed much blood in the torture. The force of this torment, may be gathered from what happened last Lent, to a laic, called James Atkinson, whom, they most cruelly tortured in this manner, to oblige him to accuse his own master, and other catholics, and priests, and kept him so long in the torture, that he was, at length, taken away for dead, after many hours suffering; and, in effect, died within two hours. Some time after, they carried the father back to York, to be there tried at the Midlent assizes. In all that journey, he never went into bed, or even laid down upon a bed, to rest himself, after the fatigue of the day; but his sleep, was upon the bare ground. When he came to York, he was put into prison, where he waited many days for the judges coming. In the prison, he had nothing but one poor matt, three feet long: on which, he made his prayer upon his knees, for a great part of the night; and when he slept, it was upon the ground, leaning upon the same matt. And besides this long prayer in the night, which lasted for the greater part of the night, he spent not a little time in making English verses, in which he had a particular talent and grace; for, before he left the kingdom, he had made a poem upon the martyrdom of father Campian, which was so much taken notice of by the public, that the author not being known, the gentleman who published it, was condemned by the council to lose his ears, and to pass the remainder of his days in prison, in which, after some years, he made a pious end.' So far father Garnet.

Father Walpole's defence at his trial, from Yepez, p. 702.

'I find, my lord, I am accused of two or three things.

1st. 'That I am a priest, ordained by the authority of the see of Rome.

2dly. 'That I am a Jesuit, or one of the society of Jesus.

3dly. 'That I returned to my native country to exercise the ordinary acts of these two callings; which are no other, than to gain souls to God.

'I will show, that none of these three things can be treason. Not the being a priest, which is a dignity and office instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ, and given by him to his apostles, who were priests: as were also the holy fathers and doctors of the church, who converted and instructed the world: and the first teachers, who brought over the English nation to the light of the gospel, were also priests; so that, were it not for priests, we should all be heathens; consequently, to be a priest, can be no treason.

'Judge Beamont here spoke; Indeed, said he, the merely being a priest, or jesuit, is no treason; but what makes you a traitor, is your returning into the kingdom against the laws. If to be a priest, said father Walpole, is no treason, the executing the office, or doing the functions of a priest, can be no treason. But if a priest, said the judge, should conspire against the person of his prince, would not this be treason? Yes, said father Walpole; but then neither his being a priest, nor the following the duties of his calling, would make him a traitor; but the committing of a crime contrary to the duty of a priest; which is far from being my case.

'You have been, said Beamont, with the king of Spain, and you have treated and conversed with Parsons and Holt, and other rebels and traitors to the kingdom; and you have returned hither contrary to the laws; and, therefore, you cannot deny your being a traitor. Father Walpole replied, To speak or treat with any person whatsoever, out of the kingdom, can make me no traitor, as long as no proof can be brought that the subject about which we treated was treason; neither can the returning to my native country, be looked upon as treason, since the cause of my return, was not to do any evil, either to the queen, or to the kingdom.

'Our laws appoint, said Beamont, that a priest who returns from beyond the seas, and does not present himself before a justice, within three days, to make the usual submission to the queen's majesty, in matters of religion, shall be deemed a traitor. Then I am out of the case, said father Walpole, who was apprehended, before I had been one day on English ground.

'Here Beamont being put to a nonplus, judge Elvin asked him, if he was ready to make that submission to the queen, in matters of religion, which the laws of the kingdom required? viz: to acknowledge her supremacy, and abjure the pope. Father Walpole answered, he did not know what laws they had made in England, whilst he was abroad, nor what submission these laws required; but this, he very well knew, that no law could oblige any one, that is not agreeable to the laws of God; and that the submission that is to be paid to the earthly princes, must always be subordinate to that submission which we owe to the great King of heaven and earth. Then he added, You, my lords, sit here at present in judgment, as men, and judge as such, being subject to error and passion; but know for certain, that there is a sovereign judge, who will judge righteously; whom in all things we must obey in the first place; and then our lawful princes, in such things as are lawful, and no farther.

'Here, the lord president spoke, We deal very favourably with you,

Mr. Walpole, said he, when, notwithstanding all these treasons and conspiracies with the persons aforesaid, we offer you the benefit of the law, if you will but make the submission ordered by the law; which, if you will not accept of, it is proper you should be punished according to the law. Father Walpole replied, there is nothing, my lord, in which I would not most willingly submit myself, provided it be not against God: but may his divine Majesty never suffer me to consent to the least thing, by which he may be dishonoured, nor you to desire it of me. As to the queen, I every day pray for her to our Lord God, that he would bless her with his holy spirit, and give her his grace to do her duty in all things in this world, to the end, that she may enjoy eternal glory in the world to come: and God is my witness, that to all here present, and particularly to my accusers, and such as desire my death, I wish as to myself, the salvation of their souls, and that, to this end, they may live in the true catholic faith, the only way to eternal happiness.

The court apprehending the impression the confessor's words might make upon the people, (who, by this time, could not but perceive that this noise about treason, was but a pretence; and that a submission to the queen's religion, was all that was insisted upon,) thought fit to put an end to the trial; so the judges summed up the evidence against the prisoner, which was no other than his own confession, viz: 'that he was a priest and jesuit; that he had been with the king of Spain; that he had treated with father Parsons and father Holt, and others whom they called fugitives, rebels, and traitors; and that he had retured into England to convert his country, that is, as they interpreted it, to seduce her majesty's subjects from the religion, by law established, and to reconcile them to the see of Rome.' They, the jury, were directed to find him guilty of the indictment. To whom, as they were going out, father Walpole addressed himself, in these words, 'Gentlemen of the jury, I confess most willingly, that I am a priest, and that I am of the company of Jesus, or a jesuit; and that I came over in order to convert my country to the catholic faith, and to invite sinners to repentance. All this, I never will deny: this is the duty of my calling. If you find any thing else in me, that is not agreeable to my profession, show me no favour. In the mean time, act according to your consciences, and remember, you must give an account to God.'

The jury went out, but returned again quickly, and brought in their verdict, guilty; which, father Walpole hearing, showed great content and joy, and returned most hearty thanks to the divine majesty. This passed on Thursday; but the sentence was not pronounced, till the Saturday following: which was executed, as we have seen, on the Monday.

WILLIAM FREEMAN, PRIEST,*

Mr. Freeman, who was sometime known by the name of Mason, was born in Yorkshire, and performed his studies in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. Here he was ordained priest, in 1587, and from hence he was sent upon the English mission in the beginning of 1589. The particulars of his missionary labours I have not been able to learn, nor could I any where meet with the account of his life and martyrdom, quoted by the bishop of Chalcedon to his catalogue. Dr. Champney, who, in all probability, had seen it, relates that Mr. Freeman having intelligence that a neighbouring justice of peace had a design to make a strict inquisition after priests in that neighbourhood, to withdraw himself further from the danger, went into another county. But as God would have it, he met the danger he sought to fly, and was there taken up upon suspicion, and committed to prison; and afterwards prosecuted and condemned, on account of his priesthood, at the instance chiefly of the archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift. When he heard the sentence pronounced against him, he sung *Te Deum, &c.* When he was drawn to the place of execution, he carried a crucifix on his breast, protesting aloud, That if he had many lives, he would most willingly lay them down for the sake of him, who had been pleased to die upon a cross for his redemption. When he came to the place of execution, where some others, for divers crimes, were also appointed to die that day, he petitioned that he might be the first to go up the ladder: but this was refused, the sheriff being in hopes that the sight of their death might terrify him, and bring him to a compliance, in which case his life was to be saved: but this sight, as he declared, had a contrary effect upon him, and only served to give him a more ardent desire of dying for Christ. So that, with the royal prophet, he cried out, As the hart desires after the fountains of water, so does my soul after thee my God. O! when shall I come and appear before thy face! and so great was the joy of his heart, that it manifestly discovered itself in the serenity and cheerfulness of his countenance, to the admiration and edification of the beholders.

He was hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Warwick, the 13th of August, 1595. Bishop Yepez says in September, 1595.

Molanus, in his catalogue, signifies, that he suffered most cruel torments at, or before his death, p. 31. Gulielmus Freemannus Collegii Duaceni Presbyter, post varios cruciatus, et belluinam immanitatem heroice superatam, &c. William Freeman, priest of the college of Douay, died, after having heroically overcome divers torments, and the brutal cruelty of the persecutors.

1596.—This year is the first, since 1580, that passed without the execution of any priest in this kingdom; and yet even this year could

* From the catalogue of the bishop of Chalcedon; from Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and from bishop Yepez, l. 5. c. 9.

not pass without seeing some catholic blood shed for religious matters: for I find no less than four catholic laymen put to death, as in cases of high treason, at York, in the latter end of November of this year, barely on a religious account. These were George Errington, gentleman, born at Herst, in Northumberland, William Knight, son of Leonard Knight, a wealthy yeoman of South Duffield, in the parish of Hemingbrough, in Yorkshire, William Gibson, yeoman, born near Rippon, in the same county, a most exemplary and religious man, who, for many years had been prisoner for his conscience in York Castle, and Henry Abbot, a zealous convert, who lived in Holden in the same county.

Now their case was as follows: a certain protestant minister, for some misdemeanor, was put into York Castle, where the three former of the persons above named, and several other catholics were prisoners for their recusancy: as, during a great part of this reign, most of the prisons of this kingdom were plentifully stocked with such kind of offenders. This unhappy man, to reinstate himself in the favour of his superiors, took a method that will be justly detested by all honest men of what persuasion soever, which was to insinuate himself into the good opinion of the catholic prisoners, by pretending a deep sense of repentance for his former life, and a great desire of embracing the catholic truth; so that they, believing him to be sincere, directed him, after he was enlarged, to Mr. Abbot, the zealous gentleman mentioned above, in order to procure a priest to reconcile him. Mr. Abbot used his endeavours, and carried him to Carlton, to the house of esquire Stapylton, but did not succeed. Soon after, the traitor, having got enough to put them all in danger of the law, accused them to the magistrates, to show his zeal for the protestant religion So they were all arraigned for persuading the parson to be reconciled to the church of Rome, which is high treason by the sanguinary laws of this reign. Being brought to the bar, they confessed that they had, according to their capacity, explained to the traitor the catholic faith, and its necessity to salvation; and withal, had exhorted him to a serious amendment of his life, but had used no other persuasions. Upon this, they were all found guilty by the jury, and had sentence to die, and were executed at York.

They suffered with fortitude and joy, November 29, 1596.

Two catholic gentlewomen were, for the same cause, condemned at the same time to be burnt alive, viz: Mrs. Ann Tesse and Mrs. Bridget Maskew; but they were reprieved, and continued in prison till the queen's death; and then, by the means of friends, were pardoned by king James I. Mr. Stapylton also, and his lady, underwent great trouble upon this occasion.

The manuscript, from which I have the greatest part of these particulars, adds a very remarkable history with relation to Wm. Knight, uncle to the Willam Knight who suffered, and a great enemy of his nephew, and of all catholics, which I shall here set down in the writer's own words: 'There happened in Hemingbrough parish, a thing worth memory, which was this; there was a catholic man who had been long confined in York Casle, for his conscience, and having procured liberty to return home, after many years' imprisonment, he went one time to visit an old man of his acquaintance, and perceiving him not likely to

live long, entered into some good talk with him concerning his soul, and used some persuasions to move him to provide for death, and the salvation of his soul, by making himself a catholic. This came to the knowledge of one William Knight, "who was uncle to the other of that name, whom I have mentioned before, that was a martyr, and was the first cause of his nephew's imprisonment, and that upon this occasion: the good youth coming to man's estate, went to his uncle about some land that was due to him: whether his uncle had the land in his possession, or the writings, I remember not. But knowing his nephew to be a catholic, he took him and sent him to prison, where he remained till he got the crown of martyrdom. If he would have gone to church, his uncle would have given him his land." This bad William Knight, hearing of the good counsel this prisoner had given his neighbour, determined to bring him within the danger of the statute of persuasion, which is treason; and, for that end, took the minister of the parish with him, whose name was Knighton, and some others to be witnesses, determining to take the old man's oath, that the other had persuaded him. As they were going, Knight was forced to stay to untruss, and was in such manner handled, that he was obliged to turn back, so the minister and the rest, entertaining no such malice, returned without proceeding any farther. Knight's disease left him not till he died, which was within a short time; how few days I am not certain. I had this from the minister himself, who acknowledged it to be God's just judgment upon him.' So far the manuscript.

WILLIAM ANDLEBY, OR ANDLABY, PRIEST.—1597.*

William Andleey was a gentleman by birth, born at Etton, in Yorkshire, and brought up in the protestant religion, and in a great aversion to the church of Rome; following withal the liberties of the world and the flesh, which are so much condemned by the old gospel, and so little restrained by the new. When he was about twenty-five years of age, his curiosity carried him abroad to see foreign countries. In his travels he came to Douay, where Dr. Allen had not long before instituted an English college or seminary for supplying England with pastoral missioners. Mr. Andleby had heard much of the man, and was desirous of seeing and conferring with him; making no doubt but he could convince him of the absurdity of the Roman catholic religion. Dr. Allen received him very courteously, and treated with him upon the controverted points of religion, with that strength of argument, joined with that candour and sweetness of temper, that Mr. Andleby was quite silenced and confounded; however, though he acknowledged himself unable to answer, yet he would not yield up the cause, or consent to

* From the Douay diary, the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, Dr. and Champney's MS. history.

embrace the catholic faith; but, after some days' conference, took his leave of the doctor, with design of going to the wars, which the Hollanders were then engaged in against the king of Spain. The doctor told him, since he saw his conferences had not been able to conquer the hardness of his heart, he would try another means, which was, by having recourse to prayer, and imploring the almighty master of hearts, to vouchsafe to touch his with his divine grace, and open it to receive his saving truths; and so they parted.

Dr. Allen was as good as his word, recommending to God, by fervent prayer, this strayed sheep: when, behold! the wonderful change of the right-hand of the Most High! Mr. Andleby, of his own accord, returns the next morning bathed in tears, and desires of the doctor to be instructed and received into the catholic church. The doctor glorifying God for his wonderful work, received him with great joy; and as Mr. Andleby desired to make his confession to no other than Dr. Allen himself, he heard his general confession, and received him into his college; where, after some year's probation, and an exemplary application to piety and learning, he was, at length, presented to holy orders, and was ordained priest, at the same time with Mr. Sherwin, Mr. Laurence Johnson, and others, by the bishop of Cambray, at Chateaux Cambresis, the 23d of March, 1577, and was sent upon the English mission the 14th of April, 1578; the last of those that went from Douay, before the removal of the college to Rhemes.

His missionary labours were in his own country of Yorkshire; and his zeal of souls was such, as to spare no pains, or fear no dangers, where he could be serviceable to any. For the first four years of his mission, he travelled always on foot, meanly attired, and carrying with him, usually in a bag, his vestments, and other utensils, for saying mass; for his labours lay chiefly amongst the poor, who were not stocked with such things. Afterwards, humbly yielding to the advice of his brethren, he used a horse, and went something better clad. Dr. Champney alledges, as an instance of his zeal and industry in helping souls, that whereas many catholics were kept prisoners for their conscience in Hull castle, and no one was allowed to have access to them, or speak to them, otherwise than in presence of the keeper, who was a bitter enemy of their religion; Mr. Andleby and Mr. Atkinson (who afterwards suffered under king James I.) with incredible labour and danger, in spite of motes and walls, gates and bars, found means several times to come at them, and to comfort and assist them.

Wonderful was the austerity of his life in frequent watchings, fastings, and continual prayer. He never spoke but where the honour of God, and his neighbour's good, required it. His recollection was so great, that, even upon his journies, he was always in prayer, mental or vocal, with his soul so absorbed in God, that he often took no notice of those he met; by which means he sometimes was exposed to suspicions and dangers from the adversaries of his faith, into whose hands he fell, at length, after twenty years' labour in the vineyard of his Lord; and was condemned, barely on account of his character and functions, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, at York, on the 4th of July, 1597.

Thomas Warcop and Edward Fulthrop, Yorkshire gentlemen, were executed at the same time with Mr. Andleby; the former for having harboured or entertained Mr. Andleby in his house; the latter for being reconciled to the catholic church.

1598.—This year, on the first of April, John Britton, gentleman, was executed at York, as in cases of high treason. He was born at Britton, in the west riding of Yorkshire, and being of old a zealous catholic, was, for a great part of his life, exposed to persecutions, on account of his conscience, and generally obliged to be absent from his wife and family to keep himself farther from danger. At length, being now advanced in years, he was falsely accused, by a malicious fellow, of having uttered some treasonable words against the queen; for which he was condemned to die. He refused to save his life by renouncing his faith, and thereupon was put to death.

PETER SNOW, PRIEST.*

Peter Snow was born at, or near, Rippon, in Yorkshire, says the Reverend Mr. Ralph Fisher, in his relation of him: but in the Douay catalogue he is marked down to have been of the diocese of Chester. He performed his higher studies at the college then residing at Rhemes, where he was made priest in 1591, and sent the same year upon the English mission. Here he laboured till 1598, when, going towards York, in company of Ralph Grimston, of Nidd, gentleman, about the feast of St. Philip and James, he was apprehended with the same gentleman. They were both shortly after arraigned and condemned: Mr. Snow, of treason, as being a seminary priest, and Mr. Grimston of felony, as being aiding and assisting to him; and, as it is said, lifting up his weapon to defend him at the time of his apprehension.

They both suffered at York, June 15, 1598.

JOHN JONES, ALIAS, BUCKLEY, PRIEST.—O. S. F.†

John Jones was born of a gentleman's family, in the parish of Clenock, in the county of Caernarvon. At what place he had his education, or where he was made priest, I have not yet found; only I have seen a list of priests, prisoners in Wisbich castle, 1587, in which I meet with

* From a Douay manuscript, and the journal of the college.

† From the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, Dr. Champney's manuscript history, and a relation of his death penned by father Garnet, and recorded by bishop Yepez. l. 5. c. 10.

his name with a note, that at that time his was a secular priest. How, or when he got out of Wisbich castle, I cannot tell; but certain it is, that after this time, he was received into the order of St. Francis, either at Rome, as father Garnet insinuates, or at Pontoise, as Dr. Champney expressly affirms.

Returning into England about the year 1593, he laboured there for three years with great fruit, and then, fell again into the hands of the persecutors, and was kept in prison, for about two years more, where, many resorting to him, received great benefit to their souls from his conversation, till Topliffe, the arch-persecutor, caused him to be arraigned, (together with Mr. Barnet, and Mrs. Wiseman, who had been aiding and assisting to him,) in the beginning of July, 1598. Father Jones, pleaded that he had never been guilty of any treason against his queen or country; and desired, that his case should rather be referred to the conscience of the judges, than to an ignorant jury. Judge Clinch told him, they were sensible he was no plotter against the queen, but that he was a Romish priest, and being such, had returned into England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27, which was high treason by the laws. *If this be a crime*, said the confessor, I must own myself guilty: for I am a priest, and came over into England to gain as many souls as I could to Christ. Upon this, he was condemned, and when sentence was pronounced upon him according to the usual form, as in cases of high treason, falling upon his knees, with a loud voice, he gave thanks to God. Mr. Barnet and Mrs. Wiseman were also condemned to die, but were not executed.

On the 12th of July, in the forenoon, Mr. Jones was drawn to St. Thomas's Waterings, the place designed for his execution, where, being taken off the sled, and set up into the cart, he declared, that he had never spoken a word, or entertained a thought, in his whole life, against the queen or his country, but daily prayed for their welfare. He stood there for about an hour, (for it seems, the hangman had forgot to bring the rope with him,) sometimes speaking to God in prayer; sometimes preaching to the people; till, at length a rope being brought, and fitted to his neck, the cart was drawn away, and he was permitted to hang till he was quite dead. His body afterwards was bowelled and quartered, and his quarters were set up on poles in the ways to Newington and Lambeth, and his head in Southwark. His execution is mentioned by Mr. Stow in his chronicle. Dr. Champney adds, that both his head and quarters, were afterwards taken down by the catholics, though not without great danger: and that he knew two young gentlemen, of considerable families, who were apprehended and committed to prison for attempting it. He also informs us, that one of his fore-quarters is kept at Pontoise, in the convent of the Franciscans, where he was professed.

He suffered, July the 12th, 1598; and father Garnet, who calls him, *Godofredus Mauricius*, wrote his account of his death, the 15th of the same month and year.

CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON, PRIEST. *

Mr. Robinson was born at Woodside, in the county of Cumberland, and was a priest of Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes. He was ordained, and sent upon the English mission in 1592. His missionary labours seem to have been in his own country; where, at length, he was apprehended, and committed to prison. During his confinement, he had some conferences with the then bishop of Carlise, whose name also was Robinson. This protestant prelate, expressed a great deal of good nature, in regard to his namesake, and spared no pains to bring him over to the new religion, by persuasions and promises; but this generous soul was proof against all his allurements and fair speeches, and remained constant in his faith. He was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, barely on account of his being a Roman catholic priest, and exercising his functions in this nation. His meek behaviour at the place of execution, the sweetness of his words, and of his countenance, and the constancy and cheerfulness with which he died, touched the hearts of many of the spectators, and was the occasion of many conversions.

He suffered at Carlisle, August the 19th, 1598.

RICHARD HORNER, PRIEST. †

Richard Horner was born at Bolton-Bridge in Yorkshire, and was educated in Douay college; where he was made priest, soon after the return of that community from Rhemes to Douay, viz: in 1595; and from thence, was sent, that same year, upon the English mission; where, falling into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, he was arraigned and condemned, merely as a catholic priest; and after having suffered much in prison, was executed at York, as in cases of high treason.

He suffered with great courage and constancy, September 4, 1598.

1599.—In this year, most of our catalogues of martyrs, place the death of Matthias Harrison, priest, who by some, is confounded with Mr. Harrison, who suffered at York, in 1602: but the lists of the priests ordained and sent from Douay college distinguishes them, and call the latter, James Harrison, of the diocese of Litchfield, ordained in 1583, and sent from Rhemes upon the mission in 1584; whereas the former, is there called Matthias Harrison, of the diocese of York, and was ordained, after the return of the college to Douay, in 1597; and from thence sent, the same year, upon the mission. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript, also distinguishes them, and tells us, that Mr. Matthias was

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue.
† From the same manuscript and catalogue.

this year hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at York, barely on account of his priestly character.

This year, also, I find two of the laity executed for religious matters, viz: Mr. John Lion, who was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at Okeham, in Rutland, July 16, for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy. "*Catalog. Chalced. citans acta martirii ejus, and relationes fide dignorum ex certa scientia.*" And Mr. James Doudal, an Irish merchant, native of Wexford, who, for the same cause, was hanged, bowelled, and quartered, at Exeter, August 13. Whose burying place, says his countryman, John Mullen, of Cork, is said to be illustrated with divine miracles to this day, p. 93. Appendix to his *Idea togatæ constantiæ.*

CHRISTOPHER WHARTON, PRIEST. 1600.*

Christopher Wharton was born at Middleton, in Yorkshire, and brought up in Trinity College, Oxon; of which college, he was some time fellow; and there also took the degree of master of arts: but preferring the old religion before the new, he left Oxford, and went over to Rhemes, where the English college then resided; and, after some time, he was made priest by the Cardinal de Guise, then archbishop of that city, March 31, 1584; and from thence was sent upon the English mission, in 1586. He is much commended by Dr. Worthington, in his account of sixteen Martyrs, p. 81, for his humility, charity, and other great virtues, which God was pleased to reward with the crown of martyrdom. When, or how, he was apprehended, I have not learnt; but that he was taken in the house of Mrs. Eleanore Hunt, widow; who for harbouring him, was also committed prisoner to York Castle, where I find them both, in 1599.

Mr. Wharton was brought upon his trial in the Lent Assizes, 1600, and indicted for being a seminary priest, and returning into the realm contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. He acknowledged himself to be a priest; but added, that he was so, as indeed he was, before that statute was made, leaving it to his accusers to prove when he was ordained priest: for, considering his age, he might, for ought they knew, have been ordained before the first year of queen Elizabeth, and consequently be out of the danger of that statute. At his trial, many odious things were objected against the pope, cardinals, missionary priests, and catholics in general; whom they were pleased to charge with idolatry, superstition, treasons, and what not. All which charges

* From a printed relation of sixteen martyrs, published by Dr. Thomas Worthington, in 1601; from the Douay diaries and catalogues, and from Dr. Champney's manuscript.

Mr. Wharton assured them, were unjust slanders; and withal, quite impertinent to the indictment, and the question upon which his life depended, which was to know the time when he was made priest. And, as to the dissentions between the jesuits and the seminary priests, which they also objected and amplified, he answered briefly, 'that in the catholic Roman religion, (which he professed, and for which he was ready to die,) there is neither idolatry, nor superstition, nor falsehood, nor contrariety of doctrine: and though there are dissentions sometimes amongst the catholics, either priests or others, yet these differences are not in articles of their faith, but in other matters; as of some particular jurisdiction, right or title, spiritual or temporal, and the like: and that, for his own part, he had no such controversy with any catholic, nor breach of charity with any person whatever.'

As to the point concerning the time of his ordination, after a few conjectures which proved nothing, Mr. Saville, baron of the exchequer, (who was also his judge,) affirming that he knew him in Oxford some years after the time mentioned in the statute, and that he was not then taken for a priest, the jury was directed to find him guilty of the indictment; and he was condemned of high treason. Mrs. Hunt also was condemned of felony, for receiving him into her house; as if she also had known him in Oxford to have been no priest, and to have been made priest afterwards, whereas, indeed, she knew not at all, till a little time before he was apprehended in her house. She utterly refused to save her life by going to the protestant church; but though she was sentenced to die, and lost all her worldly substance, yet she did not suffer, as was expected, but was permitted to linger away in prison, under the benefit, as it was called, of a reprieve.

Mr. Wharton had also the usual baits offered him of life, liberty, and promotion, if he would conform, which he generously rejecting, suffered death according to sentence, with great constancy, at York, the 28th of March, being Easter-Week, 1600.

JOHN RIGBY, GENTLEMAN.*

John Rigby was a younger son of Nicholas Rigby, a gentleman of an ancient family, of Harrock, in the parish of Eccleston, in Lancashire, whose circumstances being narrow, obliged him to take to service, where, through human frailty, (though he was always a catholic in his heart,) he sometimes went to the protestant church; for which he afterwards heartily repented, and confessing himself to Mr. Jones, alias

* From Dr. Worthington's printed account of his martyrdom, published the following year.

Buckley, then a prisoner, was by him reconciled to God, and from that time, lived a very exemplary life, and was the instrument of the reconciliation of divers others, and, amongst the rest, of his own father, in his old age. Whilst he was in the service of Sir Edmond Huddlestone, his daughter, Mrs. Fortesque, widow, was summoned to the Sessions-house in the Old Baily, for causes of religion; and she being sick, and not able to appear, sent by Mr. Rigby to testify the same for her in that court. Upon which occasion Sir Richard Martin, one of the commissioners, who had for some time entertained a grudge against Mr. Rigby, began to question him concerning his own religion; and finding him to be a catholic, and that he refused to go to church, or take the oath of the queen's supremacy, he, with the lord mayor, and the rest of the commissioners, ordered him to Newgate. The next day he was again examined in the Sessions-house by the lord chief justice, where he again professed his religion, and withal acknowledged, That he had some times gone to the protestant church, though he was always, in heart, a catholic; but being convinced in his own conscience, that this way of acting was not consistent with his soul's salvation, he had been reconciled by Mr. Buckley, in the Clink, and for two or three years had not gone to church. To which examination, the lord chief justice caused him to set his hand. What follows, is an abstract of an account written by himself in prison, of his trial and examinations.

'Then my lord commanded the keeper to take me, and to put on me an iron chain; which, when it came, I willed him to put it on in God's name, and said aloud,—I would not change my chain, for my lord mayor's great chain; and I gave the fellow six pense for his pains. By-and-by, my lord chief justice sent me word to provide myself, for I was to be arraigned forthwith. I bid the messenger tell his lordship,—I never heard so good news in my life before; and so I was commanded to the common jail. But (expecting every day to be arraigned) the Tuesday following I was removed to the White Lion, in Southwark, and was there quiet, till the 3d of March. "N. B. He was first examined and committed on the 14th of February, 1599–1600." And Wednesday the 3d of March, in the common sessions, with a number of felons, I was brought to my trial. In the forenoon I was called, and appeared; but nothing was said to me. When the justice went to dinner, we also went home to prison; and being at dinner, justice Gaudy sent his man for me, and I went willingly with my keeper: and so coming to them at justice Dale's house, where the judges dined, justice Gaudy called me to him, and asked my name, which I told him. Were not you committed by lord chief justice, and examined by him? Yea, my lord. You know your own hand? so he showed me my hand; and I said, this is my hand: I pray you give me leave to speak for myself. You shall, said he; I well perceive you have thought better of the matter. I am told by one of my lord of Canterbury's gentlemen, that you are now sorry for what you have done, and willing to become a good subject, and go to church. If you will so do, her majesty is merciful. How say you? Will you go to church now?—No, my lord. Good my lord, whosoever informed your lordship, that ever I did yet yield in any point of my profession, was not my friend, nor ever had any con-

sent thereto. I assure you, my lord, I am a true subject, and obedient to her majesty, and her laws, in any thing which may not hurt my conscience: but to say that I will go to church, I never will. Yea, rather than your lordships should have any light suspicion of me of such a consent, take my first answer as it is; there is my hand, here is my whole body, most ready I am, and willing, to seal it with my blood. We were told, said one of the judges, you were a simple young man, and willing to recant; but we see now, thou art a resolute, wilful fellow, and there is no remedy, but law must proceed. Let me have law, in the name of Jesus: God's will be done.

'The next day, being Thursday, we went again to the sessions at St. Margaret's Hill, where about two in the afternoon, I was called to the bar. About an hour after, I was called again, and bidden to hold up my hand; which I did. My indictment was read, and it was a sharp one. Then my lord bid me speak: and I answered, briefly, in this manner:

1st. 'Whereas, I am charged in my indictment, that I was reconciled; it is very true; to God Almighty I so was, and I think lawfully might be; and, as I remember, it is also allowed in your book of common prayer, in the visitation of the sick, that if any man find himself burthened in conscience, he should make his confession to the minister; which confession manifesteth a breach between God and his soul; and, by this humble confession, he craveth pardon of his sins, and reconciliation to God again, by the hands of his minister.

2dly. 'Whereas, I am charged, that I was reconciled from my obedience to her majesty, and to the Romish religion. I will depose the contrary; for I was never reconciled from any obedience to my princess, for I obey her still; nor to any religion, for although I sometimes went to church against my will, yet was I never of any other religion than the catholic, and therefore needed no reconciliation to religion.

3dly. 'Whereas, in my former answers, I said I went to church, it is true, for fear of temporal punishment I so did, but never minded to fall from the old religion, and therefore needed no reconciliation.

4thly and lastly. 'I humbly beseech your good lordships, as you will answer it before God, to explicate the meaning of the statute to the jury: if the meaning thereof be to make it treason for a man fallen into the displeasure of God, through his sins, to be reconciled to God again, by him to whom God hath committed the authority of reconciliation? if this be treason, God's will be done.

'Then said both the judges, it was by a Romish priest, and therefore treason. I answered, it was by a catholic priest, who had the liberty of the prison, and was free for any man to come to him to relieve him; and, therefore, by the statute, no treason. Again, my lords, if it be not inquired of within a year and a day, there can be no advantage taken against me by this statute, if you wrong me not. Whereto replied one that sat under the judge; all this will not serve thy turn, for the jury must find it treason. Nay then, Sir, said I, if it must be, let it be; God's will be done. Then said justice Gaudy her majesty and her laws are merciful; if you will yet conform yourself, and say here, before the jury go forth, that you will go to church, we will proceed no farther. My lord, said I, if that be all the

offence I have committed, as I know it is; and if there be no other way but going to church to help it, I would not wish your lordship to think I have, (as I hope,) risen thus many steps towards heaven, and now will, wilfully, let my foot slip, and fall into the bottomless pit of hell. I hope in Jesus, he will strengthen me rather to suffer a thousand deaths, if I had so many lives to lose. Let your law proceed. Then, said the judge to the jury, you must consider of it; you see what is said; you cannot but find it treason by the law. And so they went forth, and stood not long to think upon the matter, but came again, and I was called and bidden again hold up my hand: they bid the jury look on the prisoner, whether he is guilty or no? and who shall speak for you? they all said, the foreman. He spoke so softly, that I could not hear him. I willed him to speak up, and not be afraid. Then he said, Guilty; to the which, I said, with a loud voice, *laus tibi, Domine! rex æternæ gloriæ.* When the rest were arraigned, and judgment was to be given, I was first called, and justice Gaudy said, What canst thou say for thyself, wherefore thou shouldest not have judgment of death? I answered, If that, which before I have said, will not serve, I can say no more. Good Rigby, said he, think not I seek your death, will you yet go to church? No, my lord: why then, said he, judgment must pass; with a good will, my lord, said I. Then he pronounced sentence, as you know the manner is, which, when he had ended, I said, Deo gratias, all is but one death, and a flea-bite, in comparison of that which it pleased my sweet Saviour Jesus to suffer for my salvation. I humbly thank your lordship for your great pains, and I freely forgive your lordship and the poor jury, and all other persecutors whatsoever. Well said, saith he, indeed you show your charity; and then gave judgment to the rest, and when he had done, he called us together, willing us to send for a minister, and provide for death. I desired his lordship to spare my presence, and bestow that counsel elsewhere, for I hope I am as well provided as by his exhortation I should be. If you be, said he, it is the better for you; God speed you well, and so we parted. I pray God forgive them all, and amend them, if it be his holy will. Amen.'

Thus much he wrote himself in prison, and sent it to a dear friend, who keepeth safe the original, saith Dr. W. For judge Gaudy procured him a reprieve, and he continued in prison till the next assizes; when, on Thursday, the 19th of June, justice Kingsmel now sitting upon criminal matters, and justice Gaudy upon civil only, Mr. Rigby was again brought to the bar, and asked by the judge whether he would yet go to church, or no? he answered, I thank God I am the same man that I was. It is not lawful to go to your church. I will not go to it. Then thou must die, said the judge, for longer reprieve thou canst not have; he answered, My lord that is the thing which I desire and look for, but I think myself far unworthy to die for so good a cause. The judge perceiving he had no irons on his legs, sharply rebuked the keeper; who, thereupon, brought a strong pair of shackles, which Mr. Rigby taking into his hands, kneeled down, and making the sign of the cross, kissed them; and then the keeper's man rivetted them on very fast on both his legs, and so they continued all that day and the night following.

The next day he was brought again to the sessions house, where, after he had stood awhile, the irons fell off his legs upon the ground, at which he smiled, and told his keeper his shackles had fallen off, and bid him rivet them on faster, which he did, as he thought, very fast; but within a little time they fell off again, and then he called again upon his keeper and desired him to make them faster, for I esteem them, said he, jewels of too great price to be lost. The keeper's man that had put them on twice before, being much amazed, refused to put them on any more; so that the keeper ordered another of his men to do it. Then Mr. Rigby remembering that a catholic maid, called Mercy, had that morning told him, that, in the night, she saw, in her dream, his irons fall off from his legs, said to his keeper, now the maid's dream is found to be true. What the judges thought on the matter we know not, but they spoke no more to the prisoner; but, after much arguing among themselves, judge Kingsmel concluded that he should die; upon which occasion, judge Gaudy was by some seen to weep. Mr. Rigby being asked what he thought of that falling off of his irons, which most men thought to be miraculous, answered, he hoped it was a token that the bands of his mortality should shortly be loosed, as indeed, it proved. He spent the remainder of his time in preparing himself, by religious exercises, for his last end; and a friend asking him in what dispositions he found himself at the approach of death, he answered, I thank our Lord, in very great comfort and consolation of mind.

On Saturday, in the morning, being the 21st of June, word was brought him, that he was to die that day; he answered very cheerfully, Deo Gratias. It is the best tidings that ever was brought me since I was born. The minister of St. George's coming to him upon this occasion, and offering his help, Mr. Rigby courteously thanked him, but told him, 'We two, sir, are opposite in religion, and therefore I must not communicate with you in matters of faith. I have long looked for death; I am prepared, fully resolved, and most ready to offer up my life for so worthy a cause. Fare you well, sir; I pray God make you a good man.' Between five and six in the afternoon he was called for by one of the officers, and sweetly taking leave of the catholics, his fellow prisoners, he desired they would help him with their prayers in this his journey towards his true country. Then going down into the yard, where the hurdle waited for him, he knelt down by it, making the sign of the cross, and was beginning to say some prayers, but was interrupted by Mr. More, the under-sheriff's deputy. So rising up, and striking his hand upon the horse, he cheerfully said, Go thy ways, this is the joyfullest day that ever I knew. Then signing himself again with the sign of the cross, he laid himself upon the hurdle, showing so much alacrity in his smiling countenance, that the standers-by asked him, if he laughed from his heart? Yes, verily, said he, from my heart; and bear witness with me, all good people, that I am now forthwith to give my life only for the catholic cause. Mr. More told him, You die for treason, for being reconciled by a seminary priest: yes, said he, sir, but neither can that be treason, nor yet do I die for that only; for, as you know, the judge oftentimes offered to save my life if I would go to

church. Then pulling his hat down over his eyes, he said, in the name of our Lord, go on, and so settled himself to his devotions.

The place designed for execution was St. Thomas's Watering. In his way thither he was met by the earl of Rutland and captain Whitlock, on horseback, who, coming to the hurdle, asked him, what he was, of what age, and for what cause he was to die? He answered, my name is John Rigby, a poor gentleman of the house of Harrock, in Lancashire: my age about thirty years; and my judgment and condemnation to this death, is only and merely for that I answered the judge that I was reconciled, and for that I refused to go to church. The captain wished him to do as the queen would have him, and conform; and turning to the sheriff's deputy, conferred with him about the matter; then riding again with the earl to the hurdle, and causing it to be stopped a little, he asked Mr. Rigby, are you a married man, or a bachelor? Sir, said he, I am a bachelor; and more than that, I am a maid: that is much, said the captain, for a man of your years, you must have strove much against your own flesh. I would be loth, said Mr. Rigby, to speak any thing contrary to the truth; I am indeed a maid, and that is more than I needed to say. The captain concluded; Then I see thou hast worthily deserved a virgin's crown: I pray God, send thee the kingdom of heaven; I desire thee, pray for me. And so they rode to the place of execution, and staid there, till the officers were about to drive away the cart, and then posted away, much admiring his courage and constancy. The captain often related these particulars, and declared, that he had never seen his fellow for modesty, patience, and resolution in his religion.

When Mr. Rigby was taken off the hurdle and brought to the cart, he knelt down and said aloud, his *Pater*, *Ave*, *Credo*, and *Confiteor*; in the last of which, he was interrupted by the ruder sort of people crying out against him, for praying to saints. When the executioner helped him up into the cart, he gave him an angel of gold, saying, Here, take this in token that I freely forgive thee and all others that have been accessory to my death. Then viewing the multitude, which was very great, and making the sign of the cross, with a cheerful countenance, holding his hands before his breast, he spent a little time in silent prayer. When the rope was to be put about his neck, he first kissed it, and then began to speak to the people, but was interrupted by More, the sheriff's deputy, bidding him pray for the queen, which he did, very affectionately. Then the deputy asked him, What traitors dost thou know in England? God is my witness, said he, I know none. What! saith the deputy again, If he will confess nothing, drive away the cart; which was done so suddenly, that he had no time to say any thing more, or recommend his soul again to God, as he was about to do.

The deputy shortly after commanded the hangman to cut him down, which was done so soon, that he stood upright on his feet, like to a man a little amazed, till the butchers threw him down: then coming perfectly to himself, he said aloud and distinctly, *God forgive you. Jesus, receive my soul.* And immediately, another cruel fellow standing by, who was no officer, but a common porter, set his foot upon Mr. Rigby's throat, and so held him down, that he could speak no more.

Others held his arms and legs, whilst the executioner dismembered and bowelled him. And when he felt them pulling out his heart, he was yet so strong, that he thrust the men from him, who held his arms. At last they cut off his head and quartered him, and disposed of his head and quarters in several places in and about Southwark. The people, going away, complained very much of the barbarity of the execution; and generally, all sorts bewailed his death.

His execution is mentioned by Howes, upon Stow, in his chronicle.

THOMAS SPROTT, AND THOMAS HUNT, PRIESTS.*

Thomas Sprott was born in the parish of Schelsmere, near Kendal, in Westmoreland, and performed his higher studies in the English college of Douay; where he was ordained priest, in 1596, and sent, the same year, upon the English mission.

Thomas Hunt was born in Norfolk, and was a sceular priest of the English college of Seville: who, being sent upon the English mission, and there falling into the hands of the persecutors, was committed prisoner to Wisbich castle; from whence, he, with five more, made their escape, some few months before his second apprehension and execution. The history of which, is as follows:

In the month of July, 1600, search being made in and about Lincoln, after certain malefactors, who had committed a robbery, the searchers found, at the Saracen's Head, in Lincoln, Mr. Sprott and Mr. Hunt, strangers to the people of the house, and close up in their chambers; whom they vehemently suspecting to be the men they were seeking after, took up, upon suspicion, and strictly examined, what was their names? their places of abode? what business they followed? what had brought them thither? what acquaintance they had in that city or neighbourhood, &c. So that, to be rid of the importunity of these questions, and of the suspicion of being robbers, they confessed, that they were catholics, who had come thither in hopes of living there more quietly for a time, than they could do where they were more known. The officers searched their mails, and found there, the holy oils, and two breviaries, which gave suspicion that they were priests. Whereupon, they were brought before the mayor, and by him examined upon these four articles.

1st. Whether they had been at the church within these ten or twelve years?

2dly. If the pope should invade the realm, whether they would take part with him, or with the queen?

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, published at Douay, in 1601; the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and Raissius's catalogue of the martyrs of Douay college.

3dly. Whether they did take the queen to be the supreme governess of the church of England?

4thly. Whether they were priests or no?

To these questions, they both returned the same answers in substance, viz: to the first, That they were brought up from their infancy, in the catholic faith, and were never at the protestant church. To the second, That when such a case shall happen, which is not likely, they will answer it. To the third, That the pope is supreme head upon earth, of the catholic church throughout the world. To the fourth, they answered as before, That they were catholics, and further, they thought themselves not bound to answer.

Nevertheless, upon this last article they were immediately arraigned, it being the time of the summer assizes, before judge Glandvil; and an indictment was drawn up against them, that they were seminary priests, and consequently traitors; and though their being priests was neither proved nor confessed, nor any witnesses produced to avouch it, the judge directed the jury to find them guilty; which they did: though, as it seems, with great repugnance of conscience, perfectly compelled to it by the sharp words of the judge, who was very positive in the matter, and told them, they must needs bring in their verdict so. Soon after, the judge gave sentence of death, according to the usual form as in cases of high treason; which the servants of God joyfully heard, giving God thanks for so great a favour, and pardoning their persecutors. But both before and after their condemnation, they were attacked by some protestant preachers upon the articles of their religion, whom they so confuted and confounded, that the magistrates commanded the ministers to hold their peace. They made use of their own far stronger arguments of hurdles, halters, knives and fire, which these two servants of God courageously met, and gloriously conquered.

They were executed at Lincoln, some time in July, 1600.

'Not many days after,' says Dr. Worthington, in his relation printed and published in the beginning of the following year, p. 99, 'Mr. Glandvil, their judge, received also his own judgment: for, riding abroad for his pleasure, near to his own house, with one man, suddenly, in the plain field, he fell from his horse to the ground, the horse not stumbling at all, but running away a great pace. The servant stept quickly to his master, and essaying to help him up, found him dead; whereat being much astonished, he posted as fast as he could to the next village, crying, that his master was dead. The people, in haste, running to the place, found it so: and not knowing who else could be charged with it, they presently apprehended the same servant, upon suspicion that he had murdered his master; but, upon viewing the corpse, they saw evidently, that no man had done this act; for they found part of his brains strangely coming forth, both at his nose and mouth, not having any other hurt in his head, but towards the right side, behind, a great dimple or hole, wherein a child might have put his fist; yet neither his skin, nor his hat, broken at all, nor a hair of his head wanting, to any man's judgment. They found likewise, his right shoulder sore scorched, like burned leather, as black as pitch; and from thence along upon his arm, a great gash, as if it had been

made with a knife, but not deep; and in the calf of his leg, on the same side, they found another hole, about an inch broad, and three inches deep, and (which is most strange,) not so much as a thread of his hose, nor of his other apparel, could be found to be broken. The horse that run away, with much ado was taken, but could by no means be brought near to the place where his master fell down.' So far the printed relation.

The execution of Mr. Sprott and Mr. Hunt, is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle.

ROBERT NUTTER, AND EDWARD THWING, PRIESTS.*

Robert Nutter, brother of Mr. John Nutter, who suffered in 1584, was born in Lancashire, and performed his higher studies in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest, December 21, 1581, with Mr. George Haydock, and divers others; and, in the beginning of the following year, was sent upon the English mission. Here I find him prisoner, in the Tower, in February, 1583–4, where he was put down in a dungeon, for seven-and-forty days, loaded with chains for the greater part of the time, and twice tortured: and in the November following, was lodged again in the same hole, and remained there for two months and fourteen days. See the journal of things transacted in the Tower, from 1580 to 1585, published with Dr. Saunders, and Mr. Rishton's history of the schism. In 1585, he was sent into banishment, with many other priests, 'who being brought by their keepers from their several prisons to the Tower wharf,' says Dr. Worthington, (who was himself one of the number,) p. 91, 'and there commanded to enter into a ship ready provided to carry them into banishment, declared publicly to the commissioners, that they did not accept of that banishment, as of any grace or mercy at all; for they had not committed any fault, neither against their queen nor country, as this pretended mercy falsely supposed; and therefore, in express terms, required rather to be tried, and to answer their accusers at Westminster, and at Tyburn, than to be thus carried against their wills out of their native country, from their friends and neighbours, whom they were to serve according to their priestly functions; affirming, moreover, that though per force they were carried away, yet they would assuredly return to the same work, as soon as God and their spiritual superiors, would permit them so to do.'

Mr. Nutter, for his part, was as good as his word; and, after having visited his old mother college, at Rhemes, and made some short stay

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, printed in 1601, and Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the Douay diary.

there, he returned upon the mission. He fell again, not long after, into the hands of the persecutors, and was committed to Wisbich castle, where I find him prisoner, in 1587. Here he continued till about the beginning of 1600; when, with Mr. Hunt, and four others, he found means to escape. Then going into Lancashire, he was a third time apprehended, and, in the summer assizes, 1600, brought upon his trial, condemned, (barely upon account of his priestly character,) and executed at Lancaster, July 26.

Dr. Champney gives him this short eulogium, that he was a man of a strong body, but of a stronger soul; who rather despised than conquered death; and went before his companion. "Mr. Thwing," to the gallows, with as much cheerfulness and joy, as if he had been going to a feast, to the astonishment of the spectators.

Edward Thwing was born of an ancient family at Hurst, near York. He was first an alumnus of the college of Rhemes; from whence, he was sent to Rome, in 1587; but was obliged, for his health, to return again to Rhemes. Here he was presented to holy orders, and ordained priest at Laon, December 20, 1590, being at that time, it appears by the Douay diary, master of the Hebrew and Greek tongues, and professor of rhetoric in the college. He was sent upon the English mission from Douay, in 1597, after the college was returned to that university. Dr. Champney, who was personally acquainted with him, and his cotemporary at the college, gives him this character; that he was a man of admirable meekness, and of no less piety, religion, patience, and mortification: that his patience (amongst the rest of his virtues which rendered him amiable to all) was very remarkable in suffering, with wonderful tranquillity, a most painful and tedious infirmity, from an ulcer in the knee, which he had to struggle with for a long time, whilst he was at Rhemes and Douay: for which, the physicians could find no remedy. That, after his return to England, he was a most diligent labourer in the vineyard of his Lord, till his apprehension and commitment to Lancaster castle. From whence, he thus wrote to Dr. Worthington, at that time, president of Douay college.

'Myself am now prisoner for Christ, in Lancaster castle, expecting nothing but execution at the next assizes. I desire you to commend me to the devout prayers of my friends with you, that, by their help, I may consummate my course to God's glory, and the good of my country. I pray God prosper you, and all yours, for ever.

'From my prison and paradise, this last of May, 1600.

'E. Thwing.'

And in another letter, a few days before his death, he thus writes to the same.

'This day the judges come to Lancaster, where I am in expectation of a happy death, if it so please God Almighty; I pray you commend me most dearly to all your good priests and scholars, whose good endeavours God always prosper, to his own more glory. *Ego autem jam delibor & tempus resolutionis meæ instat.* Before this comes

unto you, I shall, if God makes me worthy, conclude an unhappy life with a most happy death. *Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.*

'From Lancaster castle, the 21st of July, this holy year, 1600.

'All your's in Christ, EDW. THWING.'

He was condemned barely on account of his priesthood, and suffered with great constancy, at the same time with Mr. Nutter, viz. July 26, 1600.

THOMAS PALASOR, PRIEST.*

THOMAS PALASOR, or Pallicer, was born at Ellerton, upon Swale, in the parish of Boulton, in the county of York; and performed his studies abroad, partly in the college or seminary, then residing at Rhemes; from whence he was sent into Spain in 1592, and partly in the college of Valadolid, where he was made priest; and from whence, he was sent upon the English mission. Dr. Worthington gives him the character of a virtuous and learned priest. He was apprehended in the house of Mr. John Norton, (a gentleman of the family of the Nortons of Norton-coniers) near Raven's Hall, in the parish of Laymsley. Mr. Norton and his lady, were both, also, apprehended at the same time, for harbouring Mr. Palasor, and with them, Mr. John Talbot, another Yorkshire gentleman, (born at Thornton in Street,) for being found in his company, and for aiding and assisting him. They were all brought upon their trials at Durham, in the summer assizes, and all condemned to die; Mr. Pallasor for being a seminary priest, and returning to England, contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27; and the other three for relieving and assisting him. Another lay gentleman was condemned at the same time, and for the same cause; but he, through frailty, consented to go to church, and so saved his life, as the others might have done, if they had yielded to the same condition; which they generously refusing to do, where all executed at Durham, August the 9th, 1600; only Mrs. Norton, being supposed to be with child, was reprieved.

The Reverend Mr. Cuthbert Trollop, in a manuscript relation which I have in my hands, writes, that Mr. Pallicer, and his companions, being in prison, were like to be poisoned by the malice of the jailor's wife; for an empoisoned broth was prepared for them, and first brought to Mr. Pallasor; who offering to taste of it, the mutton in the dish began to run blood, in form of crosses, and of O's, in the broth, which he wondering at, abstained from eating it. The maid who brought him the broth, noting this, carried it back to her mistress; she, casting some spice over it, sent the broth again by the same maid to Mr. Talbot and Mr. Norton; which they offering also to taste, the blood in like sort issued forth of the meat, as before, which caused them likewise to abstain. The servant seeing this again, was touched in conscience, and came

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs; from the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, and from a Douay manuscript.

upon her knees to Mr. Pallasor, and asked him forgiveness; and desired, for Jesus Christ's sake, that he would make her one of his faith, and instruct her what she had to do to be saved; which he did, resolving her in all points, and reconciling her to the catholic church. The aforesaid maid, whose name was Mary Day, at that time servant to the jailor, afterwards served a catholic gentlewoman, called Eleanor Forcer, who informed me of this.' So far Mr. Trollop.

In the beginning of this same year, 1600, viz. upon the 19th of January, says Howes, in his chronicle, p. 789, sixteen priests, and four laymen, were removed out of divers prisons in and about London, and sent to the castle of Wisbich; whereof one was a bishop of Ireland, and another a Franciscan of the order of capuchins, who wore his friar's weed all the way he went, &c.'

This capuchin, was father Bennet Canfield, whose name in the world was William Fitch, a gentleman, born at Canfield, in Essex, and brought up to the law in Gray's-Inn; whose wonderful conversion to the catholic faith, and call to that religious order, of which, in his time, he was esteemed one of the brighest lights, together with his other virtues, may be seen in his life, translated from the French, and published in our language, anno 1623. After three years' imprisonment, he was banished, with divers other priests, and at length died in the odour of sanctity at Roan, anno 1611.

This year also, the catholic prisoners for their conscience in York castle, upwards of fifty in number, were, by orders of the lord Burleigh, then president of the north, once a week, dragged by force into the hall of the castle, and there forcibly detained to hear protestant sermons, preached by the archbishop, and the most eminent of the clergy of that city. This was continued for near twelve months. The behaviour and speeches of the prisoners, upon these occasions, and other remarkable passages that then happened, are set down at large, in a manuscript of about forty chapters, written by the Rev. Mr. W. Richmont. The issue was, that the preachers finding their eloquence nothing availed, and that the prisoners either stopped their ears, or contradicted their discourses, and could not be silenced, either by their chains or dungeons, at last concluded, after fifty sermons, to let them alone, and give them no further molestation of this kind.

The chief of these prisoners were, Mr. George Raines, priest, William Middleton, of Stockeld, William Stillington, of Kelfield, Richard Danby, of Cave, Richard Fenton, of Burnwallis, Thomas Gelstrop, of Burrowby, Esqrs.

Michael Jenison, of ——, James Rosse, of Igmanthorp, William Gascoign, of Thorp, gentlemen.

JOHN PIBUSH, PRIEST.—1601.*

John Pibush was born at Thrisk, in Yorkshire, and performed his studies abroad, in the English college then residing at Rhemes. Here he was made priest in 1587, and from hence was sent upon the English mission in 1589. After some time he was apprehended, and committed to Gloucester jail, where he remained till some of the felons, having found means to break through the walls, and so make their escape, left a free passage open, through which Mr. Pibush also, and the other prisoners, thought proper to walk out. But, as he was very indifferent upon the matter, he took no care to hide himself, but, travelling on foot on the high road, was the next day again apprehended, and then was carried up to London. Here he was brought upon his trial, and condemned merely on account of his priesthood; but suffered not till seven years after. During which time, he was kept prisoner in the King's-bench, and endured very much from the incommodity and unwholesomeness of the place, and the multitude of the prisoners penned up together, so that his constitution, which was naturally very robust, was so far altered, as to contract a most grievous infirmity, in which he would lie sometimes for many hours without sense or motion; insomuch, that when he was afterwards executed, his lungs were found so consumed, that he could not have lived much longer. But one of his chief sufferings in prison was, the continued ill usage he met with, for a long time, from the brutality of his fellow prisoners, who, not contented with loading him with abuses, reproaches, and injuries, sometimes threatened his life; more particularly when he would be admonishing and rebuking them for their blasphemies and other wickednesses. However, at length, his virtue and patience so far prevailed upon them, as well as upon the jailor, that they began to reverence and love him, and to compassionate his sufferings; insomuch that he was permitted to make himself a sort of separate cell in the common jail, where, by the help of some catholics who came to visit him, he sometimes said mass, to the unspeakable comfort of his soul. His name was put in the list of those, who in the beginning of the last year, were to be sent from London to Wisbich castle; but it seems God was determined to honour him with a more glorious crown, for the lord chief justice Popham, when the list was brought to him, struck out Mr. Pibush's name, no one knew why, nor wherefore.

The same lord chief justice, on the 17th of February, of this year, 1601, ordered Mr. Pibush, who had been condemned about seven years before, to be brought to the bar, when nothing less was expected, and asked him what he had to say for himself, why he should not suffer death according to sentence? the confessor answered with great constancy and meekness, That he had never in his life committed any thing for which he could be justly put to death: that he had been condemned barely for being a catholic priest, and that he was willing to lay down

* From Dr. Worthington's relation of sixteen martyrs, Chalcedon's Catalogue, and Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

many lives, if he had them, for such a cause. Upon this he was ordered back to prison, and commanded to prepare for death. On the next day, being the 18th of February, he was drawn to St. Thomas's Watering, and there was hanged, bowelled, and quartered. He suffered with a constancy worthy of a martyr. His execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle.

MARK BARKWORTH, ALIAS, LAMBERT, PRIEST, O. P. B.*

Mark Barkworth was born in Lincolnshire. He was brought up in the protestant religion till he was twenty-two years of age, when, going abroad he was converted to the catholic faith, and grounded in solid spirituality, at Douay, in Flanders, by one father George, a Flemish jesuit. He had been, as he writes, a little before his martyrdom, now eight years in the school of Christ; and, for the two first, was under the instruction and discipline of Dr. Barret, (president of the English college then residing at Rhemes,) where also he enjoyed the company of those famous confessors, Dr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Lancaster, and Mr. Bradshaw, men, as he says, of excellent lives, now helping him in heaven by their prayers. From hence he went into Spain, where he finished his studies, and was made priest in the English college of Valadolid. After he was sent upon the English mission, he quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors; and, after many different examinations, and letting slip several opportunities of making his escape, he was brought upon his trial at the Old Baily. The clerk bid him hold up his hand: for what crime? said he; for the crime of priesthood and treason, said the lord chief justice: Why, said Mr. Barkworth, can any one maintain that to be a priest is treason? Was not our Saviour a priest according to the order of Melchisedech? and will any one say that he was a traitor? Though I am of opinion, were he to be judged at this tribunal, he would meet with the like treatment as I look for. They went on, Barkworth, hold up thy hand; by whom wilt thou be tried? By God, said he, and by the apostles and evangelists, and all the blessed martyrs and saints in heaven. Not so, said the judge, you must say by God and my country. What, said he, you mean, my lord, these poor men, pointing to the jury; I will never let my blood lie at their door: for you will oblige them to bring in their verdict against me, right or wrong, or lay so heavy a fine upon them in the Star-chamber, that they will scarce be able to pay it in their whole lives. The judge then put the question to him, art thou a priest, yea or no? I will neither say, said he, that I am a priest, or that I am not. Well then, said the judge, I see thou art a priest. If you can prove that, said Mr. Bark-

* From Arnoldus Raissius, in his catalogue martyr. Anglo-Duac, and from father Moor's history of the English province of the society of Jesus.

worth, I am a dead man; your laws stand against me, and I expect no favour at your hands; neither do I fear death, trusting in the grace of God. Nay, if I had ten lives, I would most willingly lay them all down for him who suffered so many torments, and so cruel a death, for my sins. Tell me then, said the judge, if thou wilt not confess thyself to be a priest, what art thou? a catholic, said he, making the sign of the cross; and, were I worthy to be a priest, I should look upon myself placed in a dignity not inferior to that of angels: for priests having a power given them of remitting and retaining sins, in God's name, which was never given to angels: with that all the company laughed; and the question was again put to him, as before, by whom he would be tried? and he answered as before, by God and the holy apostles, &c., and not, said he, by these unlearned men: I was brought up to learning from a boy; and, after taking degrees among the learned, have spent in studies full seven years: let learned men judge in my cause, and not such as are unlearned. Will you then be tried, said they, by a jury of ministers? Hell-fire, said he, will try them; my cause is not to be trusted to them. You would then, said the judge, be tried by priests? That is right, said Mr. Barkworth. Call in then, said the judge, a jury of them. Your lordship, said he, knows that a complete jury of them may be found in Wisbich castle. With this, the lord chief justice withdrew; and the recorder, without any more ceremony, neither taking the deposition of witnesses, nor having the confession of the accused, nor waiting for the verdict of the jury, pronounced sentence upon the prisoner, as in cases of high treason; which as soon as Mr. Barkworth heard, he fell upon his knees and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, thanks be to God.

He recived the sentence of death, says father Moor, with a joyful and smiling countenance, and making the sign of the cross, began a hymn of joy, and then gave thanks to the judge. After which, addressing his discourse to the standers by, he exhorted them, as they professed themselves Christians, to show forth by their works, what they professed in their words, not fearing what the world can do against them; since, in effect, to die for the cause of justice and truth is a Christian's greatest gain; and he cannot even wish for a greater happiness than to shed his blood for him who so liberally shed his blood for us all. He was sent back to Newgate, and walked through the streets, fettered as he was, with that air of magnanimity, that the crowd inquired, whether he was not one of the ringleaders of the Earl of Essex's riot? No, said Mr. Barkworth, but I am a soldier of Christ, who am to die for his faith.

Mr. Barkworth, is commonly challenged by the Benedictine monks, for one of theirs; and father B. W. a monk of that venerable order, in his manuscript account of the English congregation, which I have now before me, writes of him as follows:

'As to those who entered the Spanish congregation, (though he neither lived, nor was clothed, in any monastery, as the Reverend Father Baker, affirms,) Mr. Mark Barkworth, alias Lambert, challenges the first place.

1st. 'Because he was a great furtherer and concurrer, with those who engaged amongst the Spanish monks.

2dly, 'Because, in 1601, after frequent occasions, and even provocations to make an escape; after nine several examines, before several tribunals, &c., being condemned for his faith, to make the nation remember, how it received the said holy faith, and to manifest the secrets of his heart and intentions, in regard to the order of St. Bennet, he chose to be drawn to Tyburn, in the Benedictine habit; which, by some means he had procured and gotten; and had his tonsure accordingly made, &c.,' by which, it appears, that Mr. Barkworth was a Benedictine, at least, in desire, if not in effect.

As to the circumstances of his death, they are thus related by the historians of the Society of Jesus, upon occasion of father Roger Filcock, who died at the same time and place. Mr. Barkworth and Mr. Filcock, were both drawn together upon the same hurdle, from Newgate to Tyburn. When they were put up into the cart, Mr. Barkworth, with a joyful accent, sung those words of the royal prophet, hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus; and Mr. Filcock went on in the same tone, et lætemur in ea. Then Mr. Barkworth declared how ready he was, to lay down, even a thousand lives, if he had them, for his faith; and protested that he forgave, with all his heart, the queen, and all that were any ways accessory to his death, and wished to have them with him in eternal glory. Then he recommended himself to the prayers of the catholics, and the cart was drawn from under him. Here some cruel wretch, fearing lest the weight of his body, should put the martyr too soon out of his pain, for he was tall and bulky, set his shoulders under him, to bear up at least, some part of that weight; so that he was cut down, whilst he was yet alive: and even, when the butcher was seeking for his heart, he pronounced these words, O God be merciful to me.

He suffered, February the 27th, 1601. His head is kept by the English Benedictines at their convent at Douay.

Father Moor relates of Mr. Barkworth, that when Mr. Fleming, one of the counsel for the queen, said him at the bar, that he was a priest, and wore upon his forehead the mark of the beast: he replied, 'I am a Christian, and wear on my forehead the sign of the cross: by this sign, I am confirmed against the devil and heretics, God's enemies. I fear not your words nor your threats: I confess and adore one God: he created me to serve him: and serve him I cannot, in any other but in the catholic faith. This faith, I profess: with the heart men believe unto justice, but with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation. For this faith, I now desire to die, more than I ever desired to live. No death can be more precious than that which is undergone for this faith; which faith Christ taught: and a hundred thousand martyrs have sealed with their blood.'

ROGER FILCOCK, PRIEST. S. J.*

Roger Filcock was a native of Sandwich, in Kent. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay or Rhemes, and partly in that of Valladolid, in Spain; where, after having given great examples of virtue, to the edification of all that knew him, he was advanced to holy orders, and made priest. He had, for some time, a strong inclination to enter the Society of Jesus; but his admission was deferred till some trial had been made of him upon the English mission; to which he was sent, in 1598, where, after having been sufficiently recommended by two year's labours in the midst of dangers, father Garnet, the superior of the English jesuits, consented to receive him into the society, and to send him over into Flanders, there to make his noviceship: but this was prevented, by his being apprehended and committed to Newgate. From whence, he was brought out to his trial, on the 23d of February, 1600–1. And though he neither confessed, nor denied his being a priest, and no evidence appeared against him, yet he was brought in guilty, and had sentence to die, as in cases of high treason. His fellow confessor, Mr. Barkworth, who was condemned a few hours before him, writes thus of father Filcock, in a letter, indited a little while before his death.

'The holy confessor of Christ, Mr. Arthur,' "this was the name under which father Filcock screened himself upon the mission," 'was always one of my chiefest and dearest friends; as well formerly, when he was at liberty, as now in prison: a man exceedingly humble, and of extraordinary patience, piety, and charity. My mind tells me, that we shall die together, who have so long lived together.' So Mr. Barkworth. And so it happened; for they were both, as we have seen, drawn together to Tyburn, February 27, where Mr. Barkworth was first butchered, before the eyes of father Filcock, who, so far from being discouraged or terrified with that scene of blood, took occasion from thence, of more heartily aspiring after the like felicity; crying out with the apostle, I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. His desire was not long deferred: when, after a short prayer, he cheerfully yielded himself up to the executioner; and the cart being drawn away, he was hanged, and then cut down, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered.

ANN LINE, GENTLEWOMAN.*

She was a widow gentlewoman, of an infirm constitution of body, troubled with almost continued head-aches, and, withal, inclined to a

*From the Douay records, and from the historians of the Society of Jesus.
† From Dr. Champney's manuscript history.

dropsy; and so ill every spring and fall, that her friends, at each of these seasons, feared she would be carried off by death: but her soul was strong and vigorous, and ever tending by spiritual exercises, to Christian perfection. Her devotion was unfeigned; she received the blessed sacrament at least once a week, and always with abundance of tears. Her conversation was edifying, willingly discoursing on spiritual subjects, and not on worldly vanities; and what was particularly remarkable in her, was, the desire she had of ending her days by martyrdom: on which account, she bore a holy envy to priests, and others who seemed to be in a fairer way to that happy end than she, or any other of her sex were; of which, very few had suffered in this reign. However, she told her confessor, some years before her death, that Mr. Thomson, "Blakeburn," a former confessor of her's, who ended his days by martyrdom, in 1586, had promised her, that if God should make him worthy of that glorious end, he would pray for her, that she might obtain the like happiness. She also related to her confessor, a vision which she had seen of our Lord, in the blessed sacrament, bearing his cross, and inviting her to follow him; which seemed to promise her this martyrdom, to which she aspired, and which she at last obtained in the manner following.

On Candlemas day, 1601, the pursuivants having some intelligence, or suspecting that Mrs. Line entertained a priest, beset her house at the very time that mass was actually beginning. However, as the door was strongly barred and fastened, they were forced to wait some time before they could come in; and, in the mean time, the priest, "Mr. Page," had leisure to unvest himself and make his escape. After they broke in, they searched every corner of the house, and seized upon every thing that they imagined to savour of popery, but could find no priest. However they hurried away Mrs. Line, to prison, and with her, Mrs. Gage, (daughter to baron Copley,) whom they found in the house. Mrs. Gage, by the interest of a certain noblemen, was, after some time, set at liberty; but Mrs. Line was brought upon her trial, at the Old Baily, before the lord chief justice Popham, a bitter enemy of the catholics. She was carried to her trial in a chair, being at that time so weak and ill, that she could not walk. The evidence against her, was very slender, which was the testimony of one Marriot, who deposed, that he saw a man in her house, dressed in white, who as he would have it, was certainly a priest. However, any proof it seems was strong enough with Mr. Popham against a papist; and the jury, by him directed, brought in Mrs. Line guilty of the indictment, viz. of having harboured or entertained a seminary priest. According to which verdict, the judge pronounced sentence of death upon the prisoner, and sent her back to Newgate, to prepare herself for execution. Here she acknowledged, that the day before her condemnation, God had given her a foresight of this happiness, when reading her hours in her primer, she perceived a light and delightful brightness upon and round her book, which she interpreted to be a sign of her future triumph, though she would not speak of it till after she was condemned. When the keeper acquainted her with the dead-warrant being signed, and when afterwards she was carried out to execution, she showed not the least commotion or change

in her countenance. At Tyburn, when she was just ready to die, she declared to the standers by, with a loud voice,—I am sentenced to die for harbouring a catholic priest; and so far I am from repenting for having so done, that I wish, with all my soul, that where I have entertained one, I could have entertained a thousand. She suffered before the two priests; and Mr. Barkworth, whose combat came on the next, embraced her body whilst it was yet hanging, saying,—O! blessed Mrs. Line, who hast now happily received thy reward. Thou art gone before us; but we shall quickly follow thee to bliss, if it please the Almighty.

She was executed February 27, 1601.

THURSTAN HUNT AND ROBERT MIDDLETON, PRIESTS.*

Mr. Thurstan Hunt was a gentleman by birth, born at Carleton-Hall, near Leeds, in Yorkshire, and brought up in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest by the cardinal de Guise, April 20, 1584; and sent from Rhemes upon the English mission, in 1585. His labours seem to have been chiefly in Lancashire; where, attempting, with some others, to rescue a priest, whom the officers were carrying to prison, he himself was apprehended, and being found to be a priest, was sent up to London, together with Mr. Robert Middleton, (a gentleman of the same character, who had fallen into their hands about the same time,) who was a native of York, and a priest of the college of Seville, in Spain. They were quickly sent back to be tried and executed in Lancashire, where they had chiefly bestowed their missionary labours. Here they were sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, merely on account of their priesthood; and here they suffered in consequence of this sentence, at Lancaster, sometime in March, 1601.

This year, I find also two other catholics put to death by the penal statutes, for rescuing a priest out of the hands of an officer. These were Nicholas Tichburn, gentleman, born at Hartley in Hampshire, and Thomas Hackshot, layman, born at Mursley, in Buckinghamshire. Dr. Champney, who only makes mention of the latter in his manuscript history, relates the story in this manner; Mr. Hackshot, a stout young man, understanding that Mr. Thomas Tichburn, priest, prisoner on account of his character, was, upon some occasion, to be conducted by one only keeper or officer, through a certain street, planted himself there, waiting for their coming, and knocking the keeper down, gave the priest opportunity to escape. However, he himself made not such haste away, but the officer, who had been stunned with the blow, coming

* From Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the Douay Diaries and Catalogues.

to himself and crying aloud, Stop the traitor, stop the traitor, caused him to be apprehended, and dragged to the prison from whence he was conducting the priest; where he was cast into the dungeon, and afflicted with divers torments, which he endured with great courage and fortitude, till, at length, he was brought upon his trial, and condemned to die.

He suffered with constancy at Tyburn, August 24, 1601: and with him, Mr. Nicholas Tichburn, for being aiding also and assisting in the rescuing of his kinsman.

JAMES HARRISON, PRIEST.—1602.*

This gentleman, who, by some, is confounded with Matthias Harrison, (of whom we have spoken in 1599), and by others, is called Matthew Harrison, alias Hayes; in the Douay records and catalogue, is called James, and is said to have been a native of the diocese of Litchfield, ordained at Rhemes, in 1583, and sent from thence upon the English mission, in 1584. He fell into the hands of the persecutors, a little before the Lent assizes, 1601–2; and being brought upon his trial, was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, barely on account of exercising his priestly functions in England. Raissius relates, that being told by his keeper, the night before execution, that he was to suffer the next day, which it seems was an unexpected piece of news, (for the judges had left the town, without determining any thing of the time of his suffering,) he showed not the least sign of being troubled at the message, but, with a cheerful countenance, set himself down to supper, saying, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die. He drank up the cup of his Lord, the next day, says Raissius, with great constancy and fervour, being executed at York, March 22, 1602. His head, says the same author, is religiously kept by the English franciscans at Douay.

With Mr. Harrison, was hanged Mr. Anthony Battie, or, as others call him, Bates, a lay gentleman of Yorkshire, for having entertained the said Mr. Harrison in his house, knowing him to be a priest.

JAMES DUCKETT, LAYMAN.†

James Duckett was a younger son of Mr. Duckett, of Gilfortrigs, in the parish of Schelsmore, in Westmoreland. He had the name of James given him in baptism from his godfather, James Leybourn, Esq., lord of Schelsmore, (who was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Lan-

* From the Catalogue of Arnoldus Raissius, Dr. Champney's manuscript, &c.

† From a manuscript sent me from Douay college, written by father Duckett, prior of the English Carthusians, at Newport, son of the same Mr. James Duckett.

caster, March 22, 1583, for denying the queen's supremacy,) yet it seems he was brought up a protestant, and, after some years passed in the school, was bound apprentice in London. Here, after some time, a countryman of his, one Peter Mason, put a book in his hands, entitled, The Foundation of the Catholic Religion; which he diligently perused, and, by the reading of it, was brought to stagger very much in his opinion; insomuch that he, who before was so zealous in his way, that he would have heard two or three sermons on a day, began now to withdraw himself from their sermons and service, and to be more and more convinced of the falsehood of his former belief. This change was soon perceived by those with whom he lived, who, finding also the book which had occasioned this alteration, carried it to Mr. Goodaker, the minister of St. Edmunds, in Lombard-street, who sent for Mr. James, and examined him, why he went no more to church? he answered, He neither did, nor would go more to church, till he had better satisfaction in their religion than he could give him. Upon this answer, he was committed to Bridewell, from whence, after some time, he was set free by his master's means, but, not long after, he was again questioned for not going to church, and was then sent to the compter. His master procured his liberty once more, but was afraid of keeping him any longer, lest himself should incur any danger thereby; so Mr. Duckett was forced to compound, and buy out the remainder of his time.

Being now his own master, he sought the means of being instructed and received into the catholic church; and, within two months, to his great comfort, he was reconciled by Mr. Weeks, a venerable priest, prisoner in the Gatehouse. After which, he lived two or three years a single life, with great zeal and fervour in religion; and then took a wife, a good catholic widow, with whom he lived twelve years in wedlock, dealing mostly in books, with which he furnished catholics, as well for their own comfort and instruction, as for the assistance of their neighbours' souls. This exposed him to many dangers and persecutions, and he was often apprehended and cast into prison, both in town and country, and kept sometimes for a long while together in jail, insomuch that of twelve years he lived a married man, he passed nine of them in prisons. His last apprehension, which brought him to his happy end, and the manner of his trial and death, is thus related by his son:

'Peter Bullock, a bookbinder, after he had been condemned a twelvemonth, in hope (as many imagined) of obtaining his pardon, informed lord chief justice Popham, that James Duckett had had twenty-five of "father Southwell's" Supplications to the Queen, and had published them. Upon this his house was searched at midnight, but no such book found, nor sign thereof; yet they found the whole impression of Mount Calvary, and some other catholic books. However, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate, it being the 4th of March. At the next sessions he was called to the bar, and Mr. Watkinson, a virtuous and worthy priest, who newly was come into England and taken, was also brought in. James Duckett perceiving him to look pale, and thinking it might be through fear, (which indeed was only his sickness,) began in his best manner to encourage him; which Popham under-

standing, (Mr. Watkinson being first arraigned,) calls out, Duckett, now speak for thyself. Then evidence being called in, the same Peter Bullock accused him, that he had some of father Southwell's Supplications to the Queen; which he denied, having had none of them. Bullock also avouched, that he had bound for him divers catholic books, and, amongst the rest, Bristowe's Motives; which he acknowledged. The jury being called, and hearing what was alledged against him, by one only witness, went out, and having consulted, returned again and found him not guilty. Judge Popham, who was bloodily bent against him, stood up, and bid them consider well what they did, for that Duckett had had Bristowe's Motives bound for him. Upon whose words they went out again, and soon returning, declared him guilty of felony. The jury's verdict being given, sentence of death was pronounced against him, as also against the three priests, Mr. Page, Mr. Tichburn, and Mr. Watkinson.

'On Monday morning, the day designed for his death, his wife came to speak to him, which she could not without tears; he bid her be of good comfort, and said, his death was no more to him than to drink off the caudle which stood there ready for him. If I were made, said he, the queen's secretary or treasurer, you would not weep; do but keep yourself God's servant, and in the unity of God's church, and I shall be able to do you more good, being now to go to the King of kings. As you love me, do not grudge that the good men, (the three priests,) are reprieved, and not I, for I take it for a great favour from Almighty God, that I am placed amongst the thieves, as he himself, my Lord and Master was. As he was carried towards the place of execution, in the way, his wife called for a pint of wine, to drink to him; he drank, and desired her to drink to Peter Bullock, and freely to forgive him; for he, after all his hopes, was in the self-same cart, carried also to execution. Being come to the place, and both he and Peter standing up in the cart, Peter, saith he, the cause of my coming hither God and thyself knowest, for which I, from my heart, forgive thee, and that the world, and all here may witness that I die in charity with thee, he kissed him, both having the ropes about their necks. Then he said to him, thy life and mine are not long; wilt thou promise me one thing? if thou wilt, speak; wilt thou die as I die, a catholic? Bullock replied, he would die as a Christian should do: and so the cart was drawn from under them.'

Mr. Duckett suffered at Tyburn, April 19th, 1601, and he is mentioned by Mr. Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle. Dr. Champney, in his manuscript history of the reign of queen Elizabeth, (which he concludes with this year,) adds, that Mr. John Colins, another catholic, after a long imprisonment, suffered death for the same cause, though he knows not whether it was at the same time or no. As to the three priests who were condemned with Mr. Duckett, they were reprieved, indeed, at the intercession of the French ambassador; but it was but for a very short time, for, 'on the 20th of April, says Howes in his chronicle, 'Thomas Tichburn, Robert Watkinson, and James, "he should have said Francis" Page, seminary priests, were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for coming into the kingdom, contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth.'

THOMAS TICHBURN AND ROBERT WATKINSON, PRIESTS.*

Thomas Tichburn was born of an ancient family, at Hartley in Hampshire. His education abroad, was first in the college of Rhemes, and afterwards in that of Rome; to which he was sent from Rhemes, September 2, 1587. At Rome he was made priest, and from thence was sent upon the English Mission. Here, he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and suffered bands and prisons for some years, till, as we have seen above, he was rescued by that bold youth, who lost his own life upon that account. It was not long, before he was again apprehended, by the means of one Atkinson, a fallen priest, who meeting him in the streets, and knowing him, ceased not to cry out, a priest, a priest, stop the priest, till he was seized upon; though Mr. Tichburn, to stop his mouth, and carry off the matter, told him, (which was very true,) that he was no more a priest than himself. Thus, he was again committed to prison, and soon after arraigned, condemned, and executed, merely on account of his priesthood. He was far gone in a hectic fever, and naturally could have lived but a very short time longer; so that his apprehension and condemnation at this time was a more particular favour of divine providence, which had chosen for him, this more glorious and happy death.

He suffered at Tyburn, April 20, 1601

Robert Watkinson was born at Hemingborough, in Yorkshire, and had his education abroad, partly in the college of Douay, and partly in that of Rome: he went through his course of philosophy in the latter; but was obliged, for his health, to return to Douay to study his divinity: but the change of air made no great alteration in the state of his health; so that his superiors thought it best to present him to holy orders, and send him over into England. He was ordained priest at Arras, March 25, 1602, and on the third of April following, began his journey for England. Whilst he was at London, under the care of a physician, he was betrayed by one John Fewether, a false brother, apprehended, arraigned and condemned, on the 17th of April, and executed on the 20th of the same month. He suffered with great constancy, at Tyburn, in the company of Mr. Tichburn and Mr. Page.

There is a very remarkably story, concerning this Mr. Watkinson in the Douay diary; which is, that the day before he was apprehended, as he was walking in London streets, with another catholic, he met a stranger, who appeared to be a venerable old man, who saluted him with these words; Jesus bless you, you seem to be sick and troubled with many infirmities; but be of good cheer; for within these four days, you shall be cured of all, which happened accordingly; for the next day he was apprehended, tried and condemned, which was on Saturday;

* From the Douay diary, Dr. Champney's manuscript, and the catalogues of Chalcedon and Raissius.

and on the Tuesday following, he received his crown. The same diary adds, that Mr. Watkinson having found means to celebrate mass in prison the morning before he went out to execution; they that were present, "and in particular, says Dr. Champney, Mr. Henry Owen, a prisoner for his conscience, who then served at the mass," perceived about his head, sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other, a most bright light, like a ray of glory; which, from the consecration till after the communion, rested directly over his head, and then disappeared.

FRANCIS PAGE, PRIEST. S. J.*

He was born, according to the bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, of a gentleman's family, at Harrow on the Hill, in the county of Middlesex; or as some others say, at Antwerp; which it seems, he pleaded at his trial, but was not regarded. He was brought up in the protestant religion, and to the study of the law; and was, for some time, clerk to a noted lawyer in town. Here he fell in love with a young gentlewoman, a catholic; and partly upon her account, partly by the persuasion of a catholic companion, was induced to make a more serious inquiry into matters of religion. His friend brought him to father Gerard Thomson, his own confessor, who gave him full satisfaction in his doubts, and reconciled him to the church. But this was not all; Mr. Page not only become a catholic, but, by degrees, was quite weaned from earthly affections, and his heart was set upon better things; so that father Gerard being, not long after, apprehended, and committed close prisoner to the Tower, Mr. Page, renouncing the advantageous match, of which he had so near a prospect, resolved upon a more perfect state of life; and going over to Douay, there entered himself an alumnus, in the English college of the secular clergy; and after having employed some time, in this seminary of martyrs, in the study of divinity, and in the practice of all christian virtues, he was, by his superiors, presented to holy orders, and ordained priest; and, not long after, was sent upon the English mission, viz: June the 10th, 1600.

He had not been long in England, when he narrowly escaped the pursuivant's hands, in the house of Mrs. Line; when, he being at the altar in his vestments, on Candlemas-day, they broke into the house, as we have seen in the account of that holy widow. However, as his time was not yet come, he made a shift to unvest himself, before they could come into the chamber, where he was; and to step aside to a private

* From the Douay diary, and from father Moor's history of the English province of the Society of Jesus.

place, where they could not find him. After this escape he diligently applied himself to his missionary functions, till he was apprehended in the following manner: going out one night to the duties of his calling, he perceived a woman coming after him whom he knew; who had for some time professed herself a catholic, but now made it her business, for the sake of a little lucre, to betray, and take up priests. The sight of this woman, made him mend his pace; but she knowing him, made no less haste after him; calling out, Mr. Page, I want to speak to you. He would not seem to hear her, but stepped into the first open house, and shutting the door after him, desired the master of the house, who was a protestant, to let him out by a back door: which he was going to do, when, this wicked woman coming up, knocked violently at the door, crying out, a traitor, a traitor, a seminary priest; and raised a mob about the door, so that the man of the house, being afraid of the consequences, would not suffer Mr. Page to go further, but delivered him up into the hands of the constables. He was carried before the lord chief justice Popham, a cruel enemy of the catholics; the same, as before condemned Mrs. Line: who, understanding that this was the priest who had escaped from that widow's house, after having examined him, sent him to Newgate, where he was put down into Limbo; and, at the next sessions, which came on within a few days, he was brought to the bar, together with Mr. Tichburn and Mr. Watkinson; and with them, condemned, barely upon account of his priesthood, by the same lord chief justice Popham.

There was, at that same time, in Newgate, one Mr. Henry Floyd, a priest, who, when Mr. Page was brought back to prison, after his condemnation, falling upon his knees, testified the greatness of his grief by the tears, which plentifully flowed from him; Mr. Page, lifting him up, spoke to him in this manner; what is the meaning of this, sir? do you weep at my condition, which is most happy? you ought rather to rejoice, and congratulate with me, for so happy a lot, which opens to me a way to eternal bliss: and so great was the joy, that Mr. Page found in himself, at the approach of his martyrdom, that, after having made a general confession of his whole life, to the same Mr. Floyd, and assisted at his mass, he was in a doubt, whether he should venture to celebrate mass himself, for fear that he should not be able to contain himself during the sacred mysteries, from discovering the extraordinary motions of his heart, by such outward gestures and words, as would be taken notice of, and be heard by the other prisoners, and by the keepers.

The day before execution, the keeper desired Mr. Floyd to acquaint Mr. Page, that he was to die on the morrow; adding, that, for his own part, he could not endure to be the bearer of such tidings. Mr. Page received this message, as coming from heaven; and having obtained leave of the keeper, to stay that day and night with Mr. Floyd, and having celebrated with him, the tremendous mysteries, with wonderful sentiments of joy and devotion; he declared to this holy man, some part of the favours which God was pleased to show him that night, which had filled his soul with such wonderful lights, and so high a knowledge of the divine greatness, as he could never have obtained by books, or

study; so that he thought nothing could ever more separate him from the love of so great a Lord.

But that he might, experimentally know, that these extraordinary sentiments of devotion, are a gratuit gift of God, which he gives, and takes away, where he pleases; and that he might have some experience also, of the great anguish and agony of Mount Olivet, as well as of the sweets of Mount Thabor: he was, all on a sudden, deprived of these extraordinary gusts, and of all manner of sensible devotion; and, like his Saviour in the garden of Gethsamane, became sad and sorrowful, even unto death; so that in this extremity of fear, grief, and anguish, he earnestly desired Mr. Floyd's prayers; showing, by the paleness of his countenance, and other outward signs, the inward conflicts of his soul. This storm continued, till the sheriff sent to him, to prepare himself for execution, for that the hour was now drawing on, which message, in a moment, restored a calm to his soul, and filled him with a new joy; so that he went out to meet death with as much cheerfulness, as if he was going to a feast.

When he came forth to the hurdle, which was prepared for him, seeing a vast crowd of people, who were come thither to accompany him to Tyburn, he took that occasion to declare to them, with a loud voice, the sanctity of the catholic faith, and the necessity of holding this faith, in order to eternal salvation. Then, he laid himself down upon the hurdle; and, whilst he was tied down upon it, as well as during the whole way to Tyburn, he employed his soul in prayer. When he was taken off the hurdle, and put into the cart, a minister offered to trouble him with some questions about religion; but the confessor of Christ would not hearken to him. But, after having made a profession of his faith, he declared he was most willing to die for so good a cause, viz: for his faith, and priesthood, and for aiding and assisting by his priestly functions, the souls of his neighbours. He also, upon that occasion, declared, the promise, * or vow, that he had lately made, to enter into the Society of Jesus, as father Moor, expresses it; or that he was a novice of that Society, as Tannerus words it. And at the pronouncing of that holy name of Jesus, the cart was drawn away, and he hanged till he expired. He was afterwards cut down, bowelled, and quartered.

He suffered, April 20, 1602.

1603.—In the beginning of this year, one bishop of Ireland, four fathers of the Society of Jesus, sixteen other priests, and four catholic laymen, prisoners in Framingham castle, were transported into perpetual banishment. The names of the four jesuits, were, Christopher Holiwood, Roger Floyd, Edward Coffin, and Ralph Brickly. The sixteen priests of the secular clergy, were, Lewis Barlow, (the first missioner from the seminaries,) Edward Hughs, Christopher Driland, Leonard Hide, Robert Woodruff, William Chaddock, Thomas Haberley, William Clarjenet, Francis Robinson, Thomas Thursley, (these ten went to Douay, to visit their old mother-house, and made some stay

* Sponsionem professus qua se nuper Societati Jesu devoverat. Morus Historia Societ. Provinciæ Anglicanæ. Se Societatis Jesu Novitium palam professus. Tannerus, Historia Martyrum Societatis. Pragæ, 1675, in Pagio.

there,) Thomas Bramston, John Colton, N. Tillotson, John Gray, Robert Barns, and N. Knight. This same year, also, were banished, father William Weston, S. J. after many years imprisonment. Father John Roberts, O. S. B. Father Andrew Bayly, O. S. D. Father Bennet Canfield, O. Cap. Mr. Anthony Wright, and Mr. James West, priests.

WILLIAM RICHARDSON, ALIAS, ANDERSON, PRIEST.

This gentleman was the last that suffered death, on account of his priestly character in this reign. Of whom thus writes the protestant historian Howes upon Stow, p. 812—'William Anderson, a seminary priest, was drawn to Tyburn, upon the 17th of February, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for being found in England, contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. He was born at Vales, in Yorkshire; had his education abroad, first in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes; from whence he was sent into Spain, in 1592; and then in the colleges of Valladolid and Seville, in the latter of which he was made priest. Other particulars of his apprehension, trial, and death, I have not found.

Five weeks after Mr. Richardson's death, the queen herself was called to the bar, to take her trial, before the Great Judge. She died on the 24th of March, after having reigned forty-four years, four months and seven days.

APPENDIX;

OR,

ADDITIONS OF SOME THINGS OMITTED IN THEIR PROPER PLACES,

THAT HAVE SINCE COME TO MY HANDS.

First, an Abstract of a Letter of Mr. Henry Holland, licentiate of divinity, author of the book entitled 'Urna Aurea,' and one of the eldest sons of the seminary of Douay; from his Latin epistles in manuscript.

This letter is written to Mr. Gilbert, and gives an account of the perils, to which the Roman catholic priests were, at that time, exposed in England, and speaks of the apprehensions of several of them, viz.

'Mr. Hanse,' says the author, 'leaving Rhemes, comes to London, and goes to the prison of the Marshalsea, to visit the priests that were prisoners there, and to be instructed by them, how he was to labour in the harvest of the Lord. One of the underkeepers eyes him carefully, and takes notice, by certain marks, that his shoes were made in France. He presently cries out, a traitor, and causes the gentleman to be apprehended: upon this, he was committed to prison, and, not long after, underwent a very extraordinary kind of death, being butchered, not half alive, as others are, but perfectly alive and sensible.

'Mr. George Haydock, passing through St. Paul's church-yard, goes into a bookseller's shop to buy some book. He had not been there long before a pursuivant came in; and as these men are a hungry race, and greedy after prey, he immediately suspects Mr. Haydock, and apprehends him.

'Mr. Johnson comes out of the country to London, on horseback: in Holborn he lights off his horse; a pursuivant, who knew him, immediately set upon him, takes away his horse and money, and carries him before the secretary of state: by whom, he was first committed to a close prison; then severely racked; and, at length, put to a cruel death.

'At York, Mr. William Hunt, resting in his bed at midnight, being in a deep sleep, and so suspecting no evil, is apprehended by an armed multitude, &c.

'Mr. Bennet, in North Wales, was passing, not far from the house of Mr. Mostyn, a justice of peace, a man not very rigid against catholics, but one that complied with the times. This gentleman espying Mr. Bennet, who had left the road, and went through the corn, rated him for not keeping the highway; and asked him, who he was? whence he came? whither he was going? &c. Mr. Bennet, as he was a man of great simplicity, and fearing God; and no friend of dissimulation, answered all his questions candidly, and acknowledged, that he was a priest. Mr. Mostyn was concerned to find how the case stood; but his servant being about him, he thought himself obliged to conceal his concern, and to commit Mr. Bennet to prison. From this prison, he was afterwards translated to another, where he was hung up to the beam by his hands, in iron manacles, and suffered great torments with a generous courage. Afterwards he was sent into banishment, and entered into the Society of Jesus, in which he piously slept in the Lord.

'Mr. John Mundyn, going on the high road from Windsor to London, meets, near Hounslow, with counsellor Hammond, a justice of peace; and being very well known to him, and not able to decline him, courteously salutes him; I am glad to meet you, Mundyn, said Hammond; I know you are a papist, and always was; and, moreover, I suspect that you are a priest; wherefore yield yourself up; you are my prisoner. Mr. Mundyn argues, that Hammond had no authority to stop him on the highway; that if he was a justice of the peace, he was not so in Buckinghamshire, where they then were, but only in Dorsetshire, &c. But his remonstrances are all in vain, the cruel man is not moved to relent: he makes him his prisoner, and causes him to be sent up to London, where he was afterwards martyred.

'In Hampshire, Mr. Hemerford was obliged to stay in a certain village, whilst the smith put on a shoe upon one of his horse's feet: in the mean time, a malicious heretic passing by, and considering the man, affirmed, that he was the priest that had preached in the barn; and, upon this account, presently apprehened him: so Mr. Hemerford, in a moment, lost both his horse and his liberty: and afterwards, for being a priest, was put to death, and obtained, at London, the crown of martyrdom.

'Mr. Adams, a priest in Winchester, stepping out of the house into the street, was presently apprehended, and accused, though falsely, of having preached in a barn, &c., at London; Mr. Owen was at table: Mr. Stransham at the altar; but neither the one nor the other could escape the hands of the ungodly. The same fortune Mr. Rishton met within the city, and Mr. Worthington without. Mr. Rishton's apprehension was in this manner; he was in a certain inn, and meeting there with a countryman of his, a Lancashire gentleman, he began to treat with him about the affairs of his soul; yet so that he first sent to father Parsons, the jesuit, desiring him to come, who could do that work better than himself. In the mean time, the gentleman whispers in his servant's ear, to go to such a pursuivant, and to bid him come with all speed, and apprehend the man that he should see talking with him. The pursuivant, greedy of lucre, flies thither in a moment, and seizes upon Mr. Rishton; in the mean time father Parsons comes up, and

looking in at the door, sees Mr. Rishton with the pursuivant, and perceiving the imminent danger, instead of going in, walks down the street, and, as God would have it, escapes. But Mr. Rishton was carried before a justice, and committed to the King's-bench, &c.

'Mr. Anderton, and his companion, "Mr. Marsden," sailed from France to England, and had scarce set foot on shore, before they fell into the hunters' nets. Soon after they were brought to the bar, where the judge, considering that they had been apprehended immediately upon their coming to land, before they could treat with any one about religion, and pitying their case, had a mind to deliver them from the danger of the law, by furnishing them with the following plea; I suppose, said he, gentlemen, you came out of France, not with a design of coming into England, but of going into Scotland; and that you were drove into England by a storm, against your will? tell me, is not this the truth? God forbid, said they, my lord, that we should tell a lie for the matter. Our lives would be a burthen to us, if we should save them by an untruth. We were sent hither to preach truth; and we must not, at our first setting out, give in to a lie. The truth is, we are both priests; and we set out from France, with a design of coming for England, that we might here exercise our priestly functions, and reconcile the souls of our neighbours to God and his church. And if we are not suffered here to serve our neighbours' souls, at least we will take care not to hurt our own. We had no thoughts of Scotland, but only of England. Nay then, said the judge, the Lord have mercy on you; for, by the laws, you are dead men. So sentence was pronounced upon them, by which they were condemned to die; and they suffered the usual butchery with constancy and intrepidity, and so obtained a noble martyrdom. The sea was more safe to them than the land, which also Mr. John Hart and Mr. Bishop experienced, who having escaped all the dangers of the sea, met in the very haven, not indeed with shipwreck, but with bands and prisons; which, after they had suffered there for a while, they were sent up to London to new prisons.

'And since we are returned to London, I cannot pass over in silence Mr. Ailworth, a young Irish gentleman, of a singular zeal for religion, who had hired a house, not in any street, but among the gardens, commodious enough for preaching and mass, where the catholics sometimes met in a pretty good number, to the divine service, much to his content and satisfaction, who set more value upon what belonged to the honour and worship of God, than upon any earthly toys. But the thing became known, and reached the ears of Fleetwood, the recorder of the city. This furious man, with his constables, came to the house, and finding Mr. Ailworth in his chamber, carried him away to prison, even to the very worst prison in London. And in the way, being displeased at some word that the gentleman spoke, gave this most constant confessor a most violent blow on his head; then ordered him to be put into a filthy dungeon, destitute of all things, strictly forbidding any one to be admitted to visit him, or give him any thing; so the young gentleman, in eight days time, was brought to his end, by the stench and filth of the place.' So far Mr. Holland.

Secondly, an abstract of the lives of three laymen who suffered for religious matters, in 1591, written in Latin by father Thomas Stanney, S. J., sometime ghostly father to all the three. From a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's.

SWITHIN WELLS, GENTLEMAN.

We shall omit such things as have been already marked down in our memoirs concerning Mr. Wells: and shall only take notice of such things which we find added in father Stanney's manuscript, who, in his preface, gives him this character: that he was a witty man, skilled in divers languages, a most agreeable companion, and very amiable, in his younger days something given to honest and innocent diversions; yet always devout in prayer, zealous in the true faith, and most constant in maintaining the catholic religion. He adds, that as he was a gentleman, he gave a good example to the gentry, not to give themselves up so much, even to the most innocent worldly pleasures, as to neglect their prayers and devotions, and so to come to be tepid and fearful in the profession of their faith, but rather to despise all transitory things, and, like him, to be continually advancing towards heaven.

Mr. Wells, after he had been instructed at home in the liberal sciences, travelled abroad to Rome, partly to learn the language, and partly to visit the holy places. After some years, returning into England, he was employed in the service of several persons of quality, and, after some time, for his skill in languages, and for his eloquence, was desired, by the most noble earl of Southampton, a most constant professor of the catholic faith, to live in his house, as he did, much to his own commendation, for several years. At length he married a gentlewoman of good family, with whom he lived, in an edifying manner, for the remainder of his days. By her he had one only daughter, Margaret, a worthy heiress of her father's and mother's virtues; who, leaving the world, became a nun. After his marriage, Mr. Wells, for some years, employed himself in teaching the Belles Lettres, and music, having for his servant and assistant therein, Mr. Woodfen, afterwards priest and martyr; and he had the comfort of training up many of them in the true faith, and, amongst others, several who were afterwards priests, and religious, and some martyrs; till, at length, he was obliged, by the malice of his enemies, and of the ministers, to quit this employment.

He had a particular talent in bringing over heretics and schismatics to the catholic faith, and was very zealous and courageous in the cause of religion. Hence, for the latter part of his life, not only his house was daily open to priests, where there were often two or three masses celebrated in a day, but he would also often accompany them in their journies, and in the charitable expeditions in which they were engaged for the assistance of the catholics, in those perilous times; of which father Stanney gives an instance of his own experience, declaring, how he himself, soon after his coming over into England, was conducted by Mr. Wells down into the west of England, and settled there, in the house

of a certain gentleman, who was equally zealous and prudent, in promoting the catholic cause; where he, (father Stanney,) by catechistical instructions and sermons, in three or four years' space, brought over some hundreds, to the catholic faith. This method, Mr. Wells followed, till he became so well known to the justices and pursuivants, that it was not safe for any priest to ride in his company; he having been more than once committed to prison upon these occasions.

In the last stage of his life, he took a house in Holborn, near Gray's-inn-fields, where he received and entertained God's ministers, till the arch-persecutor, Topliffe, being informed of his proceedings, took his opportunity, and broke into his house, when Mr. Genings was actually there at mass, as we have seen above; where also, we have set down all that relates to the apprehension, trial, and death of Mr. Wells: only father Stanney adds, that when he was under the gallows, Topliffe said to him, You see now Mr. Wells, what your priests have brought you to: to whom, he replied, Mr. Topliffe; I am very glad, and give great thanks to God, and look upon myself exceedingly happy, that I have been so far favoured, as to have received so many, and such saint-like priests, under my roof.

LAWRENCE HUMPHREYS, LAYMAN.

He was born in Hampshire, of protestant parents, and was brought up from his infancy, in the protestant schools, being very zealous in his way, and continually reading, and getting by heart, the scriptures, and perusing books of religion. About the age of eighteen, he thought himself so perfect a master of controversies, as to seek for every opportunity of conferring with catholics, and disputing against their tenets; but he particularly desired to meet with some priest or jesuit, to hear what they could say for their doctrine, as he sometimes signified to the catholics of his acquaintance. One of them, addressed himself to father Stanney, and told him the young man's desires; and, withal, that he was a very moral man, but full of a false zeal, and obstinate in his religion; yet so, that he had declared, He would rather suffer the worst of deaths, than break his promise of secrecy, or betray a priest into the hands of his enemies. Father Stanney appointed a proper time and place to confer with him; which was in a house, where he was to preach one day within the Octave of Corpus Christi. And first, he delivered his sermon, (at which, Lawrence and another protestant were present,) upon the subject of the real presence; then he discoursed in private with both one and the other: and, in a short time, brought them both over to the catholic religion.

Lawrence's conversion was such as gave great comfort and edification to his ghostly father. He thought he could never do too much to punish his past sins; he confessed them, with great humility, and with abundance of tears; and though his life before, had been blameless in

the eyes of the world, it was now, in all respects, visibly changed for the better. Father Stanney, particularly extols his profound humility, his exact obedience, his virginal purity, and his perfect charity. This queen of virtues, had taken deep root in his heart; insomuch, that he was never better pleased, than when he was promoting the honour and glory of God, and the good of his neighbours, by instructing and catechising the ignorant, visiting prisoners confined for their religion, and exercising as occasion offered, all kinds of corporal, and spiritual works of mercy. Amongst which, my author particularly takes notice of a custom he had, when his companions were met together in the evenings, of reading some good book to them, such as the life of some saint, or some catechistical instruction; by which means, he both confirmed the catholics in their religion, and disposed schismatics to their conversion.

After some time, he fell into a great sickness, and, in the height of his fever, amongst other things, he said, that the queen was a wh—e and a heretic. Some zealots that heard him, would have killed him upon the spot, but were hindered. However, before he was well recovered, he was, for these words, committed to Winchester jail, to be kept there till the next assizes. In the mean time, he begged of the keeper, that he might be employed in all the meanest offices, and do the drudgery of the prison, which was granted him.

At his trial, the judge asked him, what religion he was of? he answered, By the grace of God, I am a catholic, and am very willing to die for the catholic faith and religion. The judge asked him, what he meant by a catholic? he answered, I mean by a catholic, one, who being baptized, professeth in word and work, the catholic faith and religion, delivered by the apostles to the universal church, and maintained by their successors. The judge pulled out a pair of beads with a little crucifix, and told him, See, here is the God you worship. But Lawrence, presently replied, Not so, my lord, but that crucifix brings to my remembrance, how much my Lord and Saviour suffered upon the cross for me, a most miserable sinner.

Then the judge asked him, how he came to say that the queen was a heretic? Lawrence answered, with a most solemn asseveration, Before God and his angels, that he could not possibly remember that he had, ever in his life, spoke any such words; But, said he, since divers witnesses affirm it, I shall not stand obstinately to deny it, but shall willingly suffer what punishment you shall inflict upon me. In fine, he was, for those words, condemned to die; and so was sent back to prison. He received the sentence with joy, and spent the short remainder of his life, in meditations and prayers, which he performed, prostrate, upon the ground. When he was carried out to suffer, he made, at the gallows, a public profession of the catholic faith; and, as he was going up the ladder, made the sign of the cross upon the rounds; which the hangman, taking notice of, scoffed at him, saying, thou hast served the pope; but he has brought thee to the rope; and the hangman shall have thy coat. Lawrence, smiled at his rhymes, which the other took in such ill part, as to give him a great box on the ear, in a great fury. The good

young man meekly replied, Why do you do so to me? I never in my life gave you any cause to treat me in this manner.

He was executed at Winchester, in the 21st year of his age, 1591.

RALPH MILLER, OR, MILNER.

This good old man passed the greatest part of his life in a village near Winchester, maintaining his wife, and a large family of children, by the labour of his hands. He was entirely illiterate, but led a very moral life, following the religion then in fashion, till, comparing the lives of the catholics, with whom he was acquainted, with the lives of the protestants, and even of their very ministers, he found that the one sort followed a broad and easy way, neglecting fasting and prayer, and putting little or no restraint upon their appetites and sensual inclinations; whilst the other sort was much addicted to fasting, prayer, and mortification; and lay under most severe persecutions on account of their consciences, which they willingly suffered for God and their religion. These considerations had such effect upon him, as to determine him to quit the new way, and to return to the old religion; as he did, not long after; and being instructed and reconciled by a catholic priest, on the very day that he had received the blessed sacrament, after having finished his general confession, he was apprehended and committed to jail, for his religion.

He was a prisoner, for his conscience, many years: but, as his behaviour had made the keeper his friend, he was not so close confined, but he had often liberty to go out upon his parole, and sometimes was sent out by the keeper about his own affairs, who also often trusted him with the keys of the prison. By these means, he had opportunity of doing great services to the poor catholic prisoners in those evil days; sometimes by procuring them alms; other times, by bringing priests to them to administer the holy sacraments to them. Neither was this his charity confined to the prison, but it also prompted him to procure spiritual assistances to the faithful dispersed about the country; to whom his zeal had, by this time, made him generally known. As an instance of this his charity, father Stanney, the writer of his life, takes notice, that he used to come once a month to the house where the father resided, to conduct him about the villages, there to preach and administer the sacraments to the poor: who also declares in his preface, that he can testify, that, ignorant as he was, he had, by the bright light of his virtues, and by his fervent prayers, been, under God, the cause of the conversion of many to the catholic faith.

'Once, says father Stanney, he came to me, desiring that I would take a journey with him, to preach and administer the sacraments, according to custom; when I was obliged, through necessity, to answer him, that I had been, not long since, in those parts, where I was very much fatigued with preaching, hearing confessions, and administering the sacraments: the more because I was obliged to watch whole nights, and to celebrate mass twice in the day; so that I had not, as yet, been able to recover myself. Well, but master, said he, for so he used to call me, we have still a great many hungry souls that want bread, and there is no one to give it them: we have many also, that would be glad

to shake off the yoke of bondage "heresy" and embrace the catholic faith; and I can find none to help them, and receive them into the church; what then must I say to them? I tell you, Ralph, the very truth, said I, I want not good will, but strength; wherefore, I beg they would have a little patience, and in a short time, by the grace of God, I purpose entirely to satisfy their good desires. But what shall I do, said Ralph, if your reverence's health will not permit you to come amongst us? I replied, that I had been desirous, of a long time, to have another priest, who might be able to serve those parts; and that if he could find a proper place for him, I would endeavour to procure them a proper priest. That I will do, said Ralph, with all my heart; and I hope to be able, in a short time, to provide him all necessaries. Our superior, with another priest, happened to come to me soon after this, and I consulted him what I was to do. He bid me ask Ralph, if he would be willing to have for their priest, Mr. Roger Diconson, whom he was very well acquainted with? He presently answered, with all my heart; for, above all others, I would be glad to live and die with that good man; which afterwards happened.'

Ralph returned to carry the good news to his fellow prisoners, and the other catholics, and within a few weeks Mr. Diconson came to Winchester; where he laboured for some years, with great fruit, and great edification: his mission lying chiefly amongst the poor, and the prisoners. He was once taken in a gentleman's house in the country, and carried to Winchester, where he was put under the guard of six soldiers, in order to be removed to London: but his guards having overdrank themselves, he escaped from them in the night. But being taken a second time, in the company of Ralph Miller, he was committed to Winchester jail: from whence he was sent up to London; and, after he had there been put to divers torments, was sent back to Winchester to take his trial; where, as we have seen elsewhere, he suffered death with the same Ralph Miller, on account of his priestly character.

This good old man, whilst Mr. Diconson was in prison, lost no time, but employed himself in the best manner he could, in preparing for death. No endeavours were omitted by his worldly friends, and by the ministers, to bring him over to consent to save his life, by renouncing his religion; but all in vain. Even when he was at the very gallows, they ceased not to tempt him; and sent his seven children to him, to move him to relent, by the sight of them: but his heart was too strongly fixed on God, to be overcome by flesh and blood. He gave them, therefore, his last blessing, declaring aloud,—That he could wish them no greater happiness, than to die for the like cause for which he was going to die. He suffered, July 7, 1591.

Thirdly, an account of the behaviour of the catholic prisoners in York castle, when, by order of Lord Burleigh, at that time lord president of the north, the said catholic recusants, in number fifty-three, were dragged into the hall of the castle, and there forcibly detained to hear protestant sermons once a week, for the space of one year, or thereabouts. Collected from a manuscript written by W. Richmont, priest.

CHAP. I.—The prisoners, their speeches and behaviour at the first sermon.

Upon Sunday, being the 9th of December, in the year 1599, the keeper came and called all the catholic prisoners down from their cham-

bers, and told them they must go to the hall, before my lord and the council. They all went with him, and when they came into the hall, they were placed within the rails before the council, being set there without the president. There gathered in a great number of people, and then were all the doors of the hall shut up, and presently after, Mr. Palmer, chancellor of St. Peter's church, in York, and a great preacher, began a prayer, and afterwards took his text out of the 24th psalm, and fell to talking. The prisoners were astonished at the strangeness of this matter, and (the place admitting of no consultation,) they knew not what to do.

After a while, all being quiet, the doors were set open; and Mr. Stillington rose up and went down, and one Mr. Robert Hallely went after him, and they proffered to go forth of the doors, but the keeper shut them again, and then they returned to the rest of their company. When the sermon was ended, Mr. Stillington went to the council, and said, the keeper had deceived them, for he told them of no sermon, but that they must all appear there, before my lord. He said farther that he was very loth to offend them, but yet in discharge of his conscience, he must let them know, that he would not hear their sermons. One of the council asked him, if he would there make a protestation? and whether he spoke for himself or for all his company? He answered, that he spoke of himself; and then all the rest of the company cried, that they were all of the same mind with him. The preacher also turned towards him, and said, he had spoken nothing but the truth. Mr. Stillington replied, that he had spoken falsely, and that he himself, could show the same. Here the prisoners began to take heart to them, which the council perceiving, grew very angry with Mr. Stillington, and broke up all further talk and departed.

CHAP. III.—The prisoners' behaviour and speeches at the second sermon.

Upon Sunday following, being the 16th of December, the keeper called them all down, and would have had them all to the hall, as he did the other day, but they all refused to go with him; and then he caused his servants, and other fellows, to take them, one by one, and draw them to the hall; and straight after, came my lord and the council.

After they were set upon the bench, Sir George Rains, (an old priest there amongst them,) rose up, and went towards my lord, and all the company followed after him, and they all made suit to his lordship, to give them leave to depart, for that it was against their conscience to hear their sermons; and, if he thought they suffered not enough for their conscience's sake, to impose what more as pleased him. His lordship stood up and spoke very sharply unto them, and, in a manner of an oration, told them, that the state had long borne with them, and that they had been long invited by fair means; that they had also been urged by punishments; all which failing, he would, at last, according to the parable in St. Luke's gospel, compel them to hear the word.—(c. xiv.) He also spoke much of the disobedience of catholics, and omitted not to touch the ordinary faults objected against them, also of their imprisonment and suffering, and made it a light thing, and said, that they lived

there very pleasantly, and under that colour increased their wealth, and that they were as well there, in prison, as at Stevenson's ordinary, in the city.

When his lordship had ended, and they put out of all hope in this manner, they all turned away, and went forth to the place, with as much haste as they could, but it availed them nothing, for the keeper's and my lord's men, hauled them in again, with greater rigour than before. Then fell they of murmuring and making a noise, some in one manner, and some in another, to interrupt the preacher. My lord stood up again, and commanded silence; and presently the preacher began the sermon upon the same text he handled the day before, thinking to repair his credit, by showing, that Eutyches was a favourite of Apollinaris's heresy, as though he might be baptised in that heresy.

When the sermon was ended, Mr. Stillington went to my lord, and Mr. Middleton went with him, and all the rest of the company followed. He desired his honour to consider of them, that they were men, and that it is meet they were suffered to be their own guides: it was strange, and very grievous unto them, to be forced against their wills and consciences. And to this effect, he urged my lord earnestly. Mr. Middleton, in the mean space, spoke unto Mr. Heskett, one of the council, and said, sir, you know the law, speak, I beseech you, if it be not against the laws of the realm to use us thus, being punished otherwise for our refusal of going to church? But Mr. Heskett would give him no answer to his demand.

The prisoners complained, that day, of injury for being so hauled against their consciences, and my lord himself answered them, and told them, (as the council had done the day before,) that he knew well enough that it was against their will to be present at their sermons, and that it could be no sin in them, for the fault that was, if there were any offence, was his, and he would take it to himself, and therefore solemnly there desired of Almighty God, that all the blame of their proceeding might be laid to his charge, and upon him, and his house.

It the week following, the prisoners made a petition to his lordship, to have performance of his promise, and named, for their deputies, D. Bagshaw, Mr. Thomas Wright, and Mr. Fitzherbert, who, as they heard, was at London, in prison, or any one of them, but his honour's purpose was altered by the preachers, or by the council, at their persuasions, as you shall see in the week following.

CHAP. VI.—The fourth sermon, preached by Mr. Fuller, the lord president's chaplain.

THIS day the prisoners made more resistance for being drawn to the hall, than before they had done; which turned much more to their hurt. For the jailor's men crushed them against the wall, and, by forcibly striving, gave them many shrewd blows; the council being sat, Mr. Denby went unto them, and desired, that with their favour, he might depart; for he could not abide to hear either God blasphemed, or his conscience offended. They willed him to sit down and be quiet, but he

answered, that he would speak. Then, quoth Mr. Stanhope, speak if you dare. I will speak, said the other: and thus they changed twice or thrice, if you dare speak, and I will speak. Then some other of the council willed him to sit down, and stop his ears; and so he returned to his company.

Then Mr. Stillington rose up, and went to the council, and Mr. Middleton went with him, and he said thus unto them; behold I beseech you, the extremity we suffer. And if, (as I told your worships yesterday) we be not above measure troubled in our minds with this usage, for God's sake, deal otherwise with us. The council made light of his words, and then all the prisoners rose up, and went forth of the place, towards the lower end of the hall from them, but still to their further hurt; for the keeper's and the council's men hauled them back, in angry mood, and threw some of them down upon the floor, and beat them, unreasonably; so that Mr. Stanhope called unto them, and commanded them to hold their hands. Then the preacher began, and the prisoners began likewise to murmur, and make such a noise, that the preacher was forced to stay his speech. The council stood up, and commanded silence, and made the preacher to go forward with his sermon. Then the prisoners stopped their ears with their fingers till the sermon was ended. The sermon being ended, Mr. Stillington hastily stood forth, thinking young Palmer had made the sermon, and called for an answer of the sermon he had promised before my Lord. Mr. Fowler courteously answered, he had said nothing to offend him; the other said, he had not heard what he said, but thought him to have been another man. Whilst Mr. Stillman thus spoke, the people broke over the bars, and thronged about him on every side, so desirous they were to hear him speak: then all the company came to, and some spoke to the council, and some to others about them, that the council was much offended thereat, and rose up and left them.

After dinner, Mr. Danby was sent for to come before my lord, who reproved him very sharply for his speeches at the hall. He answered, that he spoke nothing to offend them, but only in defence of his conscience. In the end, notwithstanding he was my lady's cousin, and descended of honour, my lord commanded him to be put into a dungeon, (a dangerous and disgraceful place,) there to keep Christmas; and gave orders, that all the rest of the catholics should be locked up close prisoners in their chambers; and thus they celebrated the joyful time of Christ's nativity, and the beginning of the year of Jubilee.

CHAP. VII. What happened at the fifth sermon. From a letter of Mr. Stillington's to the author, the 11th of January, 1600.

Sir,—This last Sunday, being twelfth-day, we were all hauled forth, save Mr. Holland, (a priest lately committed,) and one Mr. Sweeting, (in whose house he was taken,) and my lord came to the hall, and presently stood up and made a speech unto us, and mentioned what great favours were offered us by the state; also by what fair means we have been invited to hear the word of God, and our obstinate refusal, and contemning the same. He said he had entered into consideration of these

things, and, upon a desire he had to have us taught, together with the advice of learned men, assuring himself of the lawfulness of this course, and that he might draw us unto it against our wills, he had resolved thus to force us, and though we refused never so much, yet would he make us to hear, with our outward ears, and if any of us were unquiet, and disturbed the preacher, he would severely punish such a one. Here you may observe, good sir, that the ministers are the causers of all these troubles unto us, and set my lord on us, knowing we may resist, and so bring him more against us, than ever by any persuasions they could themselves have drawn him, for they say, (being conscienceless men themselves,) that we refuse only of will and of no conscience, which makes him to labour the more to overrule us.

When his honour had ended his speech, I stood up, and desired his lordship to give me leave to answer, and I would, by the same authority he had alledged out of Daniel, show our refusal good and lawful. My lord presently answered, I know, Stillington, that you are the ring-leader, and ready to answer, but hold your peace, I command you; you are a prisoner, and, therefore, I say again, hold your peace. I sat down, and divers of our company began to speak. Mr. Danby said, we came not to hear your sermons, and, though you hang us, or burn us, we will not hear them. Thomas Clitheroe said, My lord, if we be heretics, your grandfather was an heretic. My lord had said a little before, that we were all heretics; and at these speeches all the company almost in the hall laughed. Old Mr. Palmer began his sermon, and we all stopped our ears, and then came the jailors and pursuivants, and my lord's men, and took down our hands and held us, and so sat we, striving and doing all that sermon-time.

When the sermon was ended, Mr. Fenton stood up, and desired his honour to perform his promise, so honourably made unto us before that assembly, that we might have some learned men from Wisbich, to answer for us ignorant laymen. My lord gave him no answer, but, without speaking of one word, rose up angry and left us, giving order to the jailor, that we should be kept very straight, and that none, without special warrant, should come at us. And yesterday his honour sent for me to the manor, and, after I had done my duty, asked me, what his promise was to us, for having a priest to dispute? I said, 'his honour promised us to have a learned priest from Wisbich, or London, whom we should name, to defend our cause against the preachers, or any seminary priest in the country that would, to come and go safe. You say truth, (quoth he,) but that is more than I may do, or is fit to be allowed in our state. But if you will have any seminary priest or jesuit, that is within my commission, let him come, and I will assure, I will give him leave to come and go, but how he will be looked to after, I cannot tell you.' I told his honour, 'I knew of none that would come in and deal in that matter. Then my lord told me, that some of our company had reported largely of his promise, and had said, that he had promised us a jesuit to preach. I answered, that I had heard no such thing, and I thought none of our company would so overshoot themselves. And so my lord bid me farewell.'

CHAP. VIII.—The sixth sermon, made by the archbishop himself, the 13th of January.

THERE was a very great audience this day, at the hall. There were divers of the chief gentlemen of the country, there was the lord-mayor and his brethren, the aldermen of the city; there were many lawyers and other gentlemen, and of other people, a very great multitude. The prisoners were hauled down, and placed within the rails, and the bishop in a chair over against them, at the other end. And after the lord president was come in, the two old priests, Sir George Rains and Sir Christopher Wharton stood both up together, and proffered to speak. The bishop stayed them, and said, they should have time to speak, but they should first hear, for they were brought to that place to hear, and not to preach; and presently began the sermon.

Whilst this was in hand, my lord president called for Mr. Stillington, that he should be brought from his company and placed before him at his feet. When he came thither, he stood up, and earnestly sued to my lord, that they might depart. He desired his honour, to be well persuaded of them, they were very loth to offend his lordship, but more loth to offend God. Straight my lord grew offended, the rather, because it was in sermon time, and the other, on purpose, urged that speech at that time, thinking that all the company would have done the like, and that so the bishop, (being troubled,) might, sooner than others that were at command, have taken occasion to have left that exercise, as verily it is like he would, for the speech went, that he disliked of that course. Mr. Stillington again desired my lord, to give him leave to speak, and told his honour that he had no will to offend him; and this made the bishop hold his speech, and more grieved my lord than before; so that he grew very angry, and called him a rebellious fellow, and charged him to hold his speech. 'He again answered, that he was as ready to serve her majesty, as any protestant there, with his body and goods, in all lawful sort, and desired his honour so to think of him.' Divers willed him to be silent, and his brother, Mr. Robert Stillington, a notable puritan, came to him, and asked him, what he meant, so to trouble the company; but he gave him no answer, that I can learn of, but still applied to my lord. My lord struck at him with his staff, and called him rebel, and said, he would hang him the next week, at the jail delivery; and lastly, as marvelling at his standing, said, 'what, are you a priest, that you are so earnest? And one of the council, answered, I do think he is so. And then my lord stood up, and charged them upon their allegiance, to be silent, and not to stop their ears.

The bishop again began to preach, and the most of the prisoners stopped their ears. And Mr. Stillington, sitting at my lord's feet, laid both his hands upon his ears. Then he commanded two of his gentlemen, Mr. Chapman and Mr. Philip Stapleton, to hold down his hands, so, sitting of either side, they took his hands, and held them forth, that he lay all that sermon-time, as if he had been upon a cross. They took his bible from him, and found certain notes in it, whereof, was given out, that they touched matters of state, and that he should be hanged at that jail delivery, being the Tuesday following.

When the bishop had made an end, he willed Mr. Stillington should

stand up, and then he spoke to him, and said something of my lord's purpose in hauling them to the sermons, in which speech, he plainly delivered, that he thought it unlawful to haul them to church, or to force them to receive any sacrament, and, therefore, that place was chosen, being a piece of their prison, for them to hear the word of God. Mr. Stillington began to answer something, but the president staid his speech, and said, my lord archbishop should not hear him, nor should he have that favour to speak, seeing he would not hear them; and so they departed, and order was given, to put Mr. Stillington into the dungeon, and to put Mr. Danby, Mr. Gascoigne, Robert Hallely, John Thackwraie, Thomas Newet, Edward Saughell, and Jerome Bolton, into the low house, among thieves.

CHAP IX.—The seventh sermon, made by Mr. Goodwin.

This day, the prisoners were purposed to speak and make a noise, without ceasing, till the council should leave them, or send them away; and therefore, they began with the preacher, to make a noise, and some said aloud, we came not hither of ourselves, and we will not hear your sermons: others said, we beseech you, let us depart; and others spoke otherwise, and all continued speaking, that neither the preacher nor the council could be heard. The council stood up and demanded silence, but it was not respected. Then Mr. Ferne, called to Mr. Stillington, and said, all this disorder was along of him; and that he should answer for all; but they all replied, he has no charge of our souls: we speak of ourselves, and for our own discharge. Then, they blamed Mr. Danby, for he spoke very freely, and a note above the rest, and still they desired that they might be sent away. Dr. Bennet went from the bench unto them, and desired them, but now to hear Mr. Goodwin speak in a civil manner unto them; and then they staid their speech.

After dinner, Mr. Danby was sent for to the manor, and my lord sharply reproved him for this matter, and assigned him again to the dungeon; and, that Thomas Whelehouse and Thomas Clitheroe should be double fettered, and be put into the low house with the thieves: and, on Wednesday following, (as God would,) came a fellow, and complained of some wrong sustained by Mr. Danby, about his farmhold, and craved remedy of my lord. Upon this occasion, my lord sent for Mr. Danby out of the dungeon, and heard the cause, and found the fellow had sustained no wrong; but hearing of Mr. Danby's disgrace with my lord, thought, then to get some advantage against him. This business despatched, Mr. Danby gave a petition to my lord, for his delivery out of the dungeon: and my lord asked him, Why he spoke so much? I must either speak, quoth he, or stop my ears. Well then, quoth my lord, do you stop your ears, and hinder not others that would hear. And thus, Mr. Danby was delivered out of the dungeon.

CHAP. XI.—The prisoners' behaviour at the ninth sermon, made by Mr. Cook.

THIS week, they changed the sermon day from Sunday to Friday, because these sporting preachers, drew most of the audience from the cathedral to the castle, and so made the congregation there very small, to the great disgrace of their gospel. This day the council being set, and the preacher in his place before all the prisoners were hauled down, in this space, one Edward Soughell, a good poor man, went to Mr. Cook, the preacher, and said thus unto him, sir, you use us strangely in hauling us thus against our wills. I beseech you, satisfy us, if you can, by some authority out of the word of God, that christians may be thus used, or by some example, that good christians ever used heretics after this manner. The preacher would give him no answer; but said, he was come there to preach, and willed them to hear him; and then to lay all their heads together, and answer what they could. The poor old sickly man, again instantly desired him for Christ's sake, to give him some answer hereunto: but Cook, for all his learning, was silent to this question, and would make no answer. He began his sermon, and they all stopped their ears; and then, he said, he had purposed to speak to these asps, meaning the catholics, but seeing they stopped their ears, and would not hear, he would direct his speech to another audience. The sermon ended, they all departed: and, in the afternoon, Mr. Stillington and Mr. Danby were sent for to the manor, before my lord and the council. The manner of their usage, I will recite out of one of Mr. Stillington's letters, as follows:

Mr. Danby and I were sent for to the manor, the last day, and carried by several keepers, that we should not speak, one to the other in the way, so careful are they to bar us of all comfort one of another. When we came into my lord's bed-chamber, there was Mr. Cook standing at the table, and divers books before him. My lord, at the first, began a very sharp speech unto us, and reproved us for stopping our ears, and called us swine and hogs, that despised the word of God, and threatened great punishments to them, that again should dare to stop their ears. I told his lordship, we were of another religion, and it was against our consciences to hear their sermons; and, therefore, we could do no less, being hauled thither, than to stop our ears in sign of dislike; and it was a means also (keeping us from hearing) to keep us from answering and speaking; by which we should more offend them and the laws, than by stopping our ears.

CHAP. XII.—The tenth Sermon preached by Mr. Bunny.

ALL the sermon time they stopped their ears, which offended so much, that in the afternoon, there came a warrant to put Mr. Stillington and Mr. Danby, both, into the dungeon. What, quoth Mr. Stillington, will my lord have us both in the dungeon? the place will hardly hold us, being little more than three feet wide. There is no remedy, quoth the keeper, I am commanded to put you both there: and the next

day he set irons upon Mr. Gascoigne, Thomas Whelehouse and Peter Tunstall.

The eleventh sermon was made by Mr. Fowler, my lord's chaplain; and for stopping of their ears, there were fifteen of the prisoners set in irons. So hotly did my lord and the council pursue the stopping of their ears; which at first, they licensed, and, in some sort, commanded.

CHAP. XIII.—The fifteenth Sermon, preached by Mr. Goodwin.

THE prisoners were this day hauled down, one after another, and being size week, there was great wondering at the strangeness thereof: as soon as they were all brought into the hall, one of them preferred a petition, in the name of them all, to my lord and the judges; the substance was as followeth:

'They first desired their lordships to consider the great distresses they suffered; first, the loss of their goods, and two-thirds of their lands, by the statute, for their conscience sake; and that (this notwithstanding) they still paid all sessments, taxes, and subsidies, as deeply as others of their neighbours; and, with loyal minds, were still ready in all employments for their country, and her majesty's service; in respect whereof, they humbly desired their lordships' good considerations, for the bodily punishments, viz. the keeping of them close prisoners in so corrupt a place as the castle was, the loading them with irons so long, and in so cold a season, many of them being aged men, and very sickly persons: and as touching the stopping of their ears at sermons, to which they were hauled against their wills, they humbly desired them to take it in no offence; for, seeing they were holden to hear things offensive, and against their consciences, the remedy was lawful, they thought, in such a case: it was a thing by the prophet Isaiah commended as a just act, and used by the catholics of old time against the Arians. It was (they said) a secure way to keep their consciences at quiet, and a harmless defence allowed them by God, and the law of nature.'

After they had delivered the petition, my lord perused it, and gave it to the judge; he read it, and gave it to the other judges, and so they proceeded to the sermon; at which the prisoners stopped their ears; and when the preacher had made an end, Mr. Danby stood up, and Mr. Stillington with him, and he desired to speak. My lord said presently to him, what, Danby, will you speak? you are *minimus apostolorum*, you may hold your peace. One of the judges asked him, whether he would speak for himself, or for his company? and he answered, that he spoke for his company; for that his voice was stronger than any of theirs. Then baron Saville angrily asked him, who gave him commission to speak in that place? he answered, that he asked leave, and set down again.

CHAP. XXX.—The twenty-fourth Sermon made by Mr. Lyndal; from Mr. Stillington's Letters.

WHEN the sermon was done, I stood up and desired his honour to hear an old papist speak, which I thought would make his lordship

laugh. He gave me leave, and then I rose up from my place, and went up to the preacher, hard before my lord, and doing my duty, desired his honour to bear with my rough English, for I was but a mean scholar; and then I read the story following, out of St. Augustine, in his 22d book of the City of God, chap. 8. 'There was a certain old man, named Florentius, of our city of Hippo, a godly poor man, by occupation a shoemaker, that lost his coat, and had nothing wherewith to buy him another. He prayed in a loud voice to the forty martyrs (whose memory is most famous here with us,) to be clothed. Certain mocking young men heard him, that were there by chance, and when he went away, they followed him, disquieting, or jesting at him, as though he had asked fifty half pence to buy him a coat: but he going quietly away, espied a great fish gasping upon the sand, and took the said fish, by help of the aforesaid young men, and carried it to a cook's house, named Carthesus, a good christian, showing unto him what had happened unto him. He sold the fish for three hundred half pence, purposing therewith to buy wool, that his wife might spin him a coat. But the cook cutting up the fish, found a gold ring in the fish's belly; and presently moved with compassion, and a good conscience, gave it to the poor man, saying, behold how the forty martyrs have clad thee.'

When I had ended this story, I said to my lord, if I had reported such a miracle to your honour, it would have been taken for some fiction; but I hope the credit of this old father, St. Augustine, will authorise the report. The gentlemen, and almost all the hall, laughed, and my lord answered, in good faith you have made me laugh indeed.

Then my lord stood up himself, and made a speech unto us for a farewell; in which his honour declared, that he began that exercise for our good; and said, that we resisted more than we needed, or were tied unto by our religion; and thereby unwisely gave advantage of the law against ourselves; but, for his part, he said, he never intended to take advantage on; and, in the end, he willed us, that if we would pray or speak, to hinder our own hearing, yet so to do it, as it should not hinder them that were willing to hear the preacher; and thus very favourably made an end.

When my lord had done, I came and kneeled on my knee, and desired his honour, to take pity on the poor men that had now worn irons very long, many of them being sickly and very aged men. His honour said, he would leave an honourable gentleman in his place, and turned towards my lord Evers, who he hoped would take some consideration in that matter to ease them, and so departed; and the next day all our irons were taken off, and his honour gave me two months' liberty to go to the hot baths; which before had been hindered by many great personages, and now, is likely to be hindered again: for after his honour was gone, I staid but three days, with my company in the castle, to get my horses in readiness; and in that space, Mrs. Readhead hath treacherously accused us to have had a mass on *Corpus Christi Day*, when my lord was going away; and, upon this suggestion, we were searched, and my chamber ransacked more than all the rest, and the walls almost riven down, and I am staid by the council from my journey; but I am gotten from her keeping for the time; and I hope the sermons will end,

for the preachers edify not much, and some of their own sort think, that they do us wrong, and their own cause no good, whilst they are so taken with lies and falsehoods by us ignorant laymen; and doubtless many like better our cause now, than they did before they heard us speak. *Sex. Calcend. Junij.*, 1600.

CHAP. XL.—The fiftieth and last sermon made by Mr. Cook.

Mr. Cook was appointed, and took his text from Jeremy, li. *Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata derelinquamus eam, et eamus unusquisque in domum suam.* For half an hour he handled this text; but in the latter part of his speech he railed exceedingly, and applied every thing against Rome, the pope and the catholics. He preached his own condemnations most willingly, and said he had confuted the papist's argument for purgatory, so as the dragon in his den, meaning the priest, could never be able again to open his mouth. This was shameful impudence in that place, where all men were witness, that he durst make no confutation or answer to the priest in writing at all; nor durst he, in that question of purgatory, accept a layman's challenge openly made upon him in the Hall, before my lord, and all that assembly, and not once but several times and days. In the end he told them, the magistrates' purpose was good in that exercise; but seeing their labour lost, he thought them unworthy of such favour, and so mild handling (loss of lands and goods, strait imprisonment, dungeons and wearing of irons, with many terrible threats and open disgraces, is mild handling with Mr. Cook and the ministers: but I may doubt if the preachers would endure such mild usage for the love of their new gospel, if they were put thereto,) and that now they would leave them, and return every one to his own home. When he had made an end, one of the council stood up, and told the prisoners, that it was my lord's pleasure the sermons should cease till the spring: and so they all departed.

The prisoners were glad, and they had great cause to thank God, that had protected them from so manifold dangers, and now given them the victory, after so many conflicts, with such potent adversaries, without the loss of any one soldier of the camp. For, thanked be God, they were all constant to the end, cheerful, patiently enduring all disgraces, persevering in unity, and sound in faith.

Fourthly, an extract out of the commentaries upon the epistle to the Hebrews, c. x. written by the learned and pious Cornelius a Lapide, S. J., "edition of Atwerp, 1627." Audi Anglicana, &c.

Duas e tribus bonorum partes viduæ nobilis quod hæreticorum templa adire nollet fisco hæretici addixerunt, cumq; ipsa ab amicis adjuta a fisco bis terq: propriam Domum agrosq; conduceret et paulatim ditesceret, bis terq; duabus bonorum partibus rursum spoliata est: Quod ipsa miro cum gaudio tulit. Alius magnam pecuniarum summam

quæ ad vitam sustentandam sola restabat apud amicum catholicum deposuerat, quam repertam abstulere pursuivantes; ipse certior de rapina factus, sublatis in Cœlum manibus gratias maximas Deo egit, quod ex illa hora cum in suum patrocinium et curam suscepisset, solumq; dolebat quod pecuniæ amissæ quantitas major non fuisset. Alia fœmina primaria, Uxor Gulielmi Lacci gloriosi postmodum martyris, qui bona omnia ac præcipua munia eo quod hæreticorum templa adire nollet, gaudens amisserat; post direptionem bonorum perpauperem vitam agebat tanta cum lætitia, ut deo pro tanto beneficio dignas gratias agere se non posse affirmaret eo quod una cum bonis superfluas curas et mundanas obligationes abstulerat, tempusq; hac ratione vacuum ad æternam salutem comparandam concesserat: et quamvis ob assiduas persecutiones domicilia, terrasq; mutare crebro cogeretur tanto gaudio fruebatur, ut a deo instanter peteret ne omnes suas ærumnas in hac vita remuneraretur, sed dolorem aut infirmitatem aliquam corporalem ad magnum animi gaudium temperandum, et peccata sua dum viveret purganda immitteret; quod et præstitum est. Sex enim vel sustem ante obitum annos continuis gravissimisq; doloribus et infirmitatibus exercita fuit, quas summa alacritate sustinuit. D. Franc. Tregianus antiquæ et nobilissimæ familiæ, &c., ferunt eum cum sententia de amissione bonorum et perpetuis carceribus ferenda esset, bysso candita vestitum comparuisse, et post latam sententiam dixisse: Pereant bona quæ si non periissent, fortassis Dominum suum perdidissent. Excellentissimus Arundeliæ Comes Philippus Howardus, in carcere captivus catholicis omnibus non exemplo modo, sed etiam singulari solatio fuit: nullus unquam de bonorum rapina, de carceris incommodis, de negata libertate dolentem audivit. Imo conquerentes alios ipse nunc verbis erigere, nunc mira qua pollebat comitate consolari solebat. Illi præter deum et cœlestium contemplationem sapiebat nil, pecunias quas pro sustentatione secundum dignitatis gradum regina illi concedebat, tenui et parco ipse contentus cibo, inter pauperes distribuit. Alia multa dixit, fecit, scripsit quæ antiquorum primitivæ ecclesiæ heroum facium vel æquent, vel superent. Macte animo angli orthodoxi, æmuli primorum christianorum et martyrum, hæc est felicitas vestra, quod hoc sæculo persecutionibus procelloso in Anglia non soli pene spernis, soli ambitis martyrium, sive breve illud detur, sive longum et lentum per assiduas rapinas et vexationes. Invident vobis martyrium sanctimus pseudo episcopi: ac eo gloriosius in formam exhibent quo durius et lentius. Hæc enim rapina vitam, non quidem, quidem, sed nobilem et gratia vestro dignam, non vobis solis, sed toti familiæ et posteritati eripit. Itaq; non unum hoc et simplex, nec unius, sed multiplex et multorum est martyrium. Edit. Anno 1627.

MEMOIRS

OF

MISSIONARY PRIESTS,

AND OTHER

CATHOLICS OF BOTH SEXES,

THAT HAVE

SUFFERED DEATH IN ENGLAND ON RELIGIOUS ACCOUNTS,

FROM

THE YEAR 1577, TO 1684.

BY BISHOP CHALLONER, V. A. L.

VOL. II.

Carefully collected from the Accounts of Eye-witnesses, cotemporary Authors, and Manuscripts kept in the English Colleges and Convents abroad.

Philadelphia:
PUBLISHED BY JOHN T. GREEN.
1839.

[illegible] Street No. 4 Minot Street

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PREFACE.

THE continuation of the executions of catholics on religious accounts, from the death of queen Elizabeth till the end of the reign of king Charles the second, is laid before the reader in this second volume of our memoirs, in which we have endeavoured to follow the same method as in the first. Our intention herein is not to meddle any way with religious controversies, or to make apologies for the principles of those whose sufferings we represent, or to discuss the merits of the cause for which they suffered; but barely to give an impartial account of the characters of these sufferers, as far as we could learn of them, the most remarkable particulars of their lives and deaths, and their behaviour at their execution.

If any one apprehend that the cruelties here represented, may reflect an odium upon the memories of those who were the authors or executors of the sanguinary laws, by which so much christian blood has been shed for more than a whole century, in a nation which of all others is naturally most averse from shedding of blood; we can only assure him that it was not our design to reflect on the memory of any one, but barely to represent matters of fact, which we hoped might furnish a useful and agreeable scene of history to the English reader. However, we must at the same time declare, how much we are convinced, that the more mild proceedings of the present government, with regard to catholics, are far more agreeable both to reason and religion, more honourable to the nation, and more suitable to that claim of liberty and property, which every true Englishman challenges as his birth-right.

In effect, is it not most agreeable to right reason, for a people that disclaims all pretensions to infallibility, to give a moderate liberty to the tender consciences of their fellow subjects, of thinking for themselves in matters of religion, without being constrained therein by penal laws?

And can any thing be more highly unreasonable, than to impose upon them a necessity of conforming, in matters where their souls are concerned, to the judgment of others, acknowledged by themselves to be liable to error, and contrary in many points to their own judgment, and to that of the greatest and wisest men upon earth? Is not this even irreconcileable with the great principle of morality, of not doing to others what one would not bear should be done to oneself?

Again, is it not most agreeable to religion, to practice mildness and charity towards our fellow christians, and if we suppose them to be in an error, to win them over rather by good treatment and good example, and to convince their judgment by proper arguments and evidences of the truth, than to compel them by penal laws to play the hypocrites, and profess what they do not believe? And how much more ought this to be observed, if we speak of people, who, if they are in the wrong, it is visibly their misfortune and not their fault, having no worldly motives of honour, interest, or pleasure, to bias their judgment, which is plainly the case of English catholics? And certainly nothing can be more disagreeable to the very first principles of protestant religion, which would have all christians to steer by the word of God, than to oblige men to renounce those tenets which they sincerely believe to be conformable to the word of God, as catholics do with regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, &c.

As to the honour of the English nation, our neighbours abroad certainly think better of us now, than when they were continually hearing of our putting priests to death, which in their notions was an unparalleled piece of cruelty.

And as to that liberty and property which is the birth-right of a Briton, nothing can be more opposite to it, than persecution for religion, which visibly tends to enslave the conscience, and to invade the life or property of an Englishman, merely because he has not the same way of thinking as his neighbours.

But the advocates of persecution will here object, that Roman catholics have been notoriously guilty of rebellions and treasons, under pretence of religion; and therefore must be kept under by penal laws. But supposing the guilt to have been even greater than it really was, are there not laws enough against rebellions and treasons, to restrain all sorts of people from such wicked attempts, without constraining their

consciences in matters of religion? And is it not more than probable, that such things would never have been thought on by catholics, had they not been pushed upon them by the cruel usages they met with on account of their religion? But be this as it will, the law of God and nature teaches us, that the children ought not to suffer for the misdemeanors of their fathers.

But the persecutors will say, perhaps, that Roman catholic principles are inconsistent with civil allegiance to the sovereign, and with the tranquillity of the nation: to which the catholics reply, that their principles are misrepresented; and that their loyalty to their princes, and peaceful behaviour to their fellow subjects, may be demonstrated by the experience of so many princes and states abroad, as well protestants as catholics, where the professors of their religion are known to be as good subjects, in all respects, as any others of what denomination soever.

Some urge, as a third reason for persecuting Roman catholics, that it is a duty incumbent on all christian princes, not to tolerate an idolatrous worship in their dominions; and such they suppose the Roman religion to be. But the more moderate protestants are not willing to charge so gross a crime as that of idolatry on so many millions of christians, to whom they were indebted for their own christianity: and since the generality of protestants look upon it as a point of christian charity, to allow salvation to the catholics, why may they not tolerate, without a crime, what they grant is not inconsistent with salvation?

But we shall say no more on this subject, what has been said already being abundantly sufficient to vindicate the moderation of the present government from the unjust censures of some fiery zealots, who breathe nothing but slaughter and destruction against all who differ from themselves in religious controversies. And we doubt not, but the wisdom of the legislature, when they shall think proper to take these matters under consideration, will find many other weighty reasons, which will demonstrate that a toleration of the private exercises of the Roman catholic religion, will be more agreeable to the common good and tranquillity of the nation, and more advantageous to our trade, than penal laws and persecutions.

As to the rest, we look upon it our duty, before we conclude, to make a public acknowledgment of our obligations to those from whom we

received the greatest part of our materials, out of which we have compiled our memoirs; particularly to the English colleges of Douay and St. Omer's, and to the English Benedictins and Franciscans; and amongst the catholic gentry, to C———t C———le, Esq., who furnished us with divers useful books and manuscripts.

We think it also necessary, in consequence of the decrees of our superiors, to take notice that we do not pretend by these memoirs to authorize or encourage any religious veneration of these gentlemen who have suffered for their religion, till the church shall think proper to declare them martyrs; and that on the same account we speak sparingly of their miracles; and that if we ever employ, in treating of them, the name of saint or martyr, we understand it not in that sense in which it is attributed to such as have been canonized by the church; to whose wholesome ordinances we submit ourselves and all our writings.

MEMOIRS

OF

MISSIONARY PRIESTS,

&c.

As soon as queen Elizabeth was dead, James, the sixth of that name, king of Scotland, was proclaimed king of England: under whom the catholics hoped for better times. And in effect, not long after his accession to the throne, several recusants of the best rank were by order of his majesty sent for to Hampton-Court, and were there told, by his special direction to some of the lords of the council, that henceforth he was resolved to exonerate the catholics of England, of the usual fine or payment of twenty pounds a month, for recusancy; which favour they should so long enjoy, as their behaviour towards the king and state was without contempt. And when the catholics humbly desired to know whether their recusancy would not be interpreted contempt? They were assured it would not; and were ordered to signify as much to all of that profession. See a small tract, called, 'The Lay Catholics' Petition for Priests,' &c., chap. I.

As to the priests also, many of them, who were in confinement, experienced his majesty's clemency, by being allowed to sue forth their pardons, paying a small fine to the then lord chancellor. So that when the king, soon after his arrival into England, was told of one Mr. Freeman, put to death at Warwick, for taking orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute; he said to those about him, with some surprise; Alas! poor man, had he not four nobles to purchase his pardon? Some people looked upon this as a jest upon a certain great minister of State: but it was no jesting matter for the priest, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered, according to sentence. See 'Protestants' Plea for Priests and Papists,' p. 54. Of this Mr. Freeman, I have found no further particulars, nor any mention of him in any of our catalogues; unless he be the same as Mr. John Sugar, priest, who suffered at Warwick, July 16, 1604, as we shall see hereafter.

But it was not long before the catholics were made sensible, that however the persecution might, in some measure be abated, it was not to cease. For upon the 22d of February, 1603–4, the king 'sent forth a proclamation, strictly commanding all priests to depart the realm before the 19th of March, upon pain of having the laws executed against them without the least favour or mercy: and at the same time giving orders to the deputy lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, to be vigilant in their several posts, and to use great diligence for the discovering and apprehending of all such as, contrary to the aforesaid proclamation, should presume to remain in the kingdom, after the said 19th of March. And as to those priests, who, at that time were already in prison, his majesty in the same proclamation, signifies that he hath given orders for their being shipped off at some convenient port, and for ever banished the kingdom.' See 'Howe's Chronicle,' p. 834.

Accordingly, in the month of September, we find twenty-one priests and three laymen taken out of divers prisons, by a warrant from the lords of the council, and put on board a ship to be transported into perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding that many of them had his majesty's pardon to show; since which, they had not been convicted of any new offence, punishable by the laws of the land, with perpetual banishment; (as they tell the lords of the council, in their letter from the sea-side, dated Sept. 24, 1604.) And not a few of them had voluntarily delivered themselves up, pursuant to a proclamation set forth by the late queen, not long before her death, giving assurance of pardon to all such priests as should deliver themselves up to the civil magistrate, and at the same time give proofs of their allegiance to her majesty; both which conditions these men had punctually fulfilled: and therefore they thought themselves now hardly used, as they signified in the aforesaid letter, a copy of which I have now by me, in the manuscript collections relating to the sufferings of the English catholics, by the Rev. Mr. Knaresborough; whose labours have been of no small service to me, especially with regard to this and the following reign.

But the severities exercised against catholics did not stop here; for all the sanguinary laws enacted by queen Elizabeth, were, from time to time, put in execution by this king, during the greatest part, at least of his reign; as we shall see anon. The first, whose name occurs in our catalogues, who suffered death upon the penal statutes, was,

JOHN SUGAR, PRIEST.—1606.*

John Sugar was born at Womborn, in Staffordshire, of a noted family in those parts. He made a good proficiency in his grammar studies at home in his own country; and then was sent to Oxford, to Merton College, where he went through his course of philosophy.

* From Arnoldus Raissius, in his catalogue of the Douay martyrs, printed in 1630. And from an old manuscript relation of his martyrdom, sent me from Warwickshire.

And now he was upon the point of receiving his degree of bachelor of arts, but there was an oath first to be taken of the queen's supremacy, which he boggled at; and upon this quitted the university. Yet I do not find that he embraced forthwith the catholic religion: on the contrary, we are told, that for some time after he exercised the office of a minister at Cank, in his own country, and there held forth against the pope, and the catholic faith; but the Father of mercies did not suffer him to continue long in this way, but by his heavenly light opened the eyes of his soul to see the beauty of truth, and inflamed his heart with the love of it. Insomuch, that he became a true convert, and a hearty penitent, and, forsaking all his worldly hopes, went abroad to Douay, to the English college, where, after two years spent in the study of divinity, he was made priest, and was sent upon the English mission, in 1601, to labour there in seeking after the lost sheep.

'After his coming into England, says my old manuscript, he travelled afoot very much in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, to serve, help, and comfort the meaner and poorer sort of catholics, with the sacraments of the holy catholic church. He was in his life chaste and innocent; in conversation humble and mild; in helping the poor and distressed pitiful and charitable, in his diet very spare and temperate; and in prayer fervent and continual.

'In the first year of the reign of king James in England, Mr. Burgoyne, a justice in the county of Warwick, on the 8th day of July, being Relick-Sunday, sent a warrant to search the house of a catholic, dwelling in Romington, for the apprehension of a seminary priest, and the searchers finding none there, went to search, in the same town, the house of Robert, Henry, and Ambrose Grissold, "or Greswold," three unmarried brethren, catholics, for many years living and keeping house together; and in searching thereof, a constable, called Richard Smith, and one Clement Grissold, nephew to the aforesaid brethren, apprehended, on the highway, Mr. Sugar for a seminary priest, as he was going with a catholic serving-man, nephew to the aforesaid three brethren, and cousin to the said Clement, who, with the constable and one John Williams, brought both him and Mr. Sugar to Mr. Burgoyne the justice, who examined them and sent them to prison at Warwick, where they lay together a whole year, and suffered imprisonment.

'And at the assizes holden at Warwick, the 13th and 14th of July, in the second year of king James's reign in England, Mr. Sugar was arraigned, and by Judge Kingsmill condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for being a seminary priest. In the morning when he was to suffer death, he said to his friends that came to visit him, Be ye all merry, for we have not occasion of sorrow, but of joy; for, although I shall have a sharp dinner, yet I trust in Jesus Christ I shall have a most sweet supper. He also desired God to forgive the judge, and all his apprehenders and persecutors. As he was drawn on the hurdle to the place of his martyrdom, he gave money to fifty poor folks, and prayed very devoutly. An English minister at the gallows asked him, How he did believe? His answer was, I believe as my mother the catholic church doth. Then he demanded of the minister, Who it was that first converted our country, when it was called Britain, to the catholic reli-

gion? To whom the minister answered, I never heard this question asked before; but who converted it say you? Mr. Sugar told him, that it was the successor of St. Peter, the apostle, viz: pope Eleutherius, who sent Damianus and Fugatius, two learned and godly men, by whom Lucius, King of Britain, and his people received the true christian catholic faith and religion. But this new religion, said he, crept into this country in the time of king Henry the VIII.

'After this he was a good while on his knees, and prayed; and that being done, he was stript to his shirt, and going up the ladder, he said, I thank God, I can climb pretty well to day. As he stood upon the ladder, he very cheerfully said to the people, Be it known unto you, good people, that I come hither to die for my conscience. The under-sheriff answered, Thou diest, not for thy conscience, but for treason. To which he replied, You do me wrong, there is none can touch me for treason; it is for conscience I die. Then a boy of about eighteen years of age put a rope about his neck. The martyr blessed the rope with the sign of the cross, saying, I came into the world with the sign of the cross, and with the sign of the cross I go out of it again. How dost thou prove that? said the under-sheriff; for thou wast not born with the sign of the cross. I make account, said Mr. Sugar, that I was not in this world as a christian till I was signed with the sign of the cross in baptism; for then I first received my spiritual birth. Afterwards the under-sheriff willed him to pray for the king. To whom he said, I never denied to pray for him, and thereupon he prayed thus; God bless the king, the queen, the young prince, and all the council; God forgive the judge, the justice, Mr. Burgoyne, and all that did apprehend me; and you too, (looking on the sheriff,) as I would that God should forgive me. Then the hangman said, I pray you good father, forgive me too. I forgive thee, boy, with all my heart, said he; then looking on the people with a cheerful countenance, he said to them, Good people, I die willingly, for I shall get a place of joy, and I beseech Jesus to receive my soul, and I beseech all the company of angels, martyrs, and saints to accompany my soul to that blessed place. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ; and I beseech God, that all that are here present may be partakers of that joy to which I am going. Then he desired our blessed Saviour to receive his soul, saying, Jesus, Jesus, receive my soul; unto which the people answered, Amen, Amen. Lastly, being asked if he was ready, viz: to die, he said, I am ready in Jesus. Thereupon he was turned off the ladder, and was cut down before he was fully dead; then he was opened, his bowels were burnt, his head was cut off, his body was quartered, and his quarters were set upon the gates of Warwick. Thus he having willingly, cheerfully, and constantly suffered death for his priestly function, and for the profession of the catholic religion of Christ, hath thereby, obtained a crown of eternal glory in heaven, for our Lord saith, Apoc. ii.—Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

He suffered, July 16th, 1604.

ROBERT GRISSOLD, OR, GRESWOLD, LAYMAN.*

ROBERT GRISSOLD, who was born at Romington, in Warwickshire, and was a servant to Mr. Sheldon, of Broadway, in Worcestershire, was, says my manuscript, simple and upright in his actions; unlearned, but enlightened with the holy ghost, feared God, hated sin, led a single life and chaste; was kind to his friends, mild in his conversation, devout in prayer, bold and constant in professing the catholic religion, and heartily loved and reverenced catholic priests. When his cousin Clement Grissold apprehended him going up the way, with Mr. Sugar, he said to him, Cousin, if you will go your way, you may: I will not, answered he, except I may have my friend with me. Then the constable, Richard Smith, or his cousin, said; That, you shall not, for he is a stranger, and I will carry him before Mr. Burgoyne: then said he, I will go with him, to Mr. Burgoyne; for he knoweth me very well; and I hope he will do my friend no wrong, when he heareth me speak. Thereupon, he went with Mr. Sugar, (who was then called Mr. Cox,) to the justice, Mr. Burgoyne, who, after examination, sent them both, to the prison of Warwick. Where Robert Grissold had occasion offered him, to get away, yet, for the love of Mr. Sugar, and zeal for martyrdom, he would not; but there, with Mr. Sugar remained a whole year, and with him, suffered imprisonment, and afterwards death.

'In the second year of king James in England, and upon the 14th day of July, at the assizes holden at Warwick, he being arraigned, was asked by the judge, Kingsmill, If he would go to church? To whom, he answered, I will not, my lord. Then thou shalt be hanged, quoth the judge. I beseech you, my lord, let me have justice, and let the country know wherefore I die. Thou shalt have justice, I warrant thee, said the judge, and the country shall know that thou diest for felony. Wherein, quoth he, have I committed felony? Thou hast committed felony, saith the judge, in being in the company, in assisting and relieving a seminary priest, that is, a traitor. I have not therein committed felony, answered he. Then a justice of peace said to him, Grissold, Grissold, go to church, or else, God judge me, thou shalt be hanged. Then God's will be done, quoth he. After that, the judge asked him again, If he would go to church? I have answered you, my lord, enough for that matter, I will not. Then thou shalt be hanged, said the judge. I crave no favour of you, my lord, in this action, answered he. What, said the judge, in a great rage, dost thou crave no favour at my hands? No, my lord, said he, I crave no favour at your hands in this action. Thereupon, the judge afterwards condemned him to be hanged for accompanying, assisting, and relieving a seminary priest; and while he pronounced judgment against him, he faultered in his speech, and trembled with his hands. The next day, after the judge had condemned him, he sent to him in his chamber, where he proferred him life, if he would promise him to go to church; which he utterly refused.

* From an ancient manuscript relation of his martyrdom, of which I have a copy sent me out of Warwickshire.

'In the morning before he suffered death, he continued an hour in prayer, and requested of all the catholics, to say a *Pater* and *Ave*, for him, in honour of God, and of St. Catharine, his patroness, that, by the intercession of that blessed virgin and martyr, he might obtain of God, courage and fortitude to suffer death. And seeing a catholic woman in the prison, weeping for his death, he said to her; Good woman, why do you weep? Here is no place of weeping, but of rejoicing; for you must come into the bridegroom's chamber, not with tears, but with rejoicing. The woman answered, I hoped you should have had your life. In do not want it now, said he, for I should be loth to lose this opportunity offered me to die; but yet God's will be done. Then a catholic maid said, It is well said, friend Robert, for it is nothing to suffer death for so good a cause. Whereupon, he said to the catholics there present, Look that ye all continue to the end.

'As he was going on foot to the gallows, one willed him to go a fair way, and not to follow through the mire, Mr. Sugar, who was drawn on the sledge before him: to whom, he made answer; I have not thus far followed him, to leave him now for a little mire. And so, through the mire, he went after him. When he came to the place of his martyrdom, for a good while, he prayed very devoutly on his knees; and athough he was by nature, so timorous and weak, that he once swooned at the sight of his thumb being only pricked with an awl, yet at the gallows, he was by the grace of the holy ghost, so much strengthened, that, at the sight of Mr. Sugar's bleeding body, when quartered, he was no way terrified; but, (on the contrary,) was so stout and courageous, that when a catholic woman stept between him and Mr. Sugar's dead body, whilst it was in quartering, lest the sight should terrify him, he took her by the arm, saying, Stand away, for I thank God, the sight doth nothing terrify me.

'Afterwards, the under-sheriff said to him, Grissold, thou dost thyself wrong; for thou art guilty of thy own death. No, quoth he, sir, you do me wrong, in keeping me so long alive after Mr. Sugar, for I should have suffered with him; and I only desire to be with him. Then seeing the halter with which he was to be hanged, lying on the ground, he was exceeding glad, and giving God thanks, he went and dipped it in Mr. Sugar's blood: and going up the ladder, he said to the people, Bear witness, good people, that I die here not for theft, nor for felony; but for my conscience. Then he freely forgave all his persecutors, and the hangman; and devoutly said his *Confitear*, often calling upon the name of Jesus. Lastly, he commended his soul into the hands of Almighty God; and so being turned off the ladder, he hanged until he was quite dead. His dead body, by the under-sheriff's permission, was buried near the gallows. And thus this blessed martyr, for the short transitory pain of death, which he willingly suffered for a work of charity, and for the professing the catholic religion, hath gotten everlasting joy in the kingdom of heaven.' So far the author of the manuscript relation of his death, who seems to have been an eye-witness of his and Mr. Sugar's sufferings, or, at least to have had his information from eye-witnesses.

He suffered July 16, 1604.

LAURENCE BAILY, LAYMAN.*

LAURENCE BAILY was a catholic layman, who was apprehended in Lancashire, for having been aiding and assisting to a priest, who had fallen into the hands of the pursuivants, and had made his escape from them. For this supposed offence he was cast into prison, where (as we are told by Molanus, in his catalogue, p, 77) he suffered much with great patience and constancy; and being brought upon his trial, was condemned to die as in cases of felony, by the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. He was executed at Lancaster, Dr. Worthington says sometime in August; but Molanus says, it was on the 16th of September, 1604.

THOMAS WELBOURN, JOHN FULTHERING, WILLIAM BROWN, LAYMEN.—1605.†

THOMAS WELBOURN was a schoolmaster, a native of Kitenbushel, in Yorkshire; and John Fulthering was a layman of the same country, who being zealous catholics, and industrious in exhorting some of their neighbours to embrace the catholic faith, were upon that account arraigned and condemned to suffer as in cases of high treason: as was also William Brown, another zealous catholic layman, a native of Northamptonshire, convicted of the same offence. They all were executed according to sentence; Mr. Welbourn and Mr. Fulthering at York, the 1st of August, 1605; Mr. Brown, at Rippon, the 5th of September, the same year.

This year, on the 5th of November, was discovered that horrible plot, commonly called gunpowder treason; by which Catesby, and some few others his accomplices designed to have blown up the parliament house; which, though it were indeed a most wicked and detestable enterprise (for which the conspirators were justly punished,) is most unjustly urged against catholics in general. For why should the wickedness of a handful of men, whose doings were both then, and ever since, abhorred by the whole body of catholics, both at home and abroad, be laid to the charge of such as had no more hand in the guilt, than the apostles had in the treason of Judas?

'Tis more than probable that this was originally a ministerial plot, set on foot by Cecil, then secretary of state. 'Some have been of opinion, says the author of the *Political Grammar*, lately published, p. 46, that the gunpowder plot in the reign of James the First, was of the same alloy, (a ministerial plot,) and the awkward manner in which the letter was sent to lord Mounteagle, the night before the execution, seems to confirm it, but much more the papers of the then minister, which have but lately appeared, by which the whole affair is brought to

* From Dr. Worthington's catalogue of martyrs, published in 1614, p. 46.
† From the catalogues of English martyrs.

light. For it is evident by those papers that the minister was acquainted with the conspirators journal from the beginning; so that he might have easily stifled the design in its infancy; but that would not quadrate with his principal design, which was, to divert king James from making any approaches towards popery,) to which he seemed to be inclinable in the minister's opinion,) by engaging some papists in a desperate and horrid plot to destroy both king and parliament. This was the original of that affair, which has filled the kingdom with astonishment for above a whole century.' So far this author, who is not the only one, nor the first by a great many, who has been of this opinion, since Mr. Osborn has informed the world long ago, p. 34, that this plot was, as he terms it, a neat device of the secretary; and king James the First, himself, was so sensible of it, that he used to call the 5th of November, Cecil's holiday.

1606.—This year, no less than forty-seven priests were, from different prisons sent into perpetual banishment; their names are recorded in the Douay diary, as follows:—

Thomas Bramston, Philip Woodward, Abraham Sutton, William Singleton, Silvester Norrice, D.D.; Richard Grisold, Thomas Burscough, Nicholas Jees, Ralph Buckland, George Stransham, Francis Stafferton, Francis Forster, Anthony Rouse, John Roberts, Henry Chaterton, Simon Potinger, Thomas Flint, Humfrey Meridale, William Clarjenet, Thomas Hodson, Thomas Thoresby, William Arton, Christopher Lassels, Charles Newport, Richard Newport, John Lloyd, Robert Bastard, Edward Dawson, Robert Walsh. (Hibern.) John Hall, Hugh Whitall, John Starkey, John Copley, Fulk Nevile, John Siclemore, George Gervase, Thomas Garnet, James Blundel, Thomas Laithwait, Thomas Stanney, Robert Bradshaw, Thomas Green, Thomas Butler, Edward Collier, N. Pierson, Andrew White, N. Nightingal.

And with them, were banished two others, not yet priests, viz.:—William Alabaster and Hugh Bowens. The same diary takes notice, December 23, that Thomas Bramston, the first named in this catalogue, died at Douay college, aged 66, after having been twenty years a prisoner in Wisbich castle for his faith, and twice banished.

HENRY GARNET AND EDWARD OLDCORNE, PRIESTS, S. J.

This year also, two priests of the society of Jesus were executed, accused of being conscious of the powder plot: viz: Henry Garnet superior of the English jesuits, and Edward Oldcorne. The former suffered in St. Paul's church-yard, May 3d, 1606: and, whatever some protestant writers have pretended to the contrary, both living and dying, ever maintained that he had no knowledge of that treasonable design, but through the channel of confession, which the catholic religion prohibits to discover. The latter suffered at Worcester, April the 7th. His accuser, and the only witness that appeared against him, was Mr.

Humfrey Littleton, one of the conspirators, hoping to save his own life by accusing a jesuit. But this same man being brought to the gallows for that crime, solemnly called God to witness, in the presence of thousands, that what he swore against father Oldcorne was utterly false, and in hopes only of saving his own life, by wrongfully accusing him; for which he begged God's and his pardon. But of these fathers, we propose to treat more at large, after we have received proper materials, in an appendix to this work.

ROBERT DRURY, PRIEST. 1607.*

Robert Drury was born of a gentleman's family in Buckinghamshire. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college, then residing at Rhemes, where he went through his course of philosophy; and partly at Valladolid, in Spain, to which place, he was sent from Rhemes with several others, in 1590, to the college lately founded in that city, by king Philip of Spain, for the education of the English clergy. Here he finished his studies, and was made priest; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission, in the year 1593. His missionary labours seem to have been chiefly in and about London, where his learning and virtue made him considered amongst his brethren.

In the year 1601, queen Elizabeth, set forth a proclamation, November 7, in which, she pleased to promise some favour to such of the clergy, as should give sufficient assurance to their allegiance to her, as their lawful queen. Upon this, some of the leading men amongst them, (one of whom was Mr. Drury,) met, and drew up a declaration, or profession of their allegiance, wherein they declared, 1st. That they acknowledged queen Elizabeth for their true and lawful sovereign, with as full power and authority, as any of her predecessors. 2dly. That they were most willing to obey her at all times, and in all cases, as far as any christian priests either in this, or any other christian kingdom, are bound by the divine law and the christian religion to obey their temporal prince; to be obedient also to her laws and magistrates, in all civil causes; and to pray to God to give her a happy and quiet reign, and after this life, eternal bliss. 3dly. They declared their abhorrence of all plots and conspiracies against the queen and state; and their readiness to defend, and to persuade all catholics, as much as in them lay, to defend her majesty's person, state, kingdom, and dominions, against all invasions, or hostile attempts, made by whomsoever, or upon what pretext soever, notwithstanding any excommunication denounced, or to be denounced against her majesty, &c. They declared nevertheless, that they acknowledged and confessed the bishop of Rome, to be the successor to St. Peter, with no less ample authority and spiritual jurisdiction over all christians than that apostle had; and that they would be obedient to his holiness in all things, as far as they were bound by the

* From the Douay diary. The bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, &c.

divine law; which they doubted not might rightly stand with that allegiance which they had professed to their temporal princess: for as they were most ready to pour forth their blood for the defence of her majesty and their country; so were they resolved to part with their lives, rather than violate the lawful authority of the catholic church of Christ. This declaration was given up to the lords of the council, by direction, signed by thirteen of the most eminent men of the secular clergy, viz: William Bishop, Dr. of Sorbon, afterwards bishop of Chalcedon; John Colleton, John Mush, Robert Charnock, John Bosville, Anthony Hebburn, Roger Cadwallador, Robert Drury, Anthony Champney, Dr. of Sorbon, John Jackson, Francis Barnaby, Oswald Needham, and Richard Button. This declaration is said to have given satisfaction to the queen and her council; though I don't find that it put a stop to the persecution, unless perhaps with regard to the subscribers in particular, none of whom were any farther prosecuted, during the remainder of that reign. But what was judged satisfactory in point of allegiance by queen Elizabeth and her council, was not, it seems, deemed so, in the following reign of king James the first. For now, a new oath of allegiance was imposed upon catholics, by which they were to abjure and detest as damnable and heretical, a doctrine relating to the pope's power; which neither the word of God, nor the church of God had condemned for such. This oath, which is said to have been contrived by Sir Christopher Perkins, a fallen jesuit, and worded on purpose in such a manner, that the catholics might be divided in their opinions about the lawfulness of it; was taken by some of the missioners, but refused by the far greater number, and prohibited by two several breves, addessed by pope Paul the fifth, to the catholics of England.

About the time of the imposing of this new oath, Mr. Drury fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was brought to his trial for being a priest, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. For this supposed treason, (for no other was objected to him,) he was condemned to die. 'Tis true he might have saved his life, if he would have complied with the new oath; but he chose rather to die, than to act against his conscience: not that he suffered death for refusing the oath, or that this refusal was by the laws punishable with death; but that being upon another account, viz: for his priesthood, sentenced to die, he had his life offered him, if he would have taken that oath, which was the case also with several other priests who suffered during this reign, who refused to save their lives by taking an oath which they judged to contain a falsehood. Mr. Drury suffered with great constancy at Tyburn, February 26, 1606–7, *Anno Ætatis*, 39, *Missionis*, 14.

MATTHEW, (ALIAS MAJOR) FLATHERS, PRIEST.—1608.*

Mr. Flathers was born at Weston, in Yorkshire, and educated in the English college or seminary of Douay. I find by the records of the college, that he was presented to the holy order of priesthood, and ordained at Arras, March 25, 1606, and that he was sent with proper faculties upon the English mission, in the company of Mr. Thomas Somers, on the last day of June of the same year. It seems he fell very soon into the hands of the adversaries of his faith and character, for I have seen his name in a catalogue of priests banished this same year, 1606. However, he quickly returned to the work of his Lord, and after labouring some time in Yorkshire, his native country, he was again apprehended and prosecuted at York for his priestly character. For this, and for his functions only, (no other treason being so much as objected to him, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He refused to save his life by taking the new oath of allegiance, as it was called, and being drawn to the common place of execution, without Mickle Bar, (a gate of York so called) he was butchered in a most barbarous manner,† for he was no sooner turned off the ladder, but immediately cut down, and rising upon his feet, attempted to walk, as one half stunned, but one of the sheriff's men quickly stopped his journey, by giving him a desperate cut on the head with his halberd; another violently flung him down, and held him fast whilst the executioner ripped up his breast, pulled out his heart, and so completed the butchery. He suffered at York, March 21, 1607–8.

GEORGE GERVASE, PRIEST, O. S. B.‡

George Gervase, or Jarvis, was born at Boseham, in Sussex. His father was a gentleman of a noted family in that country, his mother was of the ancient family of the Shelleys. He was left an orphan when he was twelve years of age, and not long after was kidnapped by a pirate, and carried away to the Indies, with two others of his brethren; where he continued for about twelve years, and quite lost his religion; at length he found means to return into England. His eldest brother, Henry, a catholic, was at this time abroad in Flanders, probably for the security of his conscience, and that he might there enjoy the free exercise of his religion. Mr. George, soon after his return, went over to make him a visit, and by his religious example, and the conversation of

* From the Douay diary, and the printed catalogues of Dr. Worthington, p. 48, and Arnoldus Raissius, p. 70.

† Statim abcisso func in terram dejectus, ipse in pedes se erexit, et ambulare attentabat; at ex lictoribus unus telo ei capitis partem abscidit; alter eum vi magna in terram prostravit, et retinuit, dum carnifex ventrem secaret et erueret, T. W. in catalogo, p. 48. Raissius, p. 71.

‡ From the Douay diary, T. W. in his catalogue, p. 45, and Raissius, p. 94.

a learned catholic divine, was reconciled to the catholic faith, and soon after became a student in the English seminary at Douay.

Here he employed about eight years in the study of virtue and learning, and being judged by his superiors duly qualified for the sacred functions, he was presented to holy orders, and passing through the usual degrees, was ordained priest in 1603; and was sent upon the English mission, August 26, 1604. Here he laboured with great benefit to the souls of his neighbours, for about two years; and then being apprehended, was, with many other priests, sent from prison into banishment, in June, 1606. In his banishment he called at Douay, and after a short refreshment there, he made a journey of devotion to Rome, to visit the tombs of the apostles. He petitioned, whilst he was at Rome, to be admitted amongst the jesuits. But this not succeeding, he returned to Douay, and there staid some months at his mother college. His brother designed to have him kept in Flanders, and had provided for him a comfortable subsistence in the city of Lisle, where he might live remote from the dangers that visibly threatened him, if he ventured to return to England; but as Mr. Gervase was under an engagement to serve the mission, and his heart and affections were there, he was not to be kept from it, either by the importunity of his friends, or the fear of dangers.

So to England he returned, and landed safe there, but was soon after apprehended and committed to prison. Here the new oath of allegiance was tendered to him, which he refused. After a few weeks he was brought upon his trial, and was condemned to be hanged, bowelled, and quartered, barely on account of his being a priest, and having exercised his priestly functions in England; which sentence was accordingly executed upon him at Tyburn, April 11, 1608, where he suffered with the faith, devotion, and courage of the primitive martyrs. At the place of execution he prayed in secret to himself, upon which some that were there desired him to pray aloud, that the people might join in prayer with him; to whom he is said to have made answer, I want not the prayers of heretics, but if there be any catholics here I earnestly beg that they would pray to God for me. He suffered in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and is said a little before his death to have privately received the habit of saint Bennet, at the hands of father Augustin Bradshaw.

Mr. Gervase's execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, in his chronicle, and by Mr. Salmon in his history, who calls him Sir George Jarvis.

THOMAS GARNET, PRIEST, S. J.*

Thomas Garnet, was son of Richard Garnet, a constant professor and great sufferer for the catholic faith, and nephew or near kinsman to father Henry Garnet, who suffered in St. Paul's church-yard,

* From father Barton's history of the English Jesuits, l. vi. chap. xiv. and father More's history of the English province, l. viii. n. 8.

May 3, 1606. After a pious education at home, under the care of his father, who, from his very birth, had vowed and dedicated him to God and his church, he was sent abroad when he was sixteen or seventeen years of age, to the seminary just then erected at St. Omer's, under the care of the fathers of the society of Jesus; and having, there, finished his humanity, he passed, in the year 1595, into Spain, to the English college of Valladolid, where he learned philosophy and divinity, and was made priest. He was sent upon the mission, in the company of Mr. Mark Barkworth, of whose glorious exit we have treated in the first part of these memoirs, and laboured with zeal in the vineyard of his Lord, for about six years, being remarkably industrious in endeavouring to bring the souls that were under his care, to a thorough sense of solid piety, and to ground them strongly in virtue.

Having been a long time desirous of entering into the society of Jesus, he was admitted by father Henry Garnet, his kinsman, then superior of the English jesuits; but before he could go beyond the seas to make his noviceship, he was apprehended and committed prisoner to the Gatehouse, and from thence was translated to the Tower. His being a kinsman of father Garnet, and having received a letter from him, was the occasion of his being strictly examined by secretary Cecil, (not without severe threats of the rack) concerning the gunpowder plot, then lately discovered; but as they could not find any manner of grounds for a suspicion of his being any way conscious of that execrable conspiracy, these threats proceeded no farther than the keeping him for eight or nine months in a close confinement, where, with lying on the bare ground, and that in the severest season of the winter, he contracted rheumatic pains, and a kind of a sciatica, which stuck by him for the remainder of his life.

From prison, he was, with many other priests, sent into banishment, in 1606; and then repaired to Louvain, where, at that time, the English jesuits had lately procured an establishment for a novitiate. Here he remained some months, giving great edification to his fellow novices, and then was sent back upon the mission; where being betrayed by one Rouse, an apostate priest, he fell again into the hands of the pursuivants. At this second apprehension, he was brought before Thomas Ravis, bishop of London; by whom, and by Sir William Wade, he was several times examined. In his examination, he neither owned nor denied himself to be a priest, but refused to take the new oath; adding, that he was of opinion, if any catholics had taken it, they did it out of fear, which he hoped would never prevail with him to act any thing against his conscience.

He was committed to Newgate, and not long after, brought upon his trial at the Old Bailey, upon an indictment of high treason, for having been made priest, by authority derived from Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. Three witnesses appeared against him, who deposed that whilst he was prisoner in the Tower, he had written in several places, Thomas Garnet, priest: upon this slender evidence, he was found guilty by his jury, and received the sentence of death with great joy: apprehending nothing so much as, lest by the interest of friends, or by any other means, he should be de-

prived of that crown, which he had now so near a prospect of, as he often professed with tears, to those who had access to him. And when some suggested to him how he might have an opportunity of making his escape, he would not make use of it; choosing rather to obey a voice within, which said to him, *noli fugere*, don't run away.

When he was called forth to the hurdle, he obeyed the summons with a remarkable courage and cheerfulness: and laid himself down, more like one that was going to his marriage-feast, than to suffer a cruel and ignominious death. There was a great concourse of people, and many of the nobility and gentry at the place of execution; amongst the rest, the earl of Exeter, one of the privy-council: who endeavoured to persuade the confessor to save his life, by taking the oath; alledging that several priests had taken it, and that many more looked upon it a disputable matter, in which faith was not concerned; why, therefore, should he be so stiff, and not rather embrace the offer of the king's clemency, by conforming as others had done. Father Thomas replied, My lord, if the case be so doubtful and disputable, how can I, in conscience, swear to what is doubtful, as if it were certain? No, I will not take the oath, though I might have a thousand lives.

Upon this, being ordered to get up into the cart, he cheerfully complied, and kissed the gallows, as the happy instrument which was to send him to heaven. He then professed that he was a priest, and a member of the Society of Jesus, though the least and most unworthy: that he had not indeed acknowledged this at his trial, not out of any fear of death, but that he might not be his own accuser, or put his judges under a necessity of condemning him against their conscience: that he had spent the nine years of his missionary labours in assisting and comforting the persecuted catholics, and in bringing back the sheep that were gone astray, to the fold of Christ; but as for any treasonable designs against the king or kingdom, he had never entertained any, nor ever been conscious to any. A minister that was there, asked him, If there was no equivocation in what he said? The confessor replied, No, sir; for if I had been minded to use equivocations, I might have taken the oath and saved my life: which oath I did not decline out of any unwillingness to profess my allegiance to the king, which I offered to do, and for that end, produced at my trial, a form of an oath of allegiance, drawn up according to what was looked upon satisfactory in the days of our forefathers, to which I was willing to swear: but this new oath is so worded, as to contain things quite foreign to allegiance, to which in my opinion, no catholic can, with a safe conscience, swear.

Then crossing his hands before his breast, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, He looked upon this as the most happy day of his life, and himself most happy in being to die in so good a cause: and heartily prayed to God, that he would turn away his wrath from this nation, and not lay his death to their charge: and, in particular, that he would forgive all those who had any ways concurred to his condemnation, and that he might one day see them happy with him in heaven. After which, he recited the Lord's prayer, the Hail Mary, and the creed. Then having begun the hymn *Veni Creator*, when he came to those

words, *sermone ditans guttura*, the cart was drawn away, and he was left hanging, till he had given up his pious soul into the hands of his Creator. For the people that were present, and my lord Exeter, in particular, would not permit the rope to be cut, till he was quite dead. He suffered at Tyburn, June 23, 1608, *Anno Ætatis* 34. His execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, Collier, Salmon, &c.

The year 1609, passed without the shedding of any catholic blood for religious matters: a thing the more to be remarked, because the like had not happened since the year 1580.

1610.—In February, 1610, I find in B. W's. manuscript, concerning the English Benedictine congregation, that F. Sigebert Buckley, the last surviving monk of the abbey of Westminster, departed this life, in the 93d year of his age: after having endured forty years persecution for the catholic faith, always shut up in one prison or another.

ROGER CADWALLADOR, PRIEST.*

This gentleman, who was commonly known upon the mission by the name of Rogers, was born at Stretton, near Sugeres, "Sugwas," in Herefordshire. His father was a yeoman, a man of substance, and Roger was his eldest son and heir; but yet he could by no means, be brought to follow the world, but even from a boy, was very assiduous in serving God, and learning his book, wherein, he surpassed most of his school-fellows. His desire of improving himself in religion and study, carried him beyond the seas, where he entered himself a student in Douay college, at that time residing at Rhemes. Of this college, he was an Alumnus, and having made great progress in learning and virtue, he received there most of his orders. For I find him in the Douay diary, ordained sub-deacon at Rhemes, Sept. 21, 1591, and deacon, Feb. 24, 1592. In the August following, he was sent into Spain, to the college lately erected at Valladolid, where he finished his studies, and was made priest; and from thence, returned home, to labour in the vineyard of his Lord, about the year 1594.

He is taken notice of by Dr. Pits, for his rare genius for learning, and great knowledge in the Greek tongue, out of which, he translated Theodoret's Philotheus, or the lives of the fathers of the Syrian deserts, which work of his is extant in print. He had also, a great talent for controversy. His labours in England, were employed in his own country of Herefordshire, where, he deservedly gained the character of a pious, prudent, and zealous missioner: and God was pleased to bless his labours with great success, in winning over many souls to Christ and his church; especially among the poorer sort, for whose comfort, and spiritual assistance, he spared no pains, night or day; usually per-

* From two manuscript relations sent me from Douay; gathered partly out of his own letters, partly from the testimony of the reverend Mr. John Stevens, a neighbouring missioner, and other unexceptionable witnesses. Item, from the Douay diary, and from Dr. Pits, de scriptoribus, &c., in Rog. Cadwallador.

forming his journies on foot. And this apostolic kind of life he continued for about 16 years.

'This venerable priest, says my manuscript relation of his sufferings, was apprehended on Easter day, 1610, "at the house of Mrs. Winefride Scroope, widow" within eight miles of Hereford, by James Prichard, the under sheriff of that county; and brought, first, to the high sheriff, and then to the bishop of the diocese, "Robert Bennet," who, having long thirsted after his innocent blood, seemed extraordinarily glad of his apprehension.

'In his examination before the bishop, being asked what he was? He answered, That this was not a fit interrogation: alledging, that a man should, by right, rather be examined what he had done or committed: and in that, also, he craved the favour which all just laws allow, that they would not go about to wrest matters from himself against himself, having not so much as one accuser, to charge him with any thing. This answer not serving his turn, and the bishop still continuing to beg him upon his conscience, to confess whether he was a priest: he acknowledged, (without more ado,) both his priesthood and his right name. Adding, That he presumed his being a priest, would make nothing against him; especially, in the presence of a bishop, whom it did greatly concern to maintain and defend the dignity of priesthood. For, my lord, said he, either you must yield yourself properly to be a priest, or I can safely prove that you are no bishop. Which, he offered to make good, if they would bring him books, plentifully citing contents out of the fathers, fit for his purpose. But the books, they would not bring, to decide the contention. Only the bishop seemed much to insist upon this one point, that Christ was the only sacrificing priest of the New Testament, in that proper signification (of the name priest,) which is not common to all christians; so to free himself from being a priest. Which made the blessed martyr return him this witty answer. Make that good, I pray you, my lord, for so you will prove that I am no more a priest than other men, and consequently, no traitor or offender against your law. To which, the bishop being able to make no solid reply; one Holkins, that was sent to cover the bishop's disgrace, spoke to this effect. I assure you, my lord, it is strange to see the alacrity and courage of those kind of men; I heard his majesty with his own mouth say in this present parliament, that the number and courage of this kind of men is so great, that if I should, (quoth he,) put them to death, as often as they fall into my hands, I believe I should never have done.

'Then was the disputation turned into a scoffing, at his not shaving his head and beard, and at his going like a layman in attire: although his dress were not so light, or any way so fantastical as might give any just cause of offence; yet they spared not to make sport with a little silk point which tied his hose about his knee. Lastly, the bishop being angry to see his answers so little regarded, (the good man ever smiling to see them so forward,) thought it best to use the force of his authority, where his arguments seemed feeble. Whereupon, asking whether he would take the oath of allegiance, and he refusing it, he

committed him to prison, giving his keeper strict orders to look narrowly to him; thundering out threats against him, in case he should escape.

The charge was not more strictly given by the bishop, than put in execution by the keeper, who loaded him with irons, both night and day. At first he made him wear a great bolt, besides the heaviest shackles the prison could afford: and when after a while, by reason of his sickness, (as it may seem,) it was thought fit to ease him of his bolt; yet they would never take away his shackles, but added now and then, another pair. Insomuch that when he was to be removed from Hereford jail to Leominster, though he was forced to go all the way on foot, feeble and weak as he was with bad usage and sickness together, yet could he not obtain to be free from shackles in his journey; but it was thought a sufficient favour that a boy was permitted to go by his side, to bear up by a string the weight of some iron-links which were wired to the shackles.

'Besides this, when he was condemned to die, which was some months before his martyrdom, he was chained every night to the bed-post with an iron-chain. Yea, one day the keeper led him into an obscure and loathsome place, and left him there chained to a post, where he had no place to sit or ease himself, and no more liberty to walk than the length of the chain allowed him, which was but two yards at most: where he continued till the keeper's wife, moved with compassion, came in her husband's absence to let him loose.

'In his sickness, the keeper and his wife had no care to afford him any comfort; but rather were vigilant to bar him of all solace that catholics did offer: insomuch that when his brother's wife came to bring him some small thing—she could not have access, but was reviled by the keeper's wife with many opprobrious words, as his concubine, among other bad terms, protesting she would fling what was provided out into the streets, rather than the sick priest should have it. Yea, instead of human comfort, they daily heaped upon him grievances; sometimes giving out that he had yielded, and promised to recant if he might have a benefice. All which, the good man did patiently endure, though he never gave the least occasion to such malicious slanders.

'In the extremity of his sickness, he was summoned on a sudden to a second dispute before the bishop; and made to rise out of his bed all in a sweat, so that he swooned before he could get out of doors; and yet in that distress he was brought to dispute with the bishop and his doctors, who were prepared for him with a cart-load of books, observing, as may be thought, on purpose this time of advantage over him. He answered little; but being pressed about the marriage of priests, could not forbear saying; Their ministers might marry as well as other laymen; and if the catholic church did debar her clergy from marriage, why should that grieve them, whom the prohibition did no ways concern? And though the bishop made some appearance of being displeased at his man, for bringing him before him in that

plight; yet when the good man pleaded his indisposition he was not regarded.'

Mr. Cadwallador was condemned barely on account of his priestly character, no other treason being laid to his charge. He wrote several letters in prison, one to Mr. Birket the archpriest. Another to Mr. John Stevens, a neighbouring missioner, recommending to them the care of his flock. Other letters also of much edification, he wrote to other friends, in the midst of manifold sufferings. In one of which, written, as it seems, when he was now near his crown, he delivers himself thus:

'Comfort yourselves, my friends, in this, that I die in an assurance of salvation; which if you truly love me, as you ought to do, should please you better, than to have me alive a little while among you, for your content, and then to die with great uncertainty, either to be saved or damned. If the manner of my death be shameful, yet not more than my Saviour's was: if it be painful, yet not more than my Saviour's was. Only have you care to persevere in God's true faith and charity; and then we shall meet again to our greater comfort, that shall never end. Fare ye well.'

The particulars of his death are thus related in the same manuscript, which we have quoted above. 'The long-desired day wherein he was to suffer, being come at last, he and his bed-fellow Mr. Powel, a lay-catholic prisoner, left their beds by three o'clock in the morning, and were on their knees in prayer till eight; at which time, and all the day after, the resort of people that came to see him, was very great; whose streaming tears, being only strangers to him, gave evident signs of their compassion; many of them protesting, that they would undertake to go barefoot many a hundred miles to do him any good: for which their good-will, he courteously and kindly thanked them: acquainting them how glorious a thing he looked upon it to die for Christ and the catho-faith.

'Having spent most of the morning in spiritual preparation, (for his end,) about ten o'clock he took some corporal food, viz: a little comfortable broth; and calling for a pint of claret-wine and sugar, on occasion of a friend that was come to visit him, he made use of the words of bishop Fisher, in the like case, as he said, when he was taking a cordial, before the like combat of death; fortitudinem meam ad te domine custodiam, Saying in English, he took it to make himself strong to suffer for God. Then, as if he had been to go to a feast, he put on his wedding garment, (viz: a new suit of clothes,) which a friend had provided for him, from top to toe, whom he requited with a good and godly exhortation, counselling him to persevere till death in the catholic faith, and giving him directions to bestow twelve pence of his money on the porter, for he kept two shillings in his own pocket to bestow on him that was to lead and drive the horse, when he went to execution.

'Some half an hour before the time of his suffering, the keeper, for a farewell, used all his art and cunning to make him distempered with passion, but found him so well fenced with patience, that it was all in vain. So he remained in readiness, expecting the coming of the sheriff

to conduct him to the place of execution, which happened to be about four o'clock in the afternoon. At which time the under-sheriff came, accompanied, among others, with the executioners, who were a couple of masons, clad in long garments, all in black, and their faces covered with the same, which made them seem ugly and dreadful. The champion of Christ, nothing daunted at the sight, at his first coming out of the doors, cheerfully viewed all the company, demanding what was to be done? The under-sheriff made answer, Nothing, sir, if you please, for if you will but take the oath of allegiance here, you may save us labour, and yourself much pain; which he constantly refusing to perform, the under-sheriff replied, That then he was to die, and directed him to lie down upon the hurdle. But he seemed loth to concur any way himself to his own death, insinuating, that others rather should execute that office: which those two black hell-hounds quickly did, stretching him on the hurdle, and with cords, fastened him thereto.

'Being thus bound to the hurdle, he made the sign of the cross as well as he could, and quietly betook himself to some heavenly contemplation, continuing in it all the way to the place of execution, and for about a quarter of an hour after his coming thither. Then the under-sheriff thinking he did but delay, and seek to prolong the time, interrupted his devotion, making proffer of life again, if he would take the oath, which he refusing, the under-sheriff said, Then, Lord have mercy on you. Being taken off the hurdle, and brought within sight of the gallows, and the block whereon he was to be quartered, they showed him these and other instruments of death, leading him between two great fires, the one prepared to burn his heart and bowels, the other to boil his head and quarters; and thinking the sight of these did somewhat terrify him, they promised him once more that none of them should touch him if he would take the oath; but his christian courage made him persist in his resolution of dying in that quarrel. And yet, after he had prayed awhile at the foot of the ladder, being wished to make haste, for that night approached, to give satisfaction to some gentlemen present, that often inculcated to him the taking of the oath, he openly protested, that he acknowledged and held his majesty that now is, to be the true and lawful king of this realm, and other his dominions, and that he was very willing to swear to him all true allegiance that is, to be true unto him as far as the law of God and conscience did oblige any subject to his sovereign. Whereupon some gentlemen present applauded this his protestation, wishing him to proceed forward to the rest of the oath, &c. No, said the martyr, there is secret poison in the sequel. The gentlemen laboured by many words to persuade him the contrary; and that in the contents of the oath there was no denial meant of the pope's spiritual authority, but only a mere acknowledgment of allegiance to the sovereign prince. Then one Richardson, a minister, importuning him to give his opinion about the oath, he answered, it was a matter of no great importance what his private opinion was; and that they should rather regard what was the sentiment of the church, and that his swearing would neither diminish the pope's real authority, nor increase the king's.

'Being helped up the ladder, he began to signify to the people, that

he was brought there to die for the catholic faith, and for that he was a priest; and for coming over to his country to minister the sacraments to God's children, and to reduce the seduced, that were gone astray, from their errors to the right paths of salvation. And then comforting himself with these words of St. Peter, (1 Peter, iv.) Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as a coveter of others' things; but if as a christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this name. He was interrupted by Richardson, the minister, saying, he misapplied the place of scripture, being to suffer for treason in the highest degree. To whom the martyr mildly replied, You mistake, sir, I was condemned only for being a priest, and it is apparent by the public proffers which have been made me, if I would condescend to take the new oath, that I am not guilty of treason in the highest degree. Then he went forward, desiring the people to bear him witness that he died as a priest for the catholic cause, and begging, that if any catholics were present, they would say a Pater-noster with him privately, if publicly they durst not, for fear of discovering themselves.

'The Pater-noster and Ave Maria being ended, and the minister asking, Whether he would say a Pater with him? he smilingly answered, You shall first yield to say one with me. When the unskilful executioner went to put the halter about his neck, he seemed to receive it very patiently, as the yoke of his master, saying, he freely forgave his executioner, and all others that were accessory to his death; but Robert Bennet, by name, meaning the bishop, whose finger being deepest in his blood, yet he said he wished him a higher place in heaven than himself. He desired also of God that he might be the last that should be forced to die in England for defence of the catholic faith, and that his blood might serve, by the grace and merits of Christ, to blot and wipe out of memory whatever stain or blemish was come to his country in this cause, by the loose and scandalous lives of any that went in the name of catholic priests.

'Then he betook himself to his private prayers till the executioner came to turn the ladder; at which time he said aloud, five or six times, In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. And lastly, *Domine accipe spiritum meum.* Lord receive my spirit. He hung very long, and in extraordinary pain, by reason that the knot, through the unskilfulness of the hangman, came to be directly under his chin, serving only to pain, and not to despatch him. Insomuch, that when the people were persuaded that he was thoroughly dead, he put up his hand to the halter, as if he had either meant to show how his case stood, or else to ease himself; but bethinking himself better, and perhaps a scruple coming into his head to concur to hasten his own death; he had scarce touched the halter, but that he presently pulled away his hand. And within the space of a *Pater-noster* after, he lifted up his hand again to make the sign of the cross; which made all the standers by, much amazed; and some of the vulgar, desirous to rid him of his pain, lifted him upwards by the legs twice or thrice, letting him fall again, with a swag. Then after a little rest, when they thought him quite dead, he was cut down; but when he was brought to the block to be quartered,

before the bloody butcher could pull off his doublet, he revived and began to breathe; which the multitude perceiving, began to murmur; which made the under-sheriff cry out to the executioner to hasten: but before they had stripped him naked, he was come to a very perfect breathing. It was long after they had opened him before they could find his heart, which, notwithstanding, panted in their hands when it was pulled out. As soon as the head was cut off, one of the sheriff's men lifted it up on the point of his halbert, expecting the applause of the people, who made no sign that the fact was pleasing to them. Nay, they that were present were struck at the sight, and said, This priest's behaviour and death would give great confirmation to all the papists of Herefordshire: which saying fell out to be true: for it ministered to them great courage and comfort.' So far my old manuscript.

Here is added in another hand, 'He used travel much a-foot, and living commonly amongst the poorer sort, both endured much, and did exceeding great good, converting very many.—He was a very zealous reformer of evil manners, and sought this, by all means whatsoever, in all. One noble saying, I heard reported of him was, that a notable person coming unto him in his sickness, and he lying on his bed with his shackles on his legs, shaking them, he said to him,—That the high priest of the old law had little bells about the rim of his vestment; and I stirring my legs say, *Audi domine; hæc sunt tintinabula mea:* Hear O Lord, these are my little bells. Signifying, belike, that these were as acceptable to God as that sound of the little bells.—Mr. Cadwallador suffered at Leominster, or Lemster, in Herefordshire, August 27, anno 1610. Ætatis suæ 43.

GEORGE NAPPIER, PRIEST.*

George Nappier was born in Oxford, and there performed his grammar studies. From thence he passed over to Douay, or Rhemes, and became a student in the English college. Whilst he was here, among many other rare examples of virtue which he gave, his charity for his neighbours was particularly taken notice of; when in the time of a plague, two of his fellow-students being seized with the infection, he voluntarily took upon him to attend them, and to take care of them, not without evident danger of his own life; for he was also, himself, quickly seized by the contagion. But this sickness was not unto death, for all three, by the mercy of God, soon after recovered. Having finished his studies, and received his orders in 1596, he resided for some time at Antwerp; and from thence, in 1503, being the first year of king James the First, he passed over into England. Dr. Worthing-

* From T. W. and Raissius in their printed catalogues. But chiefly from a manuscript relation by a fellow prisoner, which I have met with in Mr. Knaresborough's collections.

ton in his catalogue gives this short account of his conduct, during the seven years of his mission in England, that he was remarkably laborious in gaining souls to God. *Strenuam navavit lucrandis animabus operam*, p. 51. In the year 1610, he fell into the hands of the persecutors. The particulars of his seizure, and of what passed from that time till his death, are here abridged from a manuscript, penned by a catholic gentleman, who was a fellow-prisoner with him in Oxford jail.

A true Relation of the Martyrdom of Mr. George Nappier, &c., in a Letter to a Clergyman.

My Rev. Friend,

According to your request, I have here set down all the particulars that befel Mr. Nappier, from the time of his apprehension, until his exit out of this world.

And first, I have heard him say, that he had made it his prayer to God, that if by the disposition of divine Providence he should fall into the enemies' hands, he might not be taken in his friend's house, because of the penalty of the laws against harbourers of priests—and it seems that God was pleased to hear his prayer. For being seen by a young fellow to go into a catholic woman's house, on the 18th of July, towards evening, the knave ran in great haste to the vicar's house, to give notice and concert measures with him for seizing the priest.

The informer met with a cold reception at the first, the parson's daughter flatly refusing to tell whether her father was at home; and the mother being no less reserved, and unwilling to let the man come under her roof.—Some few days before, it seems, a quarrel had happened between this blade and the person; so that his furious knocking at the door, and calling for the vicar in haste, with such disorder in his looks and speech, joined to the fright that both mother and daughter were in from a dream of the latter the night before, that her father was murdered, affected the good women in such manner, that they held fast the door and refused him entrance. The fellow perceived the mistake, and bid them be easy, for that he came upon another sort of an errand, to do a piece of good service to the church, and assist the vicar in seizing a popish priest just gone into one of his parishioner's houses. Upon this they began to listen to the man, and the parson was called down; who commended the young man's zeal, but was of opinion that nothing was to be done that night, but that they would take care to have him secured early in the morning; and accordingly a constable was engaged to be ready for that purpose,

Mr. Nappier having assisted the family, and performed his devotions very early, according to the custom of those times, took his leave, and was making the best of his way on foot, (his usual way of travelling,) through the enclosures, supposing all quiet at that early hour, when to his great surprise, two or three sturdy young fellows came up hastily towards him, and bad him stand. You must go back with us, says one; You are a priest, says another, we will have you

before a justice. The good man made no words on it, but went quietly with them.

And first, they charged the constable with him, and bade him carry him before Sir Francis Eves. When he came, the justice ordered the constable to search him. It must be here observed, that Mr. Nappier had his *pix* with him, and in it, two consecrated hosts—and as he owned to me several times, when he heard Sir Francis give the constable orders to search, he was under the greatest concern, for fear lest the blessed sacrament should fall into their hands, and be exposed to some profane or sacrilegious treatment. And he farther assured me, not without tears in his eyes, that whereas the search was most strict, even so far, that his shoes were pulled off in the presence of the justice, that nothing might escape them. And, whereas also, in searching of his pockets, the constable, to his feelings, had his hands many times, both upon the *pix*, and upon a small reliquary, yet neither of them were discovered, to the great surprise and no less joy of the good man. A passage he never spoke of during his confinement, without blessing and praising the divine goodness for this merciful, may I not venture to term it with him, even miraculous preservation? For after all their labour, they only found his breviary, his holy oils, a needle-case, thread, and thimble. Sir Francis said he was but a poor priest, and I verily believe, says he, no great statesman, and bade the constable take him into his custody, and look well to him. The constable replied, He should take a special care of his not making his escape, and would, therefore, set him in the stocks, till his worship should otherwise dispose of him. But Sir Francis forbade him, and ordered the constable to let him have a bed, and what else he called for,—and Sir Francis used him very kindly at his own house, as did my lady. 'She provided me a mess of good broth, said Mr. Nappier, for my supper; and in the morning, when I was again brought before Sir Francis, in order to receive my mittimus, my lady provided for me a mess of milk, with cinnamon and sugar, for my breakfast; and that being the 20th of July, they carried me to Oxford jail.

The prisoner was brought to the bar the next assizes, which happened soon after his commitment, and was tried before Mr. Justice Crook, upon an indictment of high treason, for taking priestly orders by authority derived from Rome, and remaining in England, contrary to the laws.

The judge asked him whether he was a priest? The prisoner answered, If he were such, the law did not compel him to discover himself; but if, my lord, says he, you have witnesses to prove me a priest, let them be called.—Once more the judge said to him, Will you deny that you are a priest? Mr. Nappier replied, if any man will prove me in orders, let the court produce him; and then, my lord, I shall submit to the penalty of the law. The judge then directed his discourse to the jury in these, or the like words Gentlemen, you hear the prisoner will not deny himself to be a priest: and, therefore, you may certainly believe he is a priest. For my part, if he will but here say that he is no priest, I will believe him. But indeed, these instruments of his priestly functions, "the oil boxes," do plainly show him to be

in orders; and, therefore, you have evidence sufficient, that he is guilty of the indictment. Upon which, the prisoner was brought in guilty, by the jury.

His relations made great interest to obtain a reprieve for him, and his execution was respited till the month of November, and, probably speaking, had not some back friends, more especially, the vice-chancellor of Oxford and some others, interposed, his reprieve might have been continued from time to time, and he either transported, or permitted to languish away his life in durance, as many others had done before him. But two faults he was guilty of, which according to the divinity of these men, were crimes unpardonable. There was a poor wretch tried at the same assizes for felony, and found guilty, whose name was Falkner. Some few days before his execution, he was reconciled by Mr. Nappier, and had all the helps that a dying man could expect, as far as circumstances of time and place would allow. In short, at the gallows, the matter was discovered, the poor man declared himself a catholic, abjured the errors of his former religion, as well as begged pardon of God, and of all the world for the sins of his past life; and with great appearances of repentance, and a devout behaviour, submitted himself to the executioner.

The people stormed; the ministers threw all the blame upon the condemned priest, made a heavy route, called for justice, and went straight away to Abington, to make complaint to the judges. The high sheriff and vice-chancellor were ordered to examine into the fact, and lay before their lordships, a true account of the whole proceedings, with the names of the persons concerned in the perversion of this poor fellow. Mr. Nappier was sent for to Christ Church, and strictly examined by the vice-chancellor and the high sheriff, about the whole affair. To these, he gave this fair account: that he had no discourse nor acquaintance with Falkner, till they had both received sentence of death; and he was removed from his former chamber to the condemned hole, where he found the said Falkner. 'Here he applied to me, (said Mr. Nappier,) for my advice and instruction, how to make a happy end, and save his soul. I was glad of the opportunity, encouraged him in his resolutions, and, on my part, endeavoured, by all proper means to improve these pious motions of the holy spirit, in order to bring him to a true repentance and confession of his sins.' In a word, Mr. Nappier told him, without more ado, that he was the person, whom God had pleased to make use of, for reconciling the poor wretch to him and his church, and, that as he was the only person concerned, he desired that no other might be questioned or troubled about it

The high sheriff and vice-chancellor gave him to understand, that they were to lay this whole matter before the judges, who were highly displeased with what they had already heard, and that as soon as they had received this farther confirmation by his owning the fact before them, they persuaded themselves it would put a stop to the reprieve, and hasten his execution. 'Their will be done, says Mr. Nappier, I did nothing but what I thought a strict duty, and so far I am from repining any ways at what is done, that if you please, Mr. Vice-chancellor, with my hearty commendations to my good lord judges, you may as-

sure them, that if they will come back to Oxford, and give me the same opportunity, I will do as much for their lordships.'

The vice-chancellor asked him, whether he would take the oath of allegiance? he told him with all his heart, as far as it related to the obedience due to princes in temporals only; and would acknowledge upon oath, if he pleased, that king James was his liege sovereign, and that he was vested with as much authority over all his subjects, catholics as well as protestants, as any of his predecessors whatsoever. They insisted upon his taking the oath of allegiance, as set forth in the act of parliament, and upon this condition they promised him his life should be saved. But this he refused. Then they persuaded him to peruse Mr. Blackwell's treatise of the lawfulness of this oath, and the vice-chancellor called for the book. Mr. Nappier took it, and gave it a reading, but some few days after sent back the book, and told Mr. vice-chancellor, that he still continued in his former resolution, the oath of allegiance, as it stood worded, he would not take.

It was soon after noised about, that Mr. Nappier was to be executed in a few days. However, nothing was done till the return of the judges from their circuits. Then indeed judge Crook, (as the report then went,) managed matters in such sort with the council, that a warrant was sent to the high sheriff for the execution of the prisoner. But here, by the unwearied endeavours of his relations, his majesty was again petitioned, and another short reprieve was obtained till the 9th of November, upon condition, that in the interem he should confer with the vice-chancellor and other learned divines. The vice-chancellor happening to be at London during most of the time, Dr. Hammond and the pro-proctor had instructions to discourse with Mr. Nappier upon the subject of the oath of allegiance, &c. And it is said of him, that these conferences were managed with so much calmness, humility, and candour on the part of the prisoner, that these gentlemen were not a little moved with his meek and modest behaviour, and made their report in such favourable terms, as plainly showed their great unwillingness to have him suffer.

Some few days before the expiration of the reprieve, the vice-chancellor returning, sent again to have the prisoner brought before him, and interrogated him upon the old chapter, was he yet disposed to take the oath of allegiance? The prisoner offered him a draft of an oath of fidelity, which he was ready to take. But the vice-chancellor told him in plain terms, that nothing would satisfy but the parliamentary oath. If he would take this, he would use his best endeavours to save him, and not otherwise.

On Thursday, the 8th of November, the discourse was revived, that he was to die, and that the next day. The report was brought to the catholic gentleman, prisoner in the same jail, and the good man himself was not kept in ignorance. A special friend of his, "a priest," sent him word that day, that he purposed to sup with him. Mr. Nappier understood the message; and as this confirmed him in his opinion that his dissolution was at hand, so it extremely rejoiced him to have the comfort of a priest, and the benefit of the church's absolution to prepare him for his death. He shut himself up under a stricter confinement

upon this notice, and employed the remainder of the day in devotion; but withal desired his fellow-prisoner, "the writer of this relation," to order a breast of mutton for supper, and to invite two poor catholics to sup with him, which was done accordingly.

Thus far we have only abridged the account given by this catholic gentleman. What follows is set down in his own words, copied from the original.

'Little did he eat at supper, only a piece of pigeon-pie, and after, a few stewed prunes, which one of his sisters had brought him; and very merry he was that evening. And being at supper I said unto him, Mr. Nappier, if it be God's holy will that you should suffer, I do wish with all my heart, that it be to-morrow, it being Friday, and said, that our Saviour did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples on Thursday at night, and suffered the Friday following, and therefore I wish, if you must die, it might be to-morrow. He answered me very sweetly, saying, Welcome by God's grace; and I pray God I may be constant, praying us all to pray for him. And thus much I must let you understand, that every time that he heard news that he should suffer, he would give to some poor body that was catholic, some of his clothes, and I would say unto him, methinks you might make reservation of them again, if you should not die; he would say unto me, Oh no, for I have more upon my back than I brought into the world, and if I live, I will put myself to God's providence. And truly if he had lived he had left himself little more than he brought into the world, for he had given almost all away. After supper he and the other good men withdrew themselves to a secret place to confer on some special matters, and when they had made an end, they took their leaves of one another, and so did all the company, and every man to his chamber.

'The next day being Friday, and the 9th of November, about six in the morning, the under-sheriff sent to the keeper's wife, and willed her to let Mr. Nappier know, that he should prepare himself to die, for that was the day, between one and two in the afternoon, that he should be executed. The poor woman took it very grievously, and fell a crying, and came to me. I hearing her cry much, marvelled what the matter should be, and came and met her at my chamber-door, and asked what the matter was? who answered me crying, Oh, the blessed man must die this day, and I cannot find in my heart to go tell him of it. I answered her again, welcome by God's grace; for now I am assured it is God's will to have it so, and therefore I will go unto him myself, to let him understand the news. And so I went to his chamber, and knocking at his door, he came and opened it, and I saluted him, and asked him how he did? And he answered me, saying, Well, I thank almighty Jesus. And I asked him how he slept in the night? and he said very well, I thank God. Then I said unto him, that the bell had tolled, and rung out also: and he asked me what I meant by those speeches? I said unto him again, that now he must put on his armour of proof, for he must fight that day a great battle. He took me into his arms and embraced me, saying, it was the best news that ever was brought unto him, and I was most heartily welcome for declaring of it unto him, saying further, that he found himself

cleansed, he hoped, from all the rust which had troubled him long before. And as I thought he rejoiced much, and asked me if he might not serve God, "say mass," that day? I said, the day was far spent, but if it pleased him I would go and make all things ready; and he prayed me to do so, for he was ready: and surely methought he did celebrate that day, as reverently in all his actions, and with as much sweet behaviour, as ever I saw him in all my life; for I did take special notice of him; he showed no fear in any respect; and when he had made an end, and all things were laid aside, he fell to his devotions; and by the end of our service many scholars were come into the castle-yard, and into the court. And after he had prayed some hours, I came unto him, and asked him if I should send for some comfortable thing for him to drink? and he answered me, no; saying, he would neither eat nor drink, hoping in his Saviour, that he should have a sumptuous banquet shortly. And after a little stay, I considered that his time drew somewhat near, I came unto him again, and put him in mind of shifting him with a fair shirt, and he said, he would willingly do so: and then I made him a fire, and warmed his shirt, and coming down to put on his shirt, he made a step down amongst the poor prisoners, and did distribute some money amongst them; and coming up again, he brought a piece of silver of half a crown, and some money besides, and laid it in my chamber window: and I asked him what he would do with that piece of silver, having the picture of St. George? and he told me, that he would give it to the executioner for his pains; and the rest he would give to some poor people; and so he did. And when he had put on his clean shirt, he fell to his prayers again. He had prayed but a short time when a couple of scholars, masters of arts, and I think one of them was a minister, came in; and they began to offer some speeches to him concerning the oath of allegiance; he prayed them to give him leave, and to let him prepare himself, for he had not long to stay: and it stood upon him to call to mind all his reckonings, which he was to make to his Lord and Master; and therefore with most mild and sweet words he entreated them not to trouble him; and they, like honest-minded men, stayed their speeches, seeming to be sorry for him. And then the pro-proctor cometh to the castle to speak with him, and he sent the keeper to bring Mr. Nappier to him: he staying in the chamber with divers other scholars, and some others besides: and the blessed man being come unto him, he began to use some speeches to him, to persuade him to take the oath. But the good man prayed him to give him leave to spend that little time, which was lent him in prayer. And so kneeled down at a round table, and prayed a little. But the under-sheriff willed him to make him ready, for all things were almost ready for the execution. And then he rose up and went into a little chamber hard by, and put on a white waistcoat, &c., and being apparelled to the end that the law appointed, he came again into the keeper's chamber, and I meeting my keeper, he asked me, if I had taken my leave of him? I answered, I would willingly see him again. And he willed me to go up with him, and I should see him; and so I went with him into his chamber; and as I was coming in, the blessed man was about to kneel down, and seeing me, he staid; and I pressed

through the scholars and came unto him, and kneeling down he blessed me, and rising up again, he embraced me and kissed me. And I heard the pro-proctor ask, who I was? and one answered him, that I was a gentleman, and a prisoner for my conscience. And then the blessed man began to kneel down, and the proctor said to him, Mr. Nappier, shall I pray with you? and he answered him in these words, oh, no, good Mr. Proctor, you and I are not of one religion, and therefore may not pray together. Then the proctor asked him again, saying, shall I pray for you? The blessed man said unto him, I would to God you were in a state of grace to pray for me. And then he kneeled down, and I kneeled by him, and I think he said but one pater-noster, for I could say but one, and presently the under-sheriff called very earnestly to come away: and so prostrating himself on the ground he kissed it, and rose up, and made the sign of the cross, and went forward to the dungeon door, where the hurdle staid for him. And coming by the proctor, the proctor said unto him, Mr. Nappier, if you will yet take the oath of allegiance, I make no doubt of your life. He spoke unto him, and said, good Mr. Proctor, do not wrong me when I am gone, for I know many speeches will go of me; and now I say again unto you, that I have prayed most heartily for the king, the prince, and all his children, as any subject he hath in the world; and will yield him as much power and authority, as ever any prince had or ought to have.' And then the hangman came unto him and asked him forgiveness, and the blessed man said and embraced him, I most lovingly forgive thee, and for a pledge, I have willed one of the sheriff's men to give thee some silver; and the hangman said he had received it, and thanked him for it. And so he being called for again, he went forward, and coming down to the stairs foot, the door was open, and I followed him; and he seeing the hurdle, most willingly went himself and laid him down with a lively courage, having blessed himself: he had not so much as a thread to bind him, which I think never none but was bound, saving himself. And then they offered to draw forward, and one of the pins of the trace broke, so they staid till it was fastened: and the people were so unreasonable in pressing themselves to see him, that they pressed me down twice upon the hurdle: and then I called to the proctor to command them to give back; and then I took both his hands in my hands, and prayed God to comfort him, and looking upon me he prayed God to bless me; and with much ado, I got from the throng of the people. And more than this, I cannot set down of my own knowledge. What follows is the report of Mr. Charles's own hearing at the place where he suffered his martyrdom.'

The 9th of November, being Friday, 1610, it pleased God to appoint the time in which the faith of Mr. George Nappier, priest, was to be tried in the furnace. Being brought, therefore, out of prison, and laid on the hurdle, with hands joined, and his eyes fixed towards heaven, without moving any way, he was drawn to the place of execution. Where being taken off, and set on his feet, beholding the place where he was to suffer, he signed himself with the sign of the cross; and ascending the steps of the ladder with a cheerful mind, to receive his martyrdom, turning his face toward the people, having again signed himself

with the sign of the cross, he began to speak as follows: Gentlemen, you must expect no great speech at my hands, for indeed, I intend none; only, I acknowledge myself to be a miserable and wretched sinner. And therewithal joining his hands with intention to pray, he was interrupted by a minister, who called to him, saying, Nappier, Nappier, confess your treason. Wherewith, bending himself, and looking down towards him, he answered him, saying, Treason, sir! I thank God, I never knew what treason meant. To which the minister replied, Be advised what you say, do not you remember how the judge told you, it was treason to be a priest? he answered the minister again, For that, I die, sir, and that judge, as well as I, shall appear before the just Judge of heaven, to whom I appeal, who will determine whether it be treason or no to be a priest. And withal, he protested, that none but catholics can be saved. After these words, he desired that he might have leave to pray; whereunto, the minister replied, pray for the king, to which, he answered, so I do daily. But, said the minister, pray for the king now. With that he lifted up his hands, and said, I pray God preserve his majesty, and make him a blessed saint in heaven. Then he desired the company, that he might pray to himself. The minister interrupting him the third time, said, Go to pray, and we will pray with you. To which he answered, Sir, I will none of your prayers, neither is it my desire you should pray with me, but I desire all good catholics to join with me in prayer. So addressing himself to pray, he said, In te Domine speravi, &c. In thee, O Lord, I have put my trust, let me not be confounded forever: then lifting up his hands and heart, he said the psalm, De profundis, &c., after that, Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitatis, &c.; lastly, the psalm, Miserere. These being ended, he pulled down his night-cap over his eyes, and most part of his face, and often repeating these words: In manus tuas, &c. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: he yielded himself to one side of the ladder, having his hands still joined. So being turned off, he struck himself three times on the breast, and yielded his blessed soul into the hands that gave it. Thus beseeching God to defend you from your enemies, I most humbly desire you to remember me in your prayers. From my cell, this 19th day of December, 1610.

P. S. His charity was great; for if any poor prisoner wanted either meat to fill him, or clothes to cover him, he would rather be cold himself than they should; if any of them would pray him to give his word to the keeper for them, he would do it, if he paid it himself, as sometimes he did: and he would wait for the poorest prisoners in the castle. There was one wretch went away with 20 shillings and 9 pence of his, promising him he would send it honestly, but he never heard of him. One other he lent his cloak to wear a few days, to keep him warm; and hath willed that as long as he stays in the jail, he must wear it, which, I fear will be so long, that he will wear that out, and such another. And thus beseeching you once more of your prayers, I, in all duty commend me.

Mr. Nappier suffered at Oxford, November 9, 1610. His head was set up on Christ Church steeple, and his quarters, upon the four gates of the city.

JOHN ROBERTS, PRIEST, O. S. B.*

JOHN ROBERTS was born in Merionethshire of Wales, from whence, he was called in religion, Father John de Mervinia. In what school or college he had his first education, I have not found; though I find one of that name in the Douay diary, sent from Rhemes to Rome in 1583. If this be the gentleman we are treating of, he must afterwards have gone from Rome to Spain: for certain it is, that this Mr. Roberts was some time an alumnus of the English seminary of Valladolid; and from thence, betook himself to the Spanish congregation of Valladolid of the venerable order of St. Bennet: amongst whom he entered in the year, 1595. He was professed in the abbey of St. Martin of Compostella; and having not long after received the holy order of priesthood, in 1600, he was, that same year, sent upon the English mission: being the first, says father B. W. who out of a monastery, (since the suppression of monasteries in England,) came to attack the gates of hell, and encounter the prince of darkness in his usurped kingdom; whom he overcame like his master, the great patron of martyrs, by losing his life in the conflict.

He was, says my author, a man of admirable zeal, courage and constancy, who, during his ten years' labours in the mission, was four times apprehended and committed to prison; and as often sent into banishment; but still returned again to the work of his master, upon the first favourable opportunity. His extraordinary charity, evidently showed itself during the time of a great plague in London; where he assisted great numbers of the infected; and was instrumental in the conversion of many souls from their former errors and vices. He was apprehended, for the fifth time, at mass, on the first Sunday of Advent, 1610, and hurried away in his vestments, and thrust into a dark dungeon. From whence he was quickly after brought out to his trial; and condemned to die barely for his priestly character. His life, however was offered him if he would have taken the new oath; which he constantly refused.

My manuscript from St. Omers, gives the following account of the execution of Mr. Roberts, and of Mr. Thomas Somers, alias, Wilson, a secular priest of Douay college, who suffered at the same time and place.

'These two blessed men being drawn within 16 or 18 yards of the place of execution, (Tyburn,) the multitude of the gentry and of the common people was such and so great, that they could not draw them to their intended place; but were forced to take them from the hurdle and to send them to the carts: in which stood sixteen condemned persons, with their ropes about their necks, and tied to the gallows. Father Roberts was first taken from the hurdle, who, with a cheerful and smiling countenance, walked in his gown to the cart, into which he

* From B. W's. manuscript concerning the English Benedictine congregation, extracted from the archives of their monasteries; from Raissius's catalogue of the Douay martyrs; and from a manuscript sent me from the English college of St. Omers.

offered to leap, but could not, being very weak, in regard of his sickness, until by the serjeants and other officers, he was assisted. "He took notice, upon this occasion, that he was to be hanged amongst thieves; upon which, one of the officers put him in mind that his master was so served." As soon as his feet were seated in the cart, he turned himself towards the poor condemned prisoners, and displaying his hands, and blessing them, he said, We are all come hither to die, from which there is no hope of escape, and if you die in the religion now professed in England, you shall undoubtedly perish everlastingly; let me, therefore, for the love of our blessed Saviour, entreat you that we may all die in one faith: in testimony whereof, let me beseech you to pronounce with me those words,—I believe the holy catholic church. Protesting your desires to die members of the same; as also your sorrowfulness for having led so naughty and wicked lives, whereby you have offended our sweet and merciful Saviour: which, if you will truly and constantly profess, I will pronounce absolution, and then my soul for yours. And being purposed to have given them farther ghostly counsel, he was interrupted by a churlish officer, who would no longer permit him to speak to those poor people. Whereupon, falling down upon his knees, he privately poured forth some few prayers which, having finished, he suddenly rising up from his knees, with a smiling and most cheerful countenance, turned himself to the people, and blessed them all.

'The executioner being very busy in pulling off his gown, he said, Mr. Sheriff, shall I not speak? To which the sheriff, being a man of much humanity, replied, yes, Mr. Roberts, you shall speak; and withal delivered to one of the officers a little glass of *aqua vitæ* to keep him from fainting in regard to his great weakness, whereof he drank a little quantity. During which time, Mr. Somers, his associate, was likewise brought to the cart, to whom Mr. Roberts gave his hand to help him up, saying, welcome good brother; and then having embraced and blessed each other, Mr. Roberts turned himself to the people, blessing them with a cheerful countenance, and with an audible voice, said *audite cœli quæ loquor, audiat terra verba oris mei.* Which having Englished, saying, Honourable, worshipful, and my well beloved friends, and beginning to proceed, he was again interrupted by the said churlish officer; whose insolence was such, that he was publicly taunted and rebuked by many gentlemen of great condition, they all protesting against his barbarous churlishness.

'Being thus hindered from dilating upon that scripture text formerly uttered; having again blessed the people, he said,—I am condemned to die, for that being a priest, I came into England, contrary to a statute made in the 27th year of the late queen's reign. Other matter was not objected against me at my arraignment. And to the objection that he came into England without due authority, he replied, that he was sent into England by the same authority, by which St. Augustin the apostle of England was sent, whose disciple he was; being of the same order, and living under the same rule in which he lived; and that, for the profession and teaching of that religion, which St. Augustin planted in England, he was now condemned to die.

'The executioners being as busy in making Mr. Wilson ready, as they had Mr. Roberts, he in this interim surveying the people, and blessing them, to many of his acquaintance, and to every one that saluted him with hat or otherwise, he returned a resalutation with benedictions: and then pronouncing those words, *memorare novissima tua*, let every man remember his end; he farther added, *omnes nos manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi*; we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, there to give an account of our faith and works: they that have done well shall go to everlasting life; and they that have done evil into everlasting torments. Then blessing the people again, he prayed them to pardon him for not using more words, protesting inability of speech in regard of weakness. But for his last farewell, he entreated them to return to the unity of the catholic church; praying them to take certain notice, that *extra ecclesiam non est salus*; the English whereof he enforced himself to deliver with a most strong voice; saying, unto this end, I will not cease to pray for you all during my life; and after my death, I shall have greater ability to perform the same: and then he was again interrupted by that same rude officer, who so often before had interrupted him, saying, That it was not fit he should so persuade the people: to whom the principal officer replied, he speaks nothing against the king or state, and, therefore, I see no reason but that he may speak. To which the other replied, it must not be; he must not be suffered to allure the king's people in this sort. To which, Mr. Roberts answered, I say nothing against the king: he is a good king; I beseech God to bless him, his grave senate, the council, the honourable bench by whom I was condemned, together with all those that have been instruments of my death. Neither is it the king that causes us to die; he is a clement king: it is heresy, it is heresy that does this.

'Being advised to put on his night-cap, he answered, Do you think I fear the headache? And seeing the fire prepared to burn his bowels, he said, I perceive you prepare a hot breakfast for us. Then having given his last benedictions, as well to the whole multitude, as to those that knew or did salute him, putting his hands close to his eyes, he prayed, secretly, until Mr. Wilson was full ready. Whose hands being fast tied, with a cheerful and pleasant countenance, he "Mr. Wilson" blessed all the people with these words, *benedicat vos omnipotens & misericors Dominus, pater & filius & spiritus sanctus.* And farther said, that he was condemned to die for being a priest; as also for refusing an oath, now tendered as an oath of allegiance; protesting himself ever to have been a true, loyal, and faithful subject; and that he refused not the oath, in respect of that allegiance which the prince may challenge of his subjects, but in regard that it is so mixed with matters of religion, that it is expressly forbidden by the pope's holiness, whom we are all bound to obey in matters of religion: and, therefore, he persuaded them all to obey this same supreme pastor of God's church, affirming, as his blessed associate had done before, that out of the same church there is no salvation.

'And now they were informed by an officer, that they must instantly die; embracing therefore and blessing each other, and giving their last

benedictions with manacled hands, Mr. Roberts, plucking his handkerchief over his eyes, said, Omnes sancti, et sanctæ Dei intercedite pro me; and Mr. Wilson, In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum. They were suffered to hang till they were thoroughly dead; then being cut down they were bowelled, beheaded, and quartered, their entrails being burnt, their quarters were buried in the same pit which was prepared for those poor wretches that then died, all which sixteen bodies were cast upon them.' So far the manuscript.

B. W. adds, that two nights after, one of Mr. Roberts' brethren, with some other catholics, dug out at midnight the quarters both of Mr. Roberts and Mr. Wilson from the pit into which they had been cast, and carried them off. But that as they were coming into the town at break of day, meeting with the watch, one of these pious thieves, that he might more certainly escape, let drop a leg and thigh of F. Roberts, which was taken up and carried to George Abbot, then bishop of London, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who was the man that had been father Roberts's chief adversary, and had stood with greatest vehemency against him at his trial, animating the judge against him; and that he ordered them to be buried in the church of St. Saviour, to hinder the catholics from recovering them. The rest were carried to Douay, to the monastery of the English benedictines there. But one of F. Roberts's arms was sent into Spain, to the abbey of St. Martin, at Compostella. Mr. Roberts suffered at Tyburn, December 10, 1610.

THOMAS SOMERS, ALIAS, WILSON, PRIEST.*

Mr. Somers, who was known upon the mission by the name of Wilson, was born in Westmoreland, where for some years he taught a grammar school, to the great benefit of many, as well of his scholars, as of his other neighbours, whom he instructed in the christian catholic religion, and some also of the more advanced he persuaded to go over to Douay, to the English college or seminary there; in order to qualify themselves by learning and piety for holy orders, that so they might one day return again to their own country, to assist the souls of their neighbours in those evil days. The counsel which he gave to others, he not long after followed himself; and repairing to the aforesaid college, he passed through his divinity studies, was made priest, and sent upon the English mission, in 1606. His residence was in London, and his labours were chiefly dedicated to the poorer sort of catholics there, whom he served with such extraordinary diligence and zeal, as to be commonly known by the name of the pastor or parish priest of London. *Parochus Londinensis.* T W. p. 51.

After some time he fell into the hands of the priest-catchers, and was committed to prison, and from prison was, with twenty others of the same character, by virtue of an order from the council, shipped off, and sent into banishment. He landed at Bologne, and from thence went and paid a visit to his old mother college, where he met with a kind

* From Dr. Worthington and Raissius in their printed catalogues.

welcome, and was invited to take up his habitation there, the office of procurator of the house being offered him by Dr. Worthington, then president. But his heart was with his flock, from which he had been violently separated; and no apprehension of dangers, to which his return must needs expose him, (being so well known as he was,) could make any impression on a soul that was all on fire with heavenly charity, and which looked upon death in such a cause as the greatest happiness.

To England therefore he returned, and there re-assumed his accustomed labours, in the same field as formerly, but was not long after again apprehended, and quickly brought to his trial, where he was convicted of having received holy orders in the church of Rome, and having exercised his priestly functions in England; and for this supposed treason, (no other being so much as objected to him,) he was condemned to die the death of traitors. When the bloody sentence was pronounced against him, it drew tears from the eyes of many, and caused pity and compassion in most of the standers by; but as for his own part, he heard it with such a remarkable calmness and composedness in his looks, as affected the whole court with wonder and astonishment.

A few days after, he was drawn to Tyburn, in the company of Mr. Roberts, where, as we have seen already, they both made a glorious confession of their faith, in the sight of an infinite number of people, and poured forth their blood in defence of it, December 10, 1610.

Molanus in his appendix to his Idea togatæ Constantiæ, published in 1629, sets down Mr. Somers's banishment in 1610, and gives him for companions, Messieurs Richard Newport, Philip Woodward, Thomas Leak, Cuthbert Johnson, Oswald Needham, N. Green, John Prat, John Lockwood, John Ainsworth, Robert Chamberlane, Edward Millington, Gilbert Hunt, N. Sadler, and N. Hutton, O. S. B., Thomas Priest and Mich. Walpole, S. J., &c. He adds, that Oswald Needham was afterwards crowned with martyrdom; but this particular is not confirmed by any other writer: and that John Lockwood and Gilbert Hunt were also afterwards condemned to die.

This year, 1610, Mr. Lewis Barlow, the first missioner from the seminaries, departed this life in a good old age. He came to Douay in 1570, was made priest and sent upon the mission in 1574: was divers times apprehended and imprisoned, and was sent into banishment in 1603, but returned again to his labours, and died this year in England. *Douay Diary.*

The year 1611, passed without the shedding of any catholic blood on religious accounts; not so the following year, in which I find three priests and one layman put to death upon the penal statutes.

WILLIAM SCOT, PRIEST, O. S. B.—1612.*

William Scot, who in religion was called F. Maurus, was a gen-

* From B. W.'s manuscript concerning the English benedictine congregation; and from a relation of his trial, by an eye-witness.

tleman by birth; and bred up to the study of the civil law, in Trinity Hall, in the University of Cambridge. He was converted by reading catholic books, and went beyond the seas; where he was for some time alumnus of one of the Spanish seminaries, I believe, of that of Valladolid, and from thence entered into the order of St. Benedict; being one of the first of the English that entered himself amongst the Spanish monks of the congregation of Valladolid. He was professed in the famous abbey of St. Facundus in the town of Sahagun; and having received the holy order of priesthood, returned into England to labour there in the vineyard of his Lord.

For a welcome at his first arrival at London, he beheld the priest, by whom he had formerly been taken into the church, hurried away to death for his faith and character; and he himself within three days after, was apprehended and cast into prison for the like cause. He was kept in confinement for about a twelvemonth, and then transported into banishment: and this happened to him more than once; for a certain cotemporary author informs us, that he was several times imprisoned, and several times banished. "*Post crebros carceres & exilia. Apostolatus Bened.* 247." In his last banishment he went to Douay, and lived there for some time amongst his brethren, in their monastery, of that town. But he returned again to his Master's work, and quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors. His chief adversary, who caused him to be prosecuted and condemned, was George Abbot, who from being bishop of London, was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Mr. Scot, upon his apprehension, was brought before this protestant prelate to be examined; he refused the new oath of allegiance, but neither confessed or denied his priesthood: the chief proof that was brought for his being a priest was, that as he came by water from Gravesend to London, upon some danger of being discovered, he flung into the Thames, a little bag, where were his breviary and faculties, with some medals and crosses; which bag, a fisherman catching in his net, had carried to the said George Abbot.

The following account of his trial and death, was written by an eye-witness, whose manuscript relation is preserved by the English benedictines, in their monastery of Douay, who favoured me with a copy of it.

On Monday the 25th of May, Mr. Scot was removed from the Gatehouse to Newgate, in order to take his trial in the sessions which were to begin at the Old Baily, the following Thursday. Whilst he was here preparing himself for his last conflict, his conversation gave great edification to his fellow prisoners; but it was particularly taken notice of, that he seemed much mortified, when any one would be saying, that it was not likely the court would proceed at that time to the execution of any priest. On Thursday morning, when he understood by the jailor, that the bishop of London, "King" would be at the sessions-house, to attend his trial, at three o'clock that afternoon; he began to take heart, and to prepare himself for that hour. At which time, he and his companion, Mr. Newport, were conducted to the Old Baily; where were sitting the lord Mayor, the bishop of London, the lord chief justice Cook, the lord chief justice of the common-pleas, the recorder of

London, with many other justices. Here Mr. Scot's indictment was read; which, he said, contained falsehood, and, therefore, he pleaded not guilty. They urged him to say directly, whether he was a priest or no: but this he would neither confess nor deny; saying, that it was the business of his accusers to make it out that he was a priest. They would needs infer from hence, that he certainly was a priest; and lord chief justice Cook urged, that in cases of premunire, it was judged sufficient to find any man guilty, if he neither owned nor denied the fact. Mr. Scot replied, that however it might be in cases of premunire, it was certain that in cases of life and death, they were to proceed only according to what had been legally made out by witnesses.

It was then objected, that he had been sent into banishment as a priest, and that by his accepting of this banishment with the rest, he had sufficiently owned himself a priest. He answered, that he had never accepted of any banishment: that he had been released, indeed, with others, at the request of the ambassador of Savoy; but when he obtained this liberty, which he had never petitioned for, he neither owned himself a priest, nor ever promised himself, or any other for him, to his knowledge, that he would not return again into England. And, whereas, the bishop of London was very active in this cause, Mr. Scot told him, it did not become his lordship, or any one of his cloth, to meddle in causes of life and death. But this did not silence the protestant prelate who, amongst other things urged against the prisoner, that in the bag mentioned above, was found a paper giving leave to say mass above or below ground, &c. Giving leave! said Mr. Scot, but to whom? Was my name there expressed? If not, your lordship might have kept that argument to yourself, with the rest of the things in the bag.

The bishop still urged him to answer, if he was a priest, or no. My Lord, said he, are you a priest? No, said the prelate. No priest, no bishop, said Mr. Scot. I am a priest said the bishop, but not a massing priest. If you are a priest, said Mr. Scot, you are a sacrificing priest, for sacrificing is essential to priesthood; and if you are a sacrificing priest, you are a massing priest. "For what other sacrifice have the priests of the new law, as distinct from mere laicks, to offer to God, but that of the eucharist, which we call the mass?" If then, you are no massing priest, you are no sacrificing priest; if no sacrificing priest, no priest at all, and consequently no bishop.

But as Mr. Scot perceived the judges were resolved to proceed, upon bare presumption, to direct the jury to bring him in guilty; he told them, he was sorry to see his cause was to be committed to the verdict of those poor ignorant men, who knew not what a priest was, nor whether he was a man or a mouse. Then turning himself to the jury, he said, It grieved him much that his blood was to fall upon their heads; but withal, bid them consider, for the securing their own consciences, that nothing had been alledged against him but mere presumptions; and as he was not to be his own accuser, they were to proceed according to what had been legally proved, and not upon presumptions. The jury withdrew, but quickly returned again, and gave in their verdict, by the mouth of the foreman, guilty: which word Mr.

Scot had no sooner heard, but he fell upon his knees, and said with a loud voice, thanks be to God: adding, that never any news was more welcome to him; and that there was nothing that he had ever wished for more in his life, than the happiness of dying for so good a cause. Then turning himself to the people, he said, 'I have not as yet confessed myself a priest, that the law might go on in its course; and that it might appear whether they would proceed to condemn me upon mere presumption and conjectures without any witness, which you see they have done. Wherefore, to the glory of God and of all the saints in heaven, I now confess, I am a monk of the order of St. Bennet, and a priest of the Roman catholic church. But be you all witnesses, I pray you, that I have committed no crime against his majesty, or my country; I am only accused of priesthood, and for priesthood alone, I am condemned.'

Mr. Newport, a man of great zeal and fervour, who had twice before been imprisoned and sent into banishment, and through the desire of martyrdom had returned a third time upon the mission, and had been a third time apprehended; after seven months' imprisonment, (during which, he had prepared himself, as he had done for many years before, for the conflict for which God had designed him,) was brought to the session-house with Father Scot, but for want of time, was not tried that afternoon, but sent back to prison: to which Mr. Scot returned with as much calmness and unconcernedness in his looks, as if nothing had been done that day against him. The next morning, being Friday, Mr. Newport alone, was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himself to be a priest, and that he had been twice banished, &c., but denied the indictment, not owning himself guilty of any treason against his king or country. The recorder told him, it was high treason, for a priest ordained beyond the seas to return into England. Mr. Newport answered, whatever it might be by the law of England, it could be no treason by the law of God: that their new laws were made according to their new religion, and could not be of any force against the law of God, and that authority which Jesus Christ himself had given to priests, in those words, go teach all nations, &c. And as it could be no treason to be a priest, so he could not comprehend how he could be a traitor for returning into his own country, having been always, both at home and abroad, a faithful subject to his majesty. He added, that by the laws which they had lately made against priests, they might condemn Christ himself, if he were upon earth, because he was a priest. The recorder told him, that priests were the first men that had plotted against his present majesty. No, no, said Mr. Newport, but protestants and puritans, were the men that plotted against him, and sought to rob him of his life, whilst he was yet in his mother's womb. These and other such like words, says my author, who was present at his trial, he spoke with wonderful constancy and fortitude. He seemed very unwilling his blood should lie at the door of the poor ignorant jury; but was obliged to acquiesce to the custom of the law. The twelve brought him in guilty; which verdict he received with great courage and cheerfulness. The bishop of London was present at his trial, but said nothing; for he had gained but little credit, even

amongst protestants, by what he had said the day before at the trial of Father Scot.

Friday in the afternoon the two confessors of Christ, were again brought to the bar; and being asked what they had to say for themselves, why the sentence of death should not pass upon them; they replied, that they could not be justly condemned, either for being priests, or for returning into England, for neither the one nor the other could possibly be criminal; as nothing else could be objected against them. The recorder would not suffer them to proceed; but taking occasion from that constancy and alacrity which appeared in his countenance, (by which, as well as by their courageous answers, the people were much edified,) to reproach them, as if they had not behaved with that modesty as other priests had done before them, hoping thereby to disgrace them with the standers-by, who had very much applauded them, he pronounced separately the sentence of condemnation against them in the usual form. After which, their hands being tied, they were sent back to prison; where they remained that night, full of joy at their approaching happiness, and giving great comfort and edification to their fellow-prisoners.

The next morning, being the 30th of May, at six of the clock, they were brought out to the hurdle. At first, Mr. Newport was appointed for the right-hand side, who laid himself down with a smiling countenance, and lifting up his hands, which were tied, in the best manner he could, gave his benediction to the people. Then Father Scot, who had come down in his religious habit, with a design to have wore it at his execution, but was ordered to put it off again, advanced to the hurdle; and standing over it declared to the people, 'that he was a faithful subject of his majesty, and daily prayed for him; and that he begged of God, to turn away his stripes and punishments from this island; that he wished as well to the king as to his own soul; and had never harboured so much as one evil thought against him: and that if by his death, he could do any service to the soul or body of his sovereign, he should be no less willing to die for his service, than he was now to lay down his life for God's honour, and the testimony of the truth.'

After this speech, at which my author says he was present, Mr. Scot was pinioned down upon the hurdle, and so drawn to Tyburn with his companion, and there executed according to sentence, May 30, being Whitsun Eve, 1612.

RICHARD NEWPORT, ALIAS, SMITH, PRIEST.*

He was born in Northamptonshire: and performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Rhemes, (if he be the Richard Smith, whom I find in the Douay diary, sent to Rome in 1586,) and partly in that of

* From Dr. Worthington's catalogue, p. 52.

Rome, where he was made priest. From thence he was sent upon the English mission, and behaved himself in such a manner as justly to acquire the character of a laborious missionary; being withal remarkably successful, in bringing home many strayed sheep to the fold of Christ, to which his apostolic way of living did not a little contribute. He was several times apprehended, and cast into prison, and twice banished. His name occurs amongst those who were transported in 1606; at which time, we are told, he took that opportunity of making a pilgrimage to Rome, there to pour forth his prayers at the tombs of the apostles, in behalf of this afflicted church, and to obtain of God by their intercession, grace and constancy for himself to fulfil his ministry amidst so many difficulties and dangers, as he expected to meet with upon his return to England.

It is true, he had been strictly charged by the council not to come back into any of the British dominions at his utmost peril: but then, he had learnt from the examples of the apostles, that in things relating to the functions of his ministry, he was to hearken to God rather than man. To England, therefore, he returned: and though he was apprehended again, and banished a second time, he again came back at the first favourable opportunity.

Being apprehended for the third time, the persecutors were now resolved to make sure work with him, and effectually silence him forever. To this end, they brought him upon his trial, on an indictment of high treason, for being a priest, and returning into England contrary to the statute. We have already seen his behaviour at the bar; and how, by his jury, he was found guilty of the indictment, and in consequence of this supposed guilt, was condemned to die the ignominious death of traitors. Which he suffered with constancy and courage, in the company of Mr. Scot, May 30, 1612.

JOHN ALMOND, PRIEST,*

John Almond, who in his examination before the bishop of London, calls himself Francis Lathome, and who was known upon the mission, by the name of Molineux, was born on the skirts of Allerton, near Liverpool, in Lancashire, and brought up at school, at Much-Wooton in the same county; from hence he passed over into Ireland, and so abroad into the world. He must have left home when he was about 15 or 16 years old, if he be that Almond whom I find in the Douay diary sent from Rhemes to Rome in 1582: but then he must have been more than ten years abroad, which is the time that my old manuscript affirms he employed beyond the seas to improve himself in virtue and learning. Certain it is, that he was at least, 45 years old when he suffered; though his grey hairs seemed to speak him older; and that he did not return

* From a copy of his examination before Dr. King, bishop of London, written by himself; and from an old manuscript by an eye-witness of his death, amongst the collections of the Rev. Mr. Knareshorough.

to England till 1602; at which time, I find in the register of Douay, that John Almond, priest, coming from Rome, visited the college of Douay in his way to England. T. W. also in his catalogue, informs us, that he was a priest of Rome; and there publicly sustained *Theses* of universal dignity with great applause in 1601. I have met with little or nothing of the particulars of his missionary labours, only my author, "the manuscript" gives him the following character, in his introduction to the account of his death. 'Upon Saturday, being the 5th of December, 1612, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, came to suffer at Tyburn, for the catholic religion, John Almond, a man of the age of forty-five, by his own relation; yet in his countenance more grave and staid, beginning to be besprinkled with hairs that were white—who having tarried beyond the seas about ten years to enable himself by his study with learning, and virtue, returned into his native country, where he exercised an holy life with all sincerity, and a singular good content to those that knew him, and worthily deserved both a good opinion of his learning and sanctity of life; a reprover of sin, a good example to follow; of an ingenious and acute understanding, sharp, and apprehensive in his conceits and answers, yet complete with modesty. Full of courage, and ready to suffer for Christ, that suffered for him. Of his stature, neither high nor low, but indifferent; a body lean, either by nature or through ghostly discipline; a face lean, his head, blackish brown; in his conversation mild, learned and persuasive, and worthy to be remembered of those that did converse with him. As I said, not only a sharp reprover of sin, but a good encourager besides, by his own example, of those that sought the way to heaven, which he himself found at last by persecution, crosses, and many afflictions.' So far the manuscript.

Mr. Almond was apprehended on the 22d of March, 1611–12, and brought before Dr. John King, lately advanced to the bishopric of London. What passed in his examination here, was penned by himself, of which I shall here set down an abstract.

'Bishop.—What is your name? Almond.—My name is Francis. B. What else? A. Lathome. B. Is not your name Molineux? A. No. B. I think I shall prove it to be so. A. You will have more to do, than ever you had to do in your life. B. What countryman are you? A. A Lancashire man. B. In what place where you born? A. About Allerton. B. About Allerton! mark the equivocation; then not in Allerton. A. No equivocation, I was not born in Allerton, but in the edge or side of Allerton. B. You were born under a hedge then, were you? A. Many a better man than I, or you either, has been born under a hedge. B. What, you cannot remember that you was born in a house? A. Can you? B. My mother told me so. A. Then you remember not that you were born in a house, but only that your mother told you so; so much I remember too.

'B. Were you ever beyond the seas? A. I have been in Ireland. How long since you came thence? A. I remember not how long since, neither is it material. B. Here is plain answering, is it not? A. More plain than you would give, if you were examined yourself before some of ours, in another place. B. I ask, are you a priest?

A. I am not Christ; and unless I were Christ, in your own grounds, yours I mean, I cannot be a priest. *B.* Though you cannot be one in our grounds, are you one in your own? *A.* If I be none, nor can be any in your grounds, which allow no other priesthood, nor other priest but Christ, and you are bound to maintain your own grounds, and uphold the truth of them, you might well forbear this question, and suppose for certain, that I am no priest. *B.* Are you a priest, yea or no? *A.* No man accuseth me. *B.* Then this is all the answer I shall have. *A.* All I can give unless proof come in. *B.* Where have you lived, and in what have you spent you time? *A.* Here is an orderly course of justice, sure? What is it material where I have lived, or how I have spent my time, all the while I am accused of no evil?

'*Bish.* Will you take the oath of allegiance? *Alm.* Any oath of allegiance, if it contain nothing but allegiance. And with that the bishop reaches out his arm for the oath, lying towards the middle of the table; which I perceiving, said, that oath you cannot with a good conscience offer. *B.* Yes, that I can; and I thank God, I have taken it myself seven times. *A.* God forbid? *B.* Why? *A.* You have been seven times perjured. *B.* Wherein? *A.* In taking this false clause,— And I do further swear that I do from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed, &c. *B.* There is no perjury nor falsehood in it. *A.* If in taking it you abjure that position as heretical which is not heretical, then is it perjury and falsehood to take it. But in taking it you abjure that position as heretical which is not heretical, *ergo*, &c. *B.* I grant your *major*, I deny your *minor*. *A.* No position in your grounds can be heretical, unless it be expressly censured for heretical by the word of God, or the contradictory expressly contained in the word of God. But this position is not expressly censured for heretical by the word of God; nor is the contradictory expressly contained in the word of God. *Ergo*, it is not heretical. *B.* It is censured as heretical by the word. *A.* Alledge the text, give us a bible. *B.* Bring in a bible. Then turning it with an evil will, he said it was censured in the 13th of the Romans. *A.* You mean those words, He that resisteth power, resisteth God's ordinance. But I ask, where is this position censured? There is not one word of the position in hand. Other place he alledged none. *B.* You would have it censured in express words? *A.* You are bound to bring a censure in express words; which, because I see you cannot, answer this consequence: This position is not set down at all in the bible; *ergo*, it cannot be censured by the bible. He answered not, but said, I was a proud, arrogant jack. To which I replied, God forgive you, your words trouble me not: and so two several times more I prayed God to forgive him, when he miscalled me and abused me in words.

'Then leaving the oath, which he was weary of, he asked, Have you gone to the church? And added, I forgot it before, but I go beyond you now. *A.* I have not gone to the church. *B.* Will you go? *A.* I will not; Is not this plain dealing? *B.* Now you deal plainly. *A.* If it would not offend you, I must tell you, that you went beyond yourself; for you confessed even now that you should have asked it before,

and so go beyond yourself in asking it now. Much more passed betwixt us before about a disjunctive position, wherein the bishop needeth not to boast of his logic; at part of which a certain dean coming in, after the bishop was weary, the dean began to talk of the pope's power to depose kings, saying, It was essential to the pope, and a matter of faith in our doctrine. To whom I replied, It was not essential to the pope's power, nor any matter of faith; and that, whether the pope could or could not depose, it was perjury to take the oath in their grounds, and ours too; which, I said, I would undertake to demonstrate before all the bishops in England, or else I would lose my hand and my head. The dean said I was too quick with him, and that my logic would deceive me, if I builded so much upon it; wishing me to look to a good conscience. I replied, It was my conscience which I did stand upon, and therefore refused the oath for the reasons alledged. Yet to give satisfaction, this oath I offered that I would swear. I do bear in my heart and soul so much allegiance to king James, (whom I prayed God to bless now and evermore,) as he, or any christian king could expect by the law of nature, the law of God, or the positive law of the true church, be it which it will, *ours or yours*. The bishop and the dean said they were fair words; but the dean added, he knew well which church I meant; to which I answered, Let you and me try that, and then put it out of question, but he was deaf on that ear.

'Then the bishop bade me put my hand to my examination. I first perused it, and in the end of it, where the register had set down, Being asked whether he would take the oath of allegiance, he answered he could not without perjury: I bid add also, as I had said, I could not in their grounds nor ours; the bishop would not suffer him to add that, but said I should have another time; upon that I put my hand to it, though I said, he had put it in by halves. Thus ended the pageant, saving that I said publicly, (giving the honour to God,) that I had not sworn any oath, not so much as in faith, in sixteen years before, and therefore they needed not wonder that I now refused an oath with falsehood and perjury in it.

After this examination he was committed to Newgate, from whence after some months he was brought to his trial, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders beyond the seas, by authority of the see of Rome, and for remaining in this kingdom contrary to the laws. At his trial he showed, it seems, the same vivacity of wit and resolution, as he had done in his examination; but was brought in guilty by the jury, though he neither confessed nor yet denied his being a priest, and what proofs were brought of his being such, does not appear.

The day appointed for his execution was the 5th of December, 1612, when being brought out of Newgate, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, he stept with a smiling countenance into the sledge prepared for him, and so was drawn to Tyburn. When he arrived there, being taken off the sledge, and having his hands untied, he put off his hat, and blessed God with a loud voice, that he had held him worthy, and had brought him to that place to die for his name and glory. Then asking what he was to do, the sheriff told him that he must

get up into the cart that stood under the tree, where he must die. Which he did, though not without much difficulty, the cart being high and his legs weak and stiff, with his ill and cold lodging for ten days before. Being up, he cheerfully said, I am now, I thank God, up: and kneeling down, he first blessed himself with the sign of the cross, in token that he was not ashamed of Christ, who was crucified thereon for his redemption; then prayed a little to himself; afterwards rising up, he mildly asked the sheriff, whether it would please him to permit him to speak to the people; who very courteously told him, he might. He having leave to speak, kneeled down and said, Domine labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam. And then protesting that he would speak nothing derogating to the power of his sacred majesty, or injurious to any person whatsoever; he proceeded and told the people that he was a catholic, and came thither to die for the catholic religion, and for Christ's cause, who had shed his blood for him and his redemption. That he was glad and willing to lose his life for his honour, and sorry he had no more lives to lose, nor more blood to shed for the cause of his blessed Redeemer. That he did acknowledge from the bottom of his heart, that his majesty king James the first, was true and lawful king of these realms; and had the same power and authority over his dominions, and his subjects therein born, which the king of Spain, or the king of France had in theirs: that he himself was his true subject, and had never harboured so much as any treasonable thought against him, which he did protest freely and sincerely, before God and the whole host of heaven. Moreover, that if he had known of any treasonable design against the king or state, any way whatsoever, he should think himself obliged to have put a stop to it, to the utmost of his power. Then he earnestly prayed to God for the king and all the royal family, and that his posterity might inherit the crown of England for ever. Adding again, that he acknowledged his authority for making laws, and that his subjects were bound to obey them.

But here he was interrupted by a minister, who asked him, How then he, being a priest, offered to come into the kingdom, against those laws? Mr. Almond answered, that Christ was the greater king, and that laws made against Christ's laws were not binding; and that in case he were a priest, which they had not proved him to be, he had a commission derived from Christ, (who sent his disciples, St. Matthew xxviii. 19, to teach all nations,) to come and teach in England; as he supposed protestants, if their religion were true, might be sent into Turkey, India, or elsewhere, for saving of souls, notwithstanding the laws of those countries might make it death so to do. The minister farther objected, that he had at his arraignment delivered dangerous doctrines, as that a priest had power to absolve and forgive any man that should kill a king; and that he had treated the bench with disrespect. He answered, that the minister did mistake him, and belied the catholic doctrine; and that he had dealt modestly at his arraignment, which he referred to the standers-by: and for matters of murdering kings, he declared murder to be a heinous crime, and of a king most of all; and that the doctrine of the catholic church, no ways encouraged any of her

children to commit any sin whatsoever, much less murder and treason; but on the contrary teaches them humility, patience, long-suffering and obedience. And yet the greatest sinner that ever was, even a king-killer, than which he thought none could be worse; through true contrition, confessing himself with hearty repentence to his ghostly father, and ready to make satisfaction according to his power and the rules of the catholic church, might be forgiven through the merits of Christ's bitter passion, one drop of whose precious blood was sufficient to have saved ten thousand worlds, how much more one sinner, though never so vile. And that Christ himself had declared as much, St. John xx. 27, and given this power to his church, and the true ministers of the sacraments thereof, that whose sins soever they did remit should be remitted, &c. And that this was his doctrine and meaning; and there was his warrant. And then he pressed the minister to tell him, if this was not the protestant doctrine also? who could not deny but it was, if the sinner had faith: but then he asked what satisfaction could be made for the death of a king. Mr. Almond replied, that faith was not sufficient, except it was applied right; for the devils believed and trembled, and yet could not be saved: and that Christ's death had made satisfaction. The minister pressing farther with an argument concerning faith and satisfaction, Mr. Almond denid the consequence: but withal desired that he might now be allowed to pray. When another minister interrupting him, asked if he had not equivocated in his former answers and protestations of loyalty. Mr. Almond protested upon his soul, no, as he should answer before God; nor had spoken with any mental reservation; and that the only reason why he had refused the oath of allegiance, as they called it, was out of tenderness of conscience, by reason of the ensnaring clauses contained therein: protesting withal, that if the pope, or any foreign prince whatsoever, should by war and hostility invade this his native country, and thereby seek to overthrow the state, or make a conqust of the kingdom, or divest his majesty of any of his dominions, he ought to be resisted by every good subject, to the best of his power, and that by force and arms; and that this was the catholic doctrine and religion, which was to be brought in by preaching and miracles, after the example of Christ and his apostles, and not by blood and force of arms: that this he had ever professed and taught, and this he was ready to seal with his blood.

Then being almost unstripped, having nothing on but his waistcoat and breeches, the halter having been long about his neck, he kneeled down and began to pray, by giving thanks to God, who had strengthened him by his grace, and brought him thither to shed his blood for the catholic religion, which he most firmly believed to every tittle without the least doubt or wavering. And here again he was interrupted by a minister that stood near, who told him he had forgot to ask forgiveness of his sins. Mr. Almond replied, he did not do well to interrupt him, that he could not do all at once, and yet he could do that without the minister's council. Then rising up he pulled several things out of his pockets, which he flung away, looking round about in the disposing of them as his affection guided him. He also

flung away some three or four pounds in silver, amongst the poor that crowded about the gallows: saying 'I have not much to bestow or give, for the keeper of Newgate hath been somewhat hard unto me and others that way, whom God forgive, for I do. For I having been prisoner there since March, we have been ill-treated continually, but now at last, without charity; for we were all put down into the hole or dungeon, or place of *little ease*, whence was removed since we came thither two or three cart loads of filth and dirt; we were kept twenty-four hours without bread, or meat, or drink, loaded with irons, lodging on the damp ground, and so continued for ten days or thereabouts.' Here Mr. Sheriff told him, that the keeper had done nothing but by orders, and was commanded to do what he had done. I had thought, said Mr. Almond, it had been done of his own head; but since it was done by power, I will neither resist it, nor speak farther of it. Then turning to the executioner, he gave him a piece of gold, of eleven shillings; adding, 'I don't give thee this to spare me, for I am ready, as my duty doth bind me, to lose both life and blood, and therefore he might, if he would, rip him up alive, and cut off his hands, for that no torment was sufficient to satisfy his obedience to his Redeemer; wishing he had the heart of St. Vincent, or the body of St. Laurence, to be broiled upon a gridiron; for he was ready to suffer all, even to be pulled in pieces, joint by joint, without any favour, so much he hoped God would strengthen him with his power; and that all that blood which he had to shed for his master, Christ, was too little, and not enough.' And then kneeling down again, he humbly acknowledged himself to be a sinner, and earnestly begged God's mercy and forgiveness; not doubting but that what sins soever he had committed, which he confessed were many, Christ, by his mercy, his death, and the shedding of his blood, would remit and pardon; and that he would now accept his willingness to shed his blood for his glory. Of which words a minister presently taking hold, asked Mr. Almond, What! do you match and compare then your blood-shedding with Christ's blood-shedding; as if Christ were not able to work your salvation, without your own means; 'You mistake me, quoth Mr. Almond; my sins, though venial, deserve Christ's wrath and punishment. It is his death alone, and the shedding of his blood alone, that is not only sufficient, but also efficient to save us all. I nave not much more to say, one hour overtaketh another, and though never so long, at last cometh death; and yet not death, for death is the gate of life unto us, whereby we enter into everlasting blessedness; and life is death to those that do not provide for death, for they are ever tossed and troubled with vexations, miseries, and wickedness; but to use well this life is the path-way, yet through death, to everlasting life.

Then, being in his shirt, he kneeled down, and often repeating, *In manus tuas Domine, &c.* Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth: he waited whilst the hangman prepared for the execution, at no time showing either any sign of fear or faint-heartedness through all the course of his martyrdom; but as he began smiling, so he continued constant with a cheerful countenance, instantly desiring all the true professors of the true catholic

religion to pray for him and with him: and he often repeated upon his knees, looking up towards heaven, *In manus tuas, &c.*, and so with a sure hope, having commended himself to God, he protested he died a chaste maid, which he did acknowledge was Christ's special grace, and not his own ability or worthiness, and that he ever hated all carnal acts, and such sins for which the catholic religion or profession had been slandered; for which grace he rendered thanks to God. Then, 'I have been, saith he, indicted and accused that I was a priest, but I will neither confess nor deny the same; but at the last day, when all secrets are revealed, and Christ shall come in glory to judge the world, to whom I hope I am now going, he will then reveal what I am.' Then being ready to die, having stood long in his shirt, the weather being cold, and the morning frosty, yet showed he no shivering, nor once to quake, but most readily yielded his hands to be tied by the executioner; and the cart being ready to be drawn away, he asked if it were not good, or the fashion to have a handkerchief over his eyes? The people cried, Yes; one offering a foul one, which was refused. Mr. Almond said it was no matter: then a stander-by gave him a clean one, and tied it over his face, which still looked cheerful. Then he desired the executioner to give him a sign when the cart was to be drawn away, 'that he might die with the name of his blessed Saviour Jesus, that sweet name of comfort, in his mouth.' He often repeated these words, *In manus tuas Domine, &c.*, and the sign being given, he cried, Jesu, Jesu, Jesu; and then hanging for about the space of three *Pater-nosters*, some of the standers-by pulling him by the legs to despatch his life; he was cut down and quartered, his soul flying swiftly to Him that redeemed us all, for whose quarrel he protested he died. So far the MS., written by an eye-witness.

As for Dr. King, bishop of London, who is supposed to have been the principal promoter of Mr. Almond's death; instead of reaping any joy from the execution of this good priest, he is said to have been ever after a man of sorrows. And if we may believe what is confidently asserted by the catholic writers of those times, he was, before his death, favoured by a grace, seldom granted to persecutors, to become, himself, a catholic, and to die in the communion of that church, which he had cruelly persecuted. In the preface of a book, published in his name, after his death, and called, "The Bishop of London's Legacy:" he is introduced thus, addressing himself to our martyr. 'O happy Almond, who here upon earth, didst mask thyself under the name of Molineux! in thy blood, even in thy blood did I wash my hands: it was I that did further thy death. Be thou, O blessed saint, who now seest and hearest me, (*Quid non vidit, qui videntum omnia vidit?* What does he not see, who sees Him that sees all things?) be thou, I say, out of thy seraphical charity, as propitious to pray for the remitting of that crying sin, as I am ready to acknowledge the sin: and let thy blood (guilty of no other treason than in not being a traitor to Christ and his church) not resemble the blood of Abel, which cried for revenge against his brother, but rather the blood of Christ, which prayed for pardon of his crucifiers.' Epistle to the reader, p. 10, 11.—Mr. Almond suffered at Tyburn, December the 5th, 1612, in the 45th year of his age, the eleventh of his mission.

JOHN MAWSON, LAYMAN.

I FIND this name in the list of those that suffered this year for the catholic religion: but with little or no particulars. He was apprehended whilst he was actually hearing mass: but as this is not capital, by our laws, he must have suffered on some other charge. Whether it was for being reconciled to the Roman catholic church; or for assisting priests; or for being instrumental in the conversion of others, &c., my short memoirs do not inform me: only that he suffered at Tyburn, upon the penal statutes then in force against the English catholics.

This year, 1612, according to B. W. in his manuscript concerning the English Benedictine congregation, Thomas Hill, D. D. who from a seminary priest, educated in the colleges of Rhemes and Rome, became a monk of the said congregation, was condemned to die for his priestly character; but was not executed. He died afterwards, at Douay in 1644, in the 84th year of his age, the 53d of his priesthood, and the 33d of his religious profession. He was the author of a little book of motives to the catholic religion, entitled, *A Quartron of Reasons, &c.*, which archbishop Abbot undertook to answer.

During the three following years, 1613, 1614, and 1615, though the catholics were still great sufferers, on account of their recusancy, by heavy fines, close imprisonments, &c., yet I find none put to death for their religion. In the latter end of 1615, I find in the Douay diary, Mr. Smith, Mr. Blount, and Mr. Brown, priests, sent into banishment from Wisbich castle, and in the same year, father Robert Edmonds, O. S. B. died a prisoner for his faith, in the Gatehouse. But in the year 1616, the sword of persecution was again unsheathed, and no less than four priests, and one layman, were put to death upon the penal statutes.

THOMAS ATKINSON, PRIEST.—1616. *

THOMAS ATKINSON was born in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest, as appears by the college diary, in 1588, and sent the same year upon the English mission. His missionary labours were employed in his native country, where, for near 30 years, he faithfully and zealously discharged every part of the duty of an apostolic pastor. 'In recalling many, says my author, to the catholic faith; in diligently visiting his flock, which were numerous, and spread in many distant places, to confirm them with the sacraments, to encourage them, and push them forward to the practices of virtue, and to arm them against the deceits and fury of their adversaries; travelling always on foot; frequently passing whole nights without sleep, either employed in the

* From a letter sent over to Douay by a missionary priest in 1616, giving an account of the death of Mr. Atkinson, and the others that suffered that year, published the following year at Douay, under the title of Exemplar Literarum, &c., page 43. Item from two manuscripts in my hands.

functions of his ministry, or in his journeys; for by serving the same parts of the country for so many years, he was become so well known to the heretics, that he could not safely travel by day. Till at length, it pleased the divine Majesty, to reward these labours of his servant, and his tears, which he continually shed in prayer, and his most holy life by a glorious and triumphant death.'

Of Mr. Atkinson and his labours, thus also writes the lady Babthorpe, his cotemporary, in a manuscript which I have before me. 'There was a good priest, one Mr. Atkinson, in our country, who lived long in doing great service to God: taking great pains in serving the poor, who, without such pains, could not have had those helps and comforts that they stood in need of in that time. For divers years, he travelled afoot, enduring all weathers; and many times, when he had a weary and wet day, the houses to which he went, could not receive him in; but he was obliged to stay in some out-house or corner, being both wet and cold, and even in the time of frost and snow, so long, till the owners of the houses could receive him in with safety. This he used so long, that in a great frost, he got a fall and broke his leg; in the cure of which he suffered much, lighting on a bad surgeon. Yet after his recovery, he used his former charity and pains; but not being able to travel much on foot, he had a horse to help him. In this man, God showed wonderful things at his taking and imprisonment.—One was, that his irons fell off his legs, when the keeper had fastened them on; which being reported to the lord Sheffield, who was the president of the North, he sent to the keeper to know if it were true, who confessed the truth. Another charity the good man used, was, when he came to poor folks houses, he would not let them be at any charge, but both found himself meat and them; and gave them money too: so what he received from those that were able, he bestowed on the poor.

His apprehension and death, is thus briefly related, in a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's, written the same year that he suffered, and agreeing perfectly with the printed account published at Douay.

'A venerable priest called Mr. Atkinson, a man of 70 years of age, or more, who had laboured in this vineyard about 30, (rather 28) years, in the province of York, going always on foot, and for the most part, by night, from one catholic house to another, to help, confess, and administer the holy sacraments; in this present year of our Lord, 1616, coming to the house of a catholic gentleman, "Mr. Vavasour of Willitoft," was espied by a heretic, and suspected to be a priest; who maliciously advertised some officers of it: and they coming with all speed, met the said priest coming from the catholic house, and apprehended him; carrying him with the gentleman, his wife and children, guarded with armed men, to the city of York. Where "it being the time of the assizes," he was brought before the president and the judges there present. They examined him, Whether he was a priest or no? Which the holy man would not acknowledge, for fear of endangering the goods and lives of the gentleman, and his wife and children, "who had harboured him;" yet would not directly deny, because he would not say any thing that might have any colour or appearance of untruth. Yet the judges, having no other proof or witness, condemned him to death, and gave sentence on him as a traitor.

'They found about him at his apprehension a pair of beads, some blessed grains, with a copy of indulgences granted by his holiness, which they there read publicly to the people, laughing and scoffing at them, and saying a thousand untruths of the use of them, as heretics are accustomed; and by reason they found these things about him, they were confirmed in their opinion that he was a priest, and thereupon impanelled a jury and condemned him. And on the 11th of March, according to our style, he was drawn upon a hurdle from the prison to the place of execution, where he had his life offered him if he would take the oath, which he constantly refusing, was turned off the ladder, and being half dead, was cut down by the executioner, "dismembered, bowelled, and quartered;" all which he suffered with wonderful patience, courage and constancy, and signs of great comfort, seeing that now fulfilled in him which he had so long desired, not without some foreknowledge, by vision, from God, as himself secretly discovered to some friends that were with him in the same prison, where, at this present are remaining about eighty other catholics, condemned most of them in a premunire, that is to say, the loss of all their goods, and perpetual imprisonment.

'A certain young man, a catholic, having a desire to get some relics of this holy martyr, bought of the hangman his stockings, which a protestant espying, caused the young man to be examined by the magistrate; and being found to be a catholic, and the servant of a catholic gentleman, they sent him to prison, where he remains and suffers with the rest.

'After the condemnation and death of this holy man, the judges and justices of the assizes, perceiving their proceedings not to be pleasing to the people, (having condemned him against all law, without either witness, or other substantial proof, only for having beads about him, and because he would not directly deny himself to be a priest,) endeavoured to satisfy the world, by producing afterwards a base wicked fellow, who witnessed before them, that the party condemned was a priest, and that he had sometimes seen him say mass.' Mr. Atkinson suffered at York, March 11, 1615–16.

His Latin life, printed at Douay, 1617, confirms the truth of that extraordinary event, of his irons falling off his legs, when he was employed in prayer, as a thing well known and attested by many; as also the vision he had before his apprehension, in which our blessed Lady revealed to him that he should glorify her Son, by suffering for his cause a cruel martyrdom.

JOHN THULIS, PRIEST, AND ROGER WRENNO, OR WORREN, LAYMAN.*

JOHN THULIS was born in Lancashire, at a place called Up-Holland, and performed the greatest part of his studies abroad in Douay college,

* From a printed account of their martyrdom, published at Douay in 1617, and from a manuscript in my hands.

during its residence at Rhemes; from whence, being now a student in divinity and in holy orders, he was sent to Rome, where he was made priest. After his return to England he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and was for many years a close prisoner in Wisbich castle; when, or how he escaped, or was released from thence, I have not found, but for the latter part of his time he seems to have exercised his missionary functions in his own country; at least there he was apprehended by order of William, earl of Derby, and committed prisoner in the county jail of Lancaster.

His Latin life, printed at Douay the year after his execution, informs us, that God Almighty had prepared this his servant for the crown of martyrdom, by many trials and crosses, which he had underwent with a wonderful courage and tranquillity of mind; and that once when he was brought to death's door by extremity of sickness, and had received all the rites of the church, he was divinely admonished that he was not to die that time, but to look for a more glorious death by martyrdom; that he was a man exceedingly mortified in his life; and who had acquired so great a command of his passions, that, though by nature he was of a choleric disposition, he had so far overcome himself, that even in the midst of calumnies and lies, which were unjustly cast upon him, he behaved with that temper and meekness, and so moderated all his words, as if nothing had come out of his mouth but what had been well studied and meditated beforehand: insomuch that one of the judges, who sat upon him at his trial, was heard to say in the company of many gentlemen, that he had scarce met in all the north of England with a man of so much modesty, prudence, and temper.

In the same prison of Lancaster castle, where Mr. Thulis was confined, among other catholics, there was one Roger Wrenno, or Worren, a weaver by trade, but a zealous and devout soul. These two not long before the lent assizes, 1616, found means to make their escape out of prison about five in the evening; and making the best of their way, as they imagined, from that time till the next day, walking all that while a good round pace; when they thought they were now about thirty miles from Lancaster, they found themselves to be very near that town, God's holy will designing for them there the crown of martyrdom. So being discovered at sun rising in that neighbourhood, they were apprehended, and brought back again to their lodgings in the castle, where they were sure to be better looked to for the future. Soon after this, the assizes came on, when they were both brought to their trial, and both condemned. Mr. Thulis was sentenced to die as in cases of high treason, for being a priest, and exercising his priestly functions in this realm; and the weaver as in cases of felony, for relieving and assisting priests. Yet they both of them had their lives offered them, if they would take the new oath of allegiance; and as to Mr. Thulis, a gentleman of that country, (Mr. Ashton, of Leaver,) who was his godson, proffered him £40 a year for his life, if he would comply; but they both constantly refused the oath, as inconsistent with truth and their conscience.

The day appointed for their execution was the 18th of March, when Mr. Thulis was brought out of the castle, and laid upon a hurdle, in order to be drawn to the gallows. As he took his last leave of his

fellow-priests, who remained there in prison, he recommended to them mutual love and charity, the proper characteristics of the true disciples of Christ. Wrenno was conducted at the same time to execution in the company of divers malefactors, who were to suffer the same day; four of whom had been lately reconciled in prison, by Mr. Thulis, to God and his church, and constantly professed to the last, the catholic faith, as the true and only saving religion.

At the gallows, when Mr. Thulis was going up the ladder, he was again called upon to save his life by taking the oath: and why, said they, should you boggle at it? It requires nothing more of you, than a civil allegiance to the king. Write me then, said he, a form of an oath which contains nothing but civil allegiance, and I will take it. They told him, they could tender him no other form of oath, than that which was ordered by the parliamentary statute; and that, said he, I cannot in conscience take; for it contains many things contrary to catholic faith. So he was turned off the ladder, and afterwards cut down and quartered. His four quarters were hung up at four of the chief towns of the county, viz.:—Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington; that at Preston was fixed to the church-steeple: and his head was set up on the castle walls.

As for Wrenno, the weaver, after he was turned off the ladder, the rope broke with the weight of his body, and he fell down to the ground: and after a short space, he came perfectly to himself, and going upon his knees, began to pray very devoutly, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven. Upon this, the ministers come up to him, and extol the providence and mercies of God in his regard, and likewise the king's clemency, who would give him his life, if he would but condescend, after all, to take the oath. The good man, at this, presently arose, saying, I am the same man I was, and in the same mind, use your pleasure with me: and with that he run to the ladder, and went up it as fast he could. How now, says the sheriff, what does the man mean, that he is in such haste? Oh! says the good man, if you had seen that which I have just now seen, you would be as much in haste to die, as I now am. And so the executioner putting a stronger rope about his neck, turned the ladder, and quickly sent him to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living, of which before he had had a glimpse.—They suffered at Lancaster, March 18, 1615–16.

THOMAS MAXFIELD, PRIEST.*

He was descended of an ancient family of this name, in Staffordshire. His father, who was a man of great piety, had suffered much for his religion; and besides the confiscation of his estate, and a long and close imprisonment of many years, was actually under sentence of

* From his life, published this same year at Douay, by Dr. Kellison, and from an account sent over to Dousy, by an eye-witness of his conflict; and printed there in the following year.

death for his faith when this son was born; his wife being at the same time a close prisoner for the same cause. As for Mr. Thomas, having got some little tincture of grammar in his own country, he was sent abroad to the English college of Douay, where he arrived in 1603, and there made a good progress in learning; finished his course of philosophy; and was advanced two years in the study of divinity, when he was attacked with a long and lingering sickness, which obliged him to interrupt his studies, and return to his native country, in hopes of recovering his health by change of air; which had its desired effect, for after some time he recovered, and then, without delay, crossed the seas again, and returned to the college; where, having completed his divinity, and being found by the superiors every way qualified by virtue and learning for an apostolic life, he was presented to holy orders, in 1614, and sent upon the mission in 1615.

At his coming to London, the first visit he made was to a priest, an intimate friend of his, a close prisoner in the Gate-house; where, likewise, he celebrated mass for the first time after his arrival in England. After which, three months did not pass before he was apprehended, being upon his knees before the altar, after mass, in recollection and prayer. In this posture, the pursuivants found him, and immediately laying hands upon him, violently hauled him away, as if he had been some notorious robber or housebreaker, taken in the fact.

He was convened before some of the bishops, who put the usual murdering questions unto him. Was he a Roman priest? Why did he presume, after having taken orders in the church of Rome, to return into England contrary to the laws of this nation? Was he willing to take the oath of allegiance? &c. To these interrogatories, Mr. Maxwell returned a plain and distinct answer, viz.: he owned himself a priest, ordained by a catholic bishop, according to the form appointed in the Roman pontificial, and by authority derived from the bishop of Rome. That as he was lawfully ordained, so was he likewise lawfully sent to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments to his countrymen: and that as the mission of priests lawfully ordained is originally from Christ, who sent his apostles even as his father had sent him, he humbly conceived no human laws could justly render his return into England, criminal; for this would be to prefer the ordinances of men to the commands of the supreme legislator, Christ, himself. As to the rest, he would pay obedience in all civil matters to his majesty; but would not take the oath of allegiance, as it was worded. Upon this he was sent to the Gate-house, where he had before offered to God the first fruits of his mission.

His conduct in prison (for about eight months) was truly religious and edifying to all. The author of the Latin account of his martyrdom, published at Douay the same year he suffered, who seems to have been an eye-wtness of his behaviour, gives this commendation of him: that he wholly devoted himself to prayer, and other religious exercises; that he used great mortifications; and that his comportment in general, during the time of his confinement in the Gatehouse, was such as afforded great comfort and edification to the other prisoners.

But as zeal for the conversion of souls was his predominant virtue,

it put him upon thoughts of making his escape out of prison, that he might be in a condition of being more serviceable to the souls of his neighbours at a time when priests were very much wanted. The design he communicated to a fellow-prisoner, a father of the Society of Jesus, who was his spiritual director, together with his motives and reasons; and further to learn the will of heaven, he earnestly recommended the affair to God in his devotions for many days; adding fasting and alms to his prayers, and humbly beseeching the Almighty to manifest his will to him, and give such issue to the undertaking as should be best pleasing to him, and most conducive to his divine honour and glory.

And now having concerted his measures, he attempted to put his design in execution, on the 24th of June, 1616; letting himself down in the dead of the night, from a high window, by the help of a cord. But when he was just come to the ground, he was surprised to find himself fast in the arms of an unknown person; who, by his loud cries, gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, and so turnkeys, watchmen, &c., came rushing in upon him, and after having hauled, dragged, beat, and buffeted him, to make sure work, they thrust him under a table, girding about his neck a massive collar of iron: to this again, they fastened a ponderous chain of an hundred weight, wherewith they inhumanly load and fetter him; and in this painful posture, they keep him for some hours, till the morning, and then he met with even more barbarous usage, as we shall now see.

There was in the Gatehouse, a subterraneous dungeon, a deep and dark hole, which, if we may judge by the filth and nastiness of the place, had not been opened or made use of, for a long time: in this dungeon was a pair of wooden stocks, of an odd contrivance, made not so much to secure, as to torture the prisoner. Here, by the jailor's orders, Mr. Maxfield was to take up his quarters; and in this engine his feet were fastened in such a manner, that he could neither stand upright, nor yet lie down: or turn and move his body into any other posture for a little ease; to which, was added another torment more intolerable to human nature, from the swarms of venomous insects, generated in the filth and moisture of the vault, which by their creeping over his body, fast locked up in this cruel machine, sorely annoyed him, without his being able to make the least defence against them. The darkness, stench, horror, and torments of this place, the confessor of Christ endured from before day-break on Friday, till Monday night, that is, for above seventy hours together, without the least intermission, till a warrant was sent from the council for his immediate removal to Newgate, in order for his trial.

There was something so very cruel and barbarous in this treatment of Mr. Maxfield, that it moved the whole prison to compassionate his condition, and to study to give him help: so that not without danger of incurring the like penalty, they raised up a plank, and opened a small passage over the dungeon, through which they spoke to him, pitied his extreme sufferings, and threw him in an old blanket to cover him, being before almost naked. And a priest of the society, a prisoner there, whom Mr. Maxfield had made use of for his confessarius, ventured to

come to this hole to speak to him, to comfort him, and to exhort him to patience and courage. But what surprised this good father very much, was, to find the man of God so far from being dejected amidst that variety of sufferings, or in need of any human comforts, that his soul seemed to be elevated with supernatural lights, and abounding with heavenly consolations.

On Monday, at night, he was dragged out of his dungeon; living, indeed, and that was all; his face as pale as that of a dead corpse; his spirits sunk with hunger and want of rest, to that degree, that he was under continual faintings away: his hands and feet so benumbed, as to have lost all feeling and use; insomuch, that it was some time before he was able to move. However, the same night, having first fettered his arms, they hurried him away, and forced him to walk from Westminster to Newgate. Here he was committed to the common side, amongst a gang of felons, and was loaded with heavy irons, without any other convenience for a little rest, but the bare floor. But that which gave this holy soul the greatest pain, was, the profane and impious discourse of those miserable wretches, who, though threatened with approaching death, yet took no care to make their peace with God, but added daily, new crimes to their former load of wickedness, without the least remorse or sense of God's judgment upon impenitent sinners. Mr. Maxfield laid hold of every occasion to bring these poor wretches to a sense of their deplorable state, and to a repentance for their sins: and the divine goodness gave that blessing to his words, that he reconciled two of the felons to God and his church. The keepers were soon acquainted with it, and he looked for nothing less than the stocks or dungeon a second time; but as his trial was at hand, and he was looked upon to be a dead man; they winked at it; only took care to prevent the like practices for the future, by removing him from the common side, and placing him amongst his fellow-priests, a comfort he could not obtain before.

On Wednesday, the 26th of June, 1616, Mr. Maxfield was brought to the bar. The trial was soon over, for being indicted for taking orders in the Roman church, and exercising the same in England, he fairly confessed himself a priest, and so was remanded back to Newgate, locked up in a separate place by himself, loaded with heavy irons, and so strictly looked to, that no person was allowed to visit him. However, he procured by some means or other, to desire his fellow-priests in the other part of the prison, to recite the *Te Deum*, to give thanks to God for the blessings he had received that day. The next morning, he was again brought to the bar, to receive sentence, when the judge offered him his life, provided he would take the oath of allegiance. To which Mr. Maxfield replied, that his conscience would not permit him to take that oath, in the manner it was worded; for that it contained some expressions, which he conceived, were not consistent with truth. Then turning himself to the standers-by, he desired them to take notice, that he was condemned for no other crime but his priesthood, no other treason being so much as objected against him; and that even for this too, in their own hearing, pardon had been offered him, provided he would take the oath of allegiance. He therefore protested, upon the word of a dying man, that he acknow-

ledged King James his true and lawful sovereign; that he bore him, true and faithful allegiance, and was willing to declare the same upon oath, provided it were done without such clauses and assertions as are contrary to truth, and the catholic religion. After he had said this, he was proceeding to show the iniquity of the laws, by which men were condemned to death for exercising priestly functions, in a nation which had been converted to the christian faith by priests of the same religion; when the court interrupted him, bidding him attend to the sentence, which was pronounced in the usual form, viz; that he should be drawn to the place of execution, hanged, then cut down alive, dismembered and bowelled, his bowels to be thrown into the fire, his head to be severed from the body, his body quartered, &c. After sentence pronounced, he was hurried back to prison, and thrust into the condemned hole, where he lay till the execution day.

Strict orders were sent to Newgate, that no papists should have access to the prisoner. However, some few made interest to see him. Amongst others, a lady of quality found means to make him a charitable visit, who declared herself very much edified and comforted with his heavenly discourses and saintlike comportment.

The Spanish ambassador went to court to solicit a pardon for him; and that being refused, he petitioned at least for a reprieve; but was told that his excellency must wait till Tuesday next, for a final answer. This was on Sunday evening; and the death-warrant being signed for the executing the prisoners the very next day, the ambassador suspected the worst, but knew not how to remedy it. However, he sent his own son to wait on Mr. Maxfield personally, in Newgate, and with him his director, F. Didacus de Puente, a religious man of great learning and piety, of the order of St. Dominick, who in company of some others of the Spanish nation, got admittance to see and comfort the holy man, and to desire his prayers, not only for the ambassador and his family, but also for the king his master and the whole nation of Spain: assuring him withal, that no endeavours should be wanting on the ambassador's part, to procure him a reprieve, though he very much doubted whether he should succeed

These pious visiters found the priest of Jesus Christ in a dark dungeon, loaded with heavy irons, like the worst of malefactors; but withal perfectly calm, and even modestly cheerful under his sufferings. And though he was pretty well convinced that he was to die the next morning; yet was he so far from appearing dejected or dismayed at the terrors of approaching death, or the least dissatisfied with his lot, that on the contrary there appeared both in his countenance, and in his words and actions, such manifest signs of christian fortitude, and of an entire dependence and confidence in the divine protection for his support and strength in that last dreadful hour, together with such a saintlike and heavenly air in the whole conversation he had with these strangers, as transported them with a holy joy at the sight of the victim of faith, and filled them with respect and veneration towards so great a servant of God. The acts of his martyrdom tell us, that they threw themselves at his

feet; that they kissed his hands and his chains, and even the very ground he trod on, beseeching him with tears that they might be serviceable to him in one kind or other. Mr. Maxfield thanked them for their charitable offers, but told them, he wanted nothing but theirs, and other good christians' prayers, for obtaining the grace of God, that he might persevere to the end, and overcome the difficulties he was to encounter with; and therefore being very sensible of his own weakness and insufficiency, he desired them to pray for him. He likewise desired them to use their good offices with the ambassador, that at his return to Spain he would recommend to his catholic majesty the English college of Douay, upon which his royal predecessor, Philip the second, had settled an annual pension, which he hoped the present king, at the intercession of his excellency, would be pleased to continue. Upon this, they took their leave of him, and left him to his devotions. And the reverend father confessor, at his return home, caused the blessed sacrament to be solemnly exposed in the ambassador's chapel, where the family and other catholics spent the night in prayer in behalf of this holy priest, who was in the morning to pour forth his blood in defence of the catholic religion.

The next day, (the first of July,) very early in the morning, Mr. Maxfield was demanded by the sheriff to be carried to the place of execution: and accordingly his irons were struck off, and he was immediately led out. It was observed, that much artifice was used to manage this business with as little noise as possible, insomuch that his fellow-prisoners, the priests and other catholics, who were lodged in that quarter of Newgate over against him, were kept close up, and not permitted so much as to see him, or receive his last blessing as he passed by. However, when he came opposite to the window, he turned his face towards it, and with an audible voice, bid them all adieu, and then making the sign of the cross upon himself and the crowd, he calmly and cheerfully laid himself down upon the sledge.

The adversaries, to prevent the great concourse of people, besides choosing so early an hour, had ordered that a woman should at the same time be burnt in Smithfield, in hopes that this would make considerable diversion, and draw a great part of the people that way: but all was to no purpose, the people poured in from all parts of the town: and streets, windows, and balconies were all thronged with unusual numbers to see this holy priest drawn to Tyburn: and great multitudes there were, horse and foot, who accompanied him to the very place of execution, amongst whom were many catholics of fashion as well foreigners as English. The Spaniards distinguished themselves upon this occasion, who joined themselves in a body, and though they met with many affronts, forced their way through the crowd to the sledge, and accompanied the confessor to the end of his stage, frequently exhorting him to constancy and perseverance, and begging for themselves his prayers and blessing, with their heads uncovered and bowed down in the most respectful manner.

This was a sensible mortification to some people, who notwith-

standing their forwardness to have this priest taken off, would gladly have had it done in a more private way; well knowing that putting priests to death for religious matters only, could not fail to bring an odium upon protestants. But there was yet another circumstance that was not less vexatious to them, for when they arrived at Tyburn, they found the gibbet beautifully adorned with garlands, and wreaths of flowers, and the ground all covered with odoriferous herbs and greens, in honour of the martyr who was going to suffer there, and of the cause for which he was to shed his blood.

Mr. Maxfield being now in the cart, turned himself to the people, and with a serene countenance and modest assurance, spoke to them to this purpose.

DEAR COUNTRYMEN,*—'Whereas, my return into England, and my remaining here is the cause of my being brought hither to suffer a disgraceful death, I beg leave to assure you upon the word of a dying man, that my errand into my native country, after many years spent abroad, was not to encourage treasons and rebellions, or withdraw his majesty's subjects from their allegiance, or in any kind to intermeddle in state affairs, but only to be serviceable to the souls of my dear countrymen, by endeavouring to remove their errors, and bring them back to the faith of their ancestors. Know also, good people, that I am not of the number of those, of whom God complains by the mouth of his prophet, that they went without his sending. No, God forbid that I should undertake a business of this consequence without authority of superiors. I came here, because I was sent, and I was sent and commissioned to preach to you, by the same apostolic see which formerly sent St. Augustine and his companions into this kingdom, to instruct our Saxon ancestors in the faith of Jesus Christ; and surely as my mission was from the same authority, and directed to the same end, viz: the conversion of Englishmen to the catholic faith; by condemning me of treason for taking orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in England, you cannot but see that you involve St. Augustine in the same guilt of treason, a thing in itself absurd to all intents and purposes'

Here the sheriff interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed; giving orders at the same time to the executioner to do his office. Upon which, Mr. Maxfield, falling upon his knees, employed himself for a few minutes in private devotions; then he raised his voice, and prayed aloud for the king, queen, and royal family, and likewise for the people of this kingdom in general; and after another pause, in silent prayer, he prayed again aloud for his persecutors, earnestly beseeching Almighty God to forgive all, as he for his part sincerely forgave them, who had been any ways instrumental in taking away his life. These prayers he made with a sedate countenance, and a devotion edifying to all. And now the executioner having fitted the cord to his neck, the confessor lifted up his eyes to heaven, and stretching forth his right hand, gave his last blessing to the people, which the greater part received with bare heads, and many of them kneeling. Then beseeching the catholics to assist his departing soul with their fervent prayers, he

* Exemplar Literarum, p. 29.

repeated aloud these words, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit, and so the cart was drawn away.

He had hanged a very little while, when the sheriff cried out to the executioner to cut the rope, and butcher him alive, according to sentence. But the crowd opposing it, and by loud reproaches testifying their horror of such a barbarous proposition, the executioner held his hand, and he was permitted to hang till he was dead, at least to all sense of pain, and then he was bowelled and quartered.

The sheriff, to show his zeal, forbade, upon pain of imprisonment, that any one should dare to carry off any part of the body, or of his garments, or even of the straw upon which the body was butchered. And to prevent the catholics from stealing afterwards any of his relics, he ordered a pit to be made near the gallows, of an unusual depth, into which he threw the mangled limbs of the servant of God, and over them two half rotten carcases of felons that had been buried there a month before; and upon these again he cast in the bodies of thirteen malefactors who were executed that day, pressing down upon them a great quantity of earth, and so he thought he had done the work effectually. But some zealous young men, that very night, notwithstanding all the sheriff's precautions, opening the hole, took up the mangled body of the martyr, and carried it away in order to a more decent interment. He suffered July 1st, 1616.

Mr. Maxfield a little while before his trial, wrote the following letter to Dr. Kellison, then president of Douay college, the original of which is to this day preserved in the college.

'Most reverend and most dear father, as in duty I am bound never to forget you, who have ever had so tender and fatherly care of me; so now especially I must in no ways omit to write to you, being, peradventure the last time that ever I must salute you; for that now I expect with some hopes, (if so unworthy a wretch may presume to hope for so great a dignity,) to end my days in the just quarrel of my lord and master, Christ Jesu. I suppose, good sir, now that it has come to your notice of my attempt out of the Gatehouse; and how it hath pleased God to dispose of me, and deliver me again into the hands of my enemies, who apprehending me, put me to suffer unusual affliction and misery; the particular relation whereof, I choose rather to remit to some other, than myself to be the reporter. From thence I was removed by special warrant to Newgate: whence, as all men tell me, I am to be produced to my answer upon Wednesday or Thursday next, there to receive my trial on life and death, the happiest news and tidings that ever I heard: God give me strength and courage, and make me to glorify his glorious name by my death; and so to fill up the number of my glorified brethren, that are gone before me: I think myself most happy that I am branched out of, and still remain a member of that blessed house of Douay, that has afforded to our poor barren country so much good and happy seed. I am therefore yours, and so will live and die. Let me, therefore, dear father, be made partaker of your good prayers, and commend me, I beseech you, to all my good and dearly beloved brethren, whose happi-

ness I wish ever as my own; and I will never cease, God willing, to pray for you and them, and for the prosperity of that house, both in life and after death. I am forced, dear good sir, to be brief, through the much company that cometh to me at this present, and other necessary business; but I hope you will pardon me, and accept of this as a token of great good will. I am your poor debtor, and, if I live, I will one day defray all; if otherwise, I hope you will remit it. And so in haste being called to the grate by the sheriff's man, I bid you, dear father, farewell, in Christ Jesu.

Your ever most dutiful, THOMAS MAXFIELD.

THOMAS TUNSTAL, ALIAS, HELMES, PRIEST.*

THOMAS TUNSTAL, (who, in the Douay records, is called Helmes) was collaterally descended from the ancient family of the Tunstals, of Thurland, in Lancashire, (which, afterwards, removed into Yorkshire, where they have long resided at Scargill, Hutton, or Wickliff) but was himself born in the diocese of Carlisle. He performed his studies abroad in the English college of Douay; was ordained priest in 1609, and sent on the English mission, in 1610. Here he quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors, and spent four or five years of his mission in different prisons. His last confinement before his final apprehension, was in Wisbich castle, from whence he made his escape, letting himself down by a rope. From Wisbich, he made the best of his way into Norfolk, where he took shelter in a friend's house not far from Lynn. But he had been there very few days, when search was made for him, and he was apprehended.

There was in that neighbourhood a charitable lady, who did great service to the poor in the way of surgery. Mr. Tunstal stood in great want of such assistance, having grievously galled and wounded his hands by the rubbing of the rope, at the time when he made his escape; the sores, for want of proper applications, being grown exceeding painful. Therefore his catholic host advised him to apply to lady l'Estrange (this was her name,) and put himself under her care. She received him kindly, dressed his wounds, and promised him her best assistance for making a cure. However the good lady could not forbear talking to her husband, Sir Hammond l'Estrange, a justice of peace, of some particulars relating to her new patient; as, that he was in poor apparel, yet a gentleman-like man in his discourse and behaviour; but withal somewhat reserved in giving an account how he came by those wounds in his hands; that he was a stranger in the country, and lodged at the house of a popish recusant. The justice immediately cried out, This must be the popish priest lately escaped out of Wisbich, for whom he had that day received orders to make diligent search. Upon this, the lady is reported to have cast herself on her knees, to intercede for the

* From the account of his martyrdom, printed at Douay, in 1618, and from a manuscript sent me by C—— C——, Esq., and two other written relations.

man, begging her husband to take no notice of what she had said; adding, that she should be an unhappy woman all her life, if the priest should come to any trouble through her speeches. But notwithstanding all she could say or do, the knight persisted in his resolution of securing the man, and accordingly sent out his warrant, and had him seized and brought before him. And though the lady again renewed her instances to have him dismissed, yet she could not be heard: but Mr. Tunstal was forthwith committed to Norwich jail, where at the next assizes he was brought upon his trial and condemned.

By the *Exemplar Litterarum*, p. 36, &c., printed account of his martyrdom, published at Douay the same year, he was condemned upon the testimony of one single witness, and he a man of no conscience or honesty. This fellow made oath, that the prisoner had seduced two of the king's subjects from the protestant religion, to the superstitions of the church of Rome, and that he had made some attempts that way upon himself. Mr. Tunstal desired the parties might be allowed to speak what they knew; and being called upon, they both declared that what Symons the witness had sworn, was false; the prisoner's discourse to them being no other than a persuasive to holiness of life in general; and that neither of them had been reconciled: this, both of them offered to confirm upon oath. Symons being called again, farther deposed, that the prisoner had confessed himself to be a priest, in his hearing; and also, that he had been at Rome, and had spoken to the pope, who had conferred upon him power to forgive sins and dispense indulgences. This was perjury with a witness, for Mr. Tunstal had never seen Rome or Italy in his life. However, his solemn denial of these things was not regarded: but the jury was directed by the judge to find the prisoner guilty of the indictment, which was done accordingly.

The jury had no sooner brought in their verdict, but Mr. Tunstal signing himself with the sign of the cross, and falling upon his knees, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, cried out in an audible voice, *Benedicta sit sancta trinitas, atque indivisa unitas; confitebimur ei, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam.* Blessed be the holy trinity, and undivided unity, we will confess to him, because he has showed his mercy unto us: and in that posture continued for a while in prayer.

Here, the judge "Altam" demanded if he would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy? Mr. Tunstal replied, his conscience would not permit him to take those oaths; but if his lordship was pleased to appoint some minister to confer with him, he should be glad of the opportunity of rendering an account of his faith; and that he did earnestly entreat him that a conference might be had about religion, that truth might appear. But the judge cut him short, telling him, he was a crafty disputant, a cunning sophister, and as such, not to be heard or treated with by way of dispute. Instead of that, he bid him hearken to the sentence of death which he was to pronounce upon him, viz: that he should be drawn through the streets, to the place of execution, where he should be hanged by the neck, then cut down alive, &c. *Deo Gratias*, says Mr. Tunstal; and then, with a smiling countenance, turning to the judge, Why, my good lord, says he, this whole

dreadful sentence imports but one death; and I do assure your lordship, by the help of God's grace, I am not ashamed, nor afraid of death, come when it will.

The next day, about 9 o'clock, the sheriff with his officers, came to demand the prisoner: Mr. Tunstal with a cheerful countenance, saluted them, courteously telling them, he was ready to obey their orders; accordingly being brought to the hurdle, he fell upon his knees, and after some short devotions, rising up, he signed himself and the hurdle, with the sign of the cross, and so delivered himself to the officers to be pinioned and tied upon it, as they thought proper. He was drawn, for a long mile, through the street and ways so full of dust, that he had like to have been suffocated with it. When they arrived at the gallows, he was taken off the hurdle; and kneeling down at the foot of the ladder, he employed about a quarter of an hour in fervent prayer. When he got up, Sir Hammond l'Estrange, alighting off his horse, came and spoke to him in a courteous manner, with his head uncovered, to this effect. Well, Mr. Tunstal, I find then, you are determined to die, and I hope you are prepared for it. Indeed, Sir Hammond, says the holy man, die I must, neither do I repine at it; on the contrary, I have great reason to rejoice that I am to die in so good a cause; and therefore, I cannot but be thankful in a particular manner, to Sir Hammond l'Estrange, for being chiefly instrumental in bringing me to this place. I do heartily forgive you, sir, and I beseech God that my guiltless blood may not lie heavy upon you and yours. Sir Hammond thanked him, and so departed.

Then the sheriff ordered him to go up the ladder; which he did with great courage, blessing himself, kissing both the gallows and the rope, and having spent another quarter of an hour in private devotion, he turned to the people, and began to speak upon the text, *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo, &c.*, 1 Cor. iv. 9. but was commanded to desist, the ministers apprehending the impression that his words might make upon the standers-by. Then he offered to inform the people at least, of the true cause of his condemnation, that it was upon account of taking orders abroad, and exercising his priestly functions in England, and not for any treasonable practices against the king, or government; declaring withal, that what Symons had sworn of his being at Rome, was false: and that he had been condemned upon the testimony of one single witness, which he conceived was not according to law. But here again he was interrupted by Sir Thomas Jenkinson, and ordered to forbear making reflections upon the proceedings of the court.

Then he once more recollected himself in prayer, often repeating aloud, those penitential words, O God be merciful to me a sinner: and often calling upon the holy name of Jesus, which he had in a manner, continually in his mouth; and imploring the intercession of the blessed virgin and the saints. Then he prayed aloud for the king, queen, and royal family, and for the people of England in general. 'Beseeching God in his great mercy, to open their eyes, and bring them to the knowledge of the true faith;' which prayer he repeated three different times, with much fervour and devotion. He also, put up a short, but fervent prayer to God for the conversion and repentance of his accuser,

Robert Symons, beseeching God to touch his heart with his powerful grace, that he might truly repent of his perjury, and do penance for his sin: declaring withal, that if he had ten thousand times as many lives as there were persons present in that crowd, he would most willingly, lay them all down for his religion.

Being asked, whether he was a jesuit, or a secular priest? He answered he was a secular priest, but had made a vow of entering into the holy order of St. Bennet, if it could be done; and therefore, he desired of the sheriff, that his head might be set up on St. Bennet's gate.

The sheriff and the ministers asked him, if he believed there was any merit in *good works*, and whether he expected to be saved by his good works. He answered, that good works were certainly meritorious, and great means of salvation, through the passion of Christ, without which, no one could be saved: but as for himself, he acknowledged himself a most unprofitable servant, or rather most wicked, and good for nothing; and therefore, had his whole recourse to the death and blood of his redeemer, and desired to hide himself in his wounds. Then he called for a glass of water to refresh his mouth, by reason of the great heat and the dust: and asking what o'clock it was, and being told it was about eleven; then, says he, it is near dinner time: Sweet Jesus! admit me, though most unworthy, to be a guest this day at thy heavenly table.

Near the gallows, but behind the back of the martyr, there was a great fire prepared to burn his bowels, and by it, the block on which he was to be quartered. Mr. Tunstal turned his face towards these objects, which would have shocked another person, and kept his eyes for some time fixed on them; and making the sign of the cross on the fire, remained a while in contemplation. Then the hangman fitted the rope to his neck, which the martyr devoutly kissed, and blessed with the sign of the cross, saying, Glory be to thee, O Lord. He also desired the executioner to give him notice when he was to be turned off, that he might die, with the holy name of Jesus in his mouth. They told him, that he might give the sign himself, if he pleased: but this, he said, he would not do, because he would by no means, hasten his own death.

After this, he again made the sign of the cross, and lifting up his hands, begged the catholics that were there present, to recommend his departing soul to God; and addressed himself to his Savour in these words of the church, Bone Jesu, verbum Patris, splendor æternæ gloriæ, &c. Good Jesus, the word of the Father, the brightness of eternal glory, &c. Adding at the end, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: and often repeating the name of Jesus, till the executioner gave him notice; now Mr. Tunstal, and turned him off, having these words in his mouth, Jesu, Jesu, have mercy on me.

And thus expired this constant confessor of Christ, having never shown from the beginning to the end the least token of fear, nor so much as changed his colour. The lookers on, who were very numerous, and amongst them many persons of note, were all sensibly affected with the sight of his death: many shed tears, all spoke kindly and compassionately of him, and appeared edified with his saintlike behaviour.

He was permitted to hang till he was dead; then was cut down, bowelled, and quartered. His head was placed on St. Bennet's gate, in Norwich, according to his request, his quarters on the walls of the city, where they hung for some time, but then were privately taken down. He suffered July 13, 1616. The judge who condemned him, died before he had finished his circuit; and most of the jury came to untimely ends, or great misfortunes.

The year 1617, passed without any executions of catholics for religion.

WILLIAM SOUTHERNE, PRIEST.—1618.*

He was an alumnus and priest of the English college of Douay, and the last that suffered in the reign of king James the first. I have met with but few particulars relating to the life and death of this holy man. Raissius in his catalogue of the priests of Douay college who have suffered in England, printed at Douay, 1630, p. 82, informs us, from the letters which the college had received from persons of undoubted credit on the spot, that this apostolic priest during his mission was mostly employed in converting and assisting the poor: that being apprehended, he was condemned to die for being a priest: that he refused the oath of allegiance; that when the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he fell upon his knees and gave hearty thanks to God: that after condemnation he was forced to lie in a dark and loathsome dungeon for six days, because no one could be found during that time who would perform the office of the hangman. That he suffered at Newcastle; and that his head being set up on a spear on one of the town gates, was for some days after, by many, observed to smile.

Mr. Knaresborough, in his manuscript collections, adds, 'That he has been told, that Mr. Southerne's mission lay chiefly among the poorer sort of catholics at Bassage, in Staffordshire, an estate belonging to the Fowlers of St. Thomas; and that he was seized at the altar, and hurried away in his vestments to a neighbouring justice of peace, who committed him to Stafford jail; and this happening at the beginning of the assizes, he was immediately prosecuted, convicted and sentenced. That he was carried to Newcastle-under-Line, and was there strangled, and butchered, according to sentence. That his head is said to have been brought back to Stafford, and fixed upon a spear, on one of the gates in terrorem.' He suffered, April 30, 1618.

About the end of July of this same year, (as we learn from the Douay diary,) upon occasion of the treaty of marriage, which was then on foot between prince Charles and the infanta of Spain, at the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador, no less than sixty priests, who were confined

* From Arnoldus Raissius's catalogue of the Douay martyrs.

in divers prisons throughout the kingdom, were permitted to exchange their prisons for perpetual banishment, and were transported beyond the seas.

From the year 1618, till the death of king James the first, who died, March the 27th, 1625, I have not met with any mention of priests or others put to death in England for the catholic religion: unless we suppose F. Thomas Dyer, monk, of the venerable order of St. Bennet, to have suffered in this interval. Certain it is, that he suffered some time before the year 1630, because he has place in Raissius's catalogue published in that year: and as he there is set down after F. Maurus Scot, who was executed in 1612, I suppose that he suffered between the years 1612 and 1630. But where, or when in particular it was, I have not found: nor any thing else relating either to his life or death.

Whilst the match with Spain was in agitation, the catholics flattered themselves with hopes of being more mildly treated; and we learn from Rushworth's collections, vol. 1. p. 14, that the king, upon being informed that the court of Spain, before they would consent to make any advance in that affair, expected he should propose some conditions in favour of his catholic subjects, despatched over "anno 1620," Sir Walter Ashton with a letter to the king of Spain, 'promising on the word of a king, that no priest or lay catholic should thenceforth be condemned on any capital law; and that as the laws inflicting pecuniary mulcts for recusancy, though he could not at present rescind them, yet he promised to mitigate their execution, as thereby to oblige his catholic subjects. And farther, if the marriage should take effect, he promised his daughter-in-law should find him ready to indulge all favours which she should request for those of her religion.

But though the persecution upon this occasion relented, this intermission or remission was not of any long continuance: for in the year 1623, the match was entirely broke off, and the laws were ordered to be put in execution against all priests and papists recusants: many priests were apprehended and committed to prison: the lay-gentlemen were obliged all over the kingdom to pay their 20*l.* per month for their recusancy, and the poorer sort their shilling every Sunday: and as to all other pains and penalties, death only excepted, the persecuting statutes were executed for the remainder of this reign, with as much severity* as in any part of queen Elizabeth's days.

In the year 1624, Dr. William Bishop, titular bishop of Chalcedon, departed this life in the seventy-first year of his age, leaving behind him this character, that he was both generally esteemed and loved, both by the laity and clergy, as well secular as regular. That he was a person of an apostolic spirit and life, who had both laboured and suffered very much in the cause of the faith; having been twice imprisoned, and as often banished for his religion, which he had also maintained by divers

* I have by me copies of several letters, representing the most cruel treatment of the catholics at this time, especially in the north.

learned tracts against Mr. Perkins and Dr. Abbot. He was the son of John Bishop, Esq., of Brayles, in the county of Warwick; was sent to the university of Oxford, in the year 1570, where he was a student in Glocester Hall. But after three or four years' studying there, being dissatisfied with the protestant religion, he not only left the university, but also his estate, relations, and country, and went over to the college lately instituted at Douay. Here and at Rhemes he spent some years and was then sent to Rome,* and after some time upon the English mission. Immediately upon his landing in England he was apprehended and imprisoned, and some time after sent into banishment in 1585; upon this occasion he went to Paris, and there having gone through the usual exercises of the school, he was made doctor of Sorbon, and after divers years more spent in apostolical labours upon the mission, and a second imprisonment and banishment, he was at length by pope Urban VIII., in 1622, created bishop of Chalcedon. He died in or near London, April 13th, 1624, and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Smith.

In a manuscript relation concerning this great man, kept in the archives of the English college of Douay, there is this remarkable history of him. That upon his last return into England, after he was consecrated bishop in Flanders, he was privately advised by a principal magistrate, one of the king's privy council, (considering the present disposition of the parliament and the fury of the puritan faction, continually making remonstrances against the growth of popery,) to delegate his authority to some others in quality of his vicars, and to retire beyond the seas, at least for a time, till the storm blew over: but that he returned this generous answer, worthy of a Basil, or an Ambrose; That he was not afraid of the threats of the parliament; that as he had twice already suffered imprisonment for Christ, he was very willing to suffer it a third time, or if they should order any thing worse for him, he was ready to undergo it. That he did not come into England with a disposition to run away, as soon as he should see the wolf coming, but rather as a good shepherd, to lay down his life for his sheep.

After the decease of king James the first, his son Charles, the first of that name, ascended the throne. This prince, in his own nature, seems not to have been inclined to persecution, at least not so far as to come to the shedding of blood for religion; yet such was the iniquity of the times, and the importunity of the parliaments, ever complaining of the growth of popery, and urging the execution of the laws, that he gave way to all manner of severities against his catholic subjects, and issued out proclamation upon proclamation for the executing the laws against them. So that the generality of catholics had a very bad time of it under his government. The first that suffered death by the penal statutes under this king was

* By the Douay diary, he was made priest at Laon, in May, 1583.

EDMUND ARROWSMITH, PRIEST, S. J.—1628.*

EDMUND ARROWSMITH was born (as two several manuscripts in my
is expressly affirm,) at a place called Haddock, in the parish of
wick, five miles from Warrington, and seven from Wigan, in 1585.
father was Robert Arrowsmith, a yeoman or farmer in that country,
mother, Margery, was a gentlewoman of the ancient family of the
rards. Both his parents were catholics, and great sufferers for their
igion, as were also their fathers before them; for Thurstan Arrow-
smith, grandfather to our Edmund, after the loss of goods, and frequent
vexations from the pursuivants, suffered a long imprisonment, and died
in bonds, a confessor of Christ: and Mr. Nicholas Gerard, his grand-
father by the mother's side, being a constant professor of the catholic
faith, was by order of Sir Thomas Gerard, his own brother, forcibly
carried to the protestant church, (at a time when he was labouring un-
der a violent fit of the gout, so that he could not stir,) and there placed
over against the minister. But instead of joining with the minister or
congregation in their service, he sung psalms in Latin, with so loud a
voice, that the minister could not be heard, which obliged them to carry
him away out of church.

As to the father and mother of Mr. Edmund, my Latin manuscript
relates, that after divers other troubles, and losses sustained for their
conscience, they had their house searched by the pursuivants, who with
their swords tried every bed and every hole, in which they suspected
any priest, or priestly utensils might be hid; and then they and all their
family were tied two and two together, and drove to Lancaster jail, leav-
ing at home four little children, one of whom was our Edmund, whom
the pursuivants had taken out of bed in their shifts, and left standing in
the cold, not suffering any of the family to dress them, till some neigh-
bours compassionating their case, came in and did this charitable office
for the helpless infants. After this and some other imprisonments, from
which he redeemed himself by money, the father of our confessor went
abroad with his brother Peter, to be out of the way of these vexations;
and they both served for a time in the wars in Holland; Peter died at
Brussels, of a wound received in the wars, and was there honourably
interred. Robert, the father of our Edmund, went to Rhemes or Douay,
there to visit his other brother, Dr. Edmund Arrowsmith, a man of
great learning and piety, priest and professor in the college; and after
some time returned again to England, and there made a pious end, hav-
ing foretold his own death some time before.

Mrs. Arrowsmith being left a widow, and in low circumstances, a
venerable priest in that country, to ease her burden, took the boy Ed-
mund (then called Brian from the name by which he was christened)
into his service, to bring him up to learning. My Latin manuscript
tells us, that whilst he frequented the schools, his daily practice was, as
he went to school in the morning, to a place about a mile distance from

* From a Latin manuscript of his life, preserved in Douay college, from a printed relation, published a little more than a year after his martyrdom, and from three other manuscripts sent me from Douay.

home, to recite in the way with his brethren, the little hours of our lady's office: and when he was coming home at night, the vespers and complin: and that his first care after he came home was to withdraw into his oratory, and to perform his customary devotions of the Jesus psalter, the seven psalms, &c. And such was the sweetness of his temper, and his comportment, that even his protestant school-masters were very fond of him. At length, having tried in vain to pass over to one of the Spanish seminaries, he succeeded better in his attempt to go into Flanders, where he was received in the English college of Douay, in December, 1605.

Soon after his arrival at Douay, he received the sacrament of confirmation, in which he took the name of Edmund (which was the name of his uncle, Dr. Arrowsmith,) and by this name he was ever after called. He had performed here a great part of his humanity studies, when he was obliged by the bad state of his health to interrupt the course of them, and to return to his native country; where, in a short time, he recovered, and then his old master sent him back to the college: where, taking the usual oath, he was admitted amongst the pope's alumni; and applying himself close to his studies, though somewhat infirm in health, he made a great progress in learning; but as his too great application threatened a return of his former illness, his superiors thought it most advisable, (he having now gone though a good part of his divinity,) to present him to holy orders, and to send him into England. Upon this he received all the lesser orders in St. Nicholas's church at Douay, June 14, 1612; and before the end of the same year, was advanced to the greater orders at Arras, and there made priest, December 9. And on the 17th of June, of the following year, 1613, he was by Dr. Kellison, lately made president of the college, sent upon the English mission.

In England, he quickly recovered his health; and employed his missionary labours in his own country of Lancashire, with great zeal and success. The printed account of his death, published in 1630, gives his character in short, thus: 'That he was a man of mean presence, but of great innocency in his life, of great sincerity in his nature, of great sweetness in his conversation, and of great industry in his function. And that he was ever of a cheerful countenance, a most probable sign of an upright and unspotted conscience.' A fellow-labourer of his, in a manuscript which I have in my hands, tells us to the same purpose, that though his presence was very mean, yet he was both zealous, witty, and fervent: and so forward (in disputing with heretics) that I often wished him, merrily, says he, to carry salt in his pocket to season his actions, lest too much zeal, without discretion, might bring him too soon in danger, considering the vehement sudden storms of persecution that often assailed us. My author goes on: 'Sometimes I have been in his company, when meeting with ministers sumptuously mounted, I have had much ado to keep him from disputing with them; which if he had done, it would have brought the whole company into danger. In his travels on a time he met with a protestant gentleman, who, seeing him of so mean a presence, and understanding by some in company who and what he was, thought he had got a companion that he might freely jest at and play upon: but his jests were so retorted back upon

him, that he, swearing a great oath, said, I thought I had met with a silly fellow, but now I see he is either a foolish scholar, or a learned fool.

'He took much pains, says the same manuscript, with possessed persons: yet seldom or never without the help and assistance of some of his brethren: and so freed many from their troublesome guests, and did much good.' He laboured about ten or eleven years upon the mission, in quality of secular priest; and then, in 1624, entered into the Society of Jesus, to which he had an inclination, ever after his making a spiritual exercise at Douay, under the direction of a father of that society. He did not go abroad, to make his noviceship, but retired only for two or three months into Essex, which time he employed in a spiritual retreat.

'He was apprehended (says another manuscript in my hands, dated August 16, 1631,) once before his last apprehension, and imprisoned in Lancaster, but released afterwards upon pardon, with divers others. "Probably in 1622, when I find by Mr. Rushworth's historical collections, vol. i. p. 62, the king, in favour of the treaty of marriage then going forward with Spain, released a good many priests, and other catholics out of prison, in and about London; and gave orders to the judges to do the like in their respective circuits." 'At that apprehension he was brought before Dr. Bridgman, bishop of Chester, where divers ministers were at supper with the bishop; who did all eat flesh, it being in Lent. Dr. Bridgman upon that occasion, made his apology to Mr. Edmund for his eating flesh, saying, he was old and weak, and was dispensed withal. But who dispenses with your lusty ministers there, said Mr. Edmund, for they have no such need? Both before and after supper, the ministers were busy in disputing with Mr. Edmund; and one time divers of them urging him at once, he merrily said to the bishop, 'Turn all your dogs loose at once against me; and let us have a loose bait.' His second and last apprehension, was a little before the summer assizes, in 1628. What happened to him then, with the whole history of his trial and death, we shall set down word for word out of the printed relation of his martyrdom, printed in the following year.

'This man "father Arrowsmith" performing his priestly functions in that country, where afterwards he was put to death; and being in labour amongst the rest to reduce a young man to a course of virtue, who was fallen both from God and himself; and having reproved him in particular for an incestuous marriage, &c., was so hated by him, that coming once to suspect to what place the priest repaired, he found means to discover him to a justice of peace, "Captain Rawsthorn" who despatched his warrant for him, and so he was apprehended upon the highway. He was committed to the common jail for not taking the oaths, and upon vehement suspicion also that he was a priest and jesuit. This happened this last summer, not long before the assizes, at which he was tried. At the entrance whereof, sir Henry Yelverton, coming to know that this prisoner was committed for this cause, and being the judge to whose turn it fell to sit upon life and death, he was not slack in laying hold of the occasion, and therefore, the next morning, being

the 26th of August, he commanded him to be brought to the bar. The prisoner at that time, was in conversation with some friends, and the under-keeper and sheriff's men calling him, after a quick and unexpected manner, to go and present himself before the judge, he instantly and cheerfully put himself upon obedience, and said, God's holy will be done: and so they conducted him to the bar, amongst the felons and other malefactors.

'As soon as judge Yelverton set eye upon him, he sent to his colleague, "Sir James Whitlock," desiring his assistance in that service—and the jury being called for this trial, judge Yelverton began, Sirrah, are you a priest? the soldier of Christ, making the sign upon himself of his captain's standard, which is the cross, gave this answer, I would to God I were worthy. The judge repeated the same question, and he made this second answer, I would I were. Then the judge asked him, are you then no priest? to which, the prisoner was silent. So that the judge addressed himself to the jury, and said, you may plainly see he is a priest? I warrant you he would not for all England deny his order. After this a minister, "Leigh or Lee," who sate as a justice of peace upon the bench, and who, formerly had had some knowledge of the priest, went to whisper in the judge's ear; and then, shortly after began to revile the prisoner aloud, declaring what a seducer he was, and that if some order were not taken with him, he would make half Lancashire papists. By way of answer to the minister, "and to the judge, who told him, he could say nothing for his religion," the prisoner humbly moved, that he might be suffered to defend his faith in disputation; which he doubted not, by God's grace, to perform against any who would oppose him. The judge, without delay, stifled this proposition, and told him, that his doctrine could not be maintained; but that belike he desired, that they of his own religion should hear him talk. To which, the prisoner replied, that he would not only defend it in words, but would be glad to seal it with his blood. The judge, told him then, after an insulting and savage manner, that he should die, and see his bowels burn before his face. And you, my lord, said the prisoner, must die too.

'At this the judge was much enraged, and then, shortly commanded him to answer directly, how he could justify his going beyond the seas, and taking the order of priesthood upon him in disobedience to the king's laws? To which, the prisoner made this reply, if any man can lawfully accuse me, I stand ready here to answer him. But of his being a priest, no proof at all was brought, and only a servant belonging to the justice of peace, who had committed him, was there called, and he swore, that the prisoner persuaded him to be a catholic, and told him, that the religion now professed in England, was heretical; and that it began but in Luther's time: and a youth of twelve years of age, or thereabouts, a son of that same justice, affirmed, though without oath, that the prisoner would have withdrawn him from protestancy.

'The prisoner hearing this, humbly begged leave to speak; which, being granted, he made a low reverence to the bench, and then began to this effect; my lords, as I was travelling in this country, that very man, as I take it, rushed forth upon me by a hill-side, with a drawn sword

in his hand. His apparel was mean, but he was on horseback. I made as much haste from him, as I could, but yet being a weak and sickly man, he forced me, in the end, to the moss, where I left my horse; and then I fled with all the speed I could use, but yet that could not be great, in regard I was laden, both with heavy clothes, and books, and other things. At length, he came up to me at a moss ditch, and struck at me, who had no other defence, but a little walking stick, and a dagger, which I drew not: and as for the stick, he cut it close off at the hand, by the blow he gave me, and did me, withal, some little hurt. I asked him then, what his meaning was? and whether he intended to take my purse and my life? he answered, that perhaps he would: and then I fled again from him, but he took me quickly: and then came in this very youth, who hath offered to give evidence against me, and some others also, to assist him. They used me very unworthily, and carried me first, to an alehouse, and searched me to my very skin, after a barbarous manner, and offered some such other indignities as modesty forbids me to relate: but therein, I hindered them the best I could, and that done, they fell to drink: and so they consumed nine shillings of my money in one hour; And they told me, the justice himself, by whose warrant they had apprehended me, was there in person: but that I know not how to believe. Upon these occasions, my lords, I began to find fault with this man's wicked and rude behaviour, who seemed to be the ringleader of the rest; and I besought him, for Jesus' sake, to give over his disorderly life, his drinking, swearing, dissolute talking, and all those other things, whereby he might offend Almighty God. Upon my word, and upon my life, this, or to this effect, is all that I said to him. Let him look on me, and gainsay it if he can. As for that youth, I deny not to have told him, that I hoped when he came to riper years, he would look better into himself, and become a true catholic: for that, and that alone, would be the means to save his soul: to which, he made no answer at all; and I hope, my lords, that neither they, nor any other, can prove an ill thing against me.

'Upon this, the aforesaid justice of peace began bitterly to inveigh against him, declaring, how dangerous a seducer he was, and earnestly desiring that he might find no favour: for he feared that if ever he got his liberty again, he would do him some mischief. At this, the prisoner could not choose but smile: and indeed, his usual countenance was inclined that way. But now upon this occasion, both the judges told him, that he was a saucy fellow, who knew no better manners than to laugh and flout at them who sat there in judgment for the king. But he who thought of nothing less than deriding them, besought them not to think so ill of him; and then he cast himself upon his knees, and besought Almighty God to bless the king, the honourable council, that honourable bench, and all that company there: humbly beseeching God of his infinite mercy to confound and root out heresy, that so we might be all of one religion. To this judge Yelverton replied, with much fury, Look you, gentlemen of the jury, how he wishes God to confound us all, and root out heresy, by which he means our religion.

'The prisoner was then taken from the bar, with command that he should be put in some dark place, where he might have neither light

nor company to come to him; and when the keeper said that he had no such place, he was bidden to put him in the worst he had.

'Whilst he was so remaining there, the judge lost no time in devising what indictment he might form against him. At length he resolved to draw up two indictments against him, one for being a priest and a jesuit, upon the testimony of a mother, and her incestuous son, who wrote thereof to the justice when the priest was first examined; the other for being a persuader in religion, which had no other ground than the oath which the justice's man took against him there at the bar, and the accusation of that youth, who affirmed, (but yet without oath) that he would fain have perverted him from his religion. The business being thus prepared, the prisoner was brought again to the bar, where judge Yelverton was sitting then alone.

'And when, upon these indictments, and the evidence which before had been given, the jury had found him guilty of high treason, the judge rose up, as the manner is, and asked him, what he could say for himself, why he should not die according to the law. The prisoner did instantly lift up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and made no answer at all to that question; but in silence expected the event. And then the judge gave sentence upon him in the usual form. The prisoner, as soon as he had heard this sentence pronounced, fell down upon his knees, and bowing his head very low, sounded forth, *Deo gratias* with a loud voice, and then in English, God be thanked. As the jailor was carrying him thence to prison, the sheriff brought express command from the judge, that they should load him with the greatest and heaviest irons in the castle; which being presently put upon his legs, he was not well able to go; but as he could he did, and in the way recited the psalm *Miserere*, in so audible a voice, that many heard him. When he was come into the prison they lodged him in a little dark hole, where he could not well lie down, but was forced to sit, with leaning only upon a bolster, which was then cast in; and so he continued in his clothes, with heavy bolts on his legs, from Tuesday, about one or two of the clock, till Thursday about twelve, when he was fetched out to execution. He was also watched day and night by three or four of the sheriff's men; for so the judge had commanded, as also that, upon the forfeiture of 100*l.* no man should be suffered to speak with him. It is thought that in all that time he had taken very little sustenance, if he had any, for some that saw him bowelled, averred, that there was nothing at all in his guts but wind, and not any one drop of urine in his bladder.

'But notwithstanding this strict charge, that none of his friends should speak with him, the minister, "Lee," who had so bitterly inveighed against him before the judge, had privilege enough to go to him: and so he did once or twice, and his errand was to dispute, but nobody forsooth must be present. The prisoner refused that offer, since it must be subject to that condition; as fearing, lest under colour thereof, some slanders might be raised against him after his death. Some of the minister's disciples seemed to be scandalized, for that he had refused so public an offer of disputation as was made by the prisoner at the bar, and that now he would seek to go and dispute with him in private. But the minister and such as were most confident with him, affirmed against

all such surmises, that the priest was a silly fellow, &c., though, indeed he was very well known to be a man both of ready wit and solid judgment, and a grounded scholar, which some of them had well found when he had been apprehended some few years before.

'In the mean time, this happy prisoner, in his close dark cell, employs all his thoughts towards the making of his passage into a better world. The judge would have him die a day before the other condemned persons, a thing unusual at assizes. But his lordship's zeal must be made appear, who was also pleased to look on out of a window at the execution, &c. On Thursday, therefore, the 28th of August, word was brought to the happy man, by the high sheriff, that he must die within four hours after, to whom he said with great devotion, I beseech my Redeemer to make me worthy of it! The judge commanded that it should be done about noon, when men were most likely to be at dinner. But, howsoever, it fell out the whole place of his execution was covered with great multitudes of people of all sorts, ages, sexes, and religions, expecting the end of this tragedy. And when the keeper delivered his prisoner to the sheriff, there was scarce a man or woman left at home either to take their dinners, or to keep their shops.

'As he was carried through the castle yard, there was a reverend and worthy priest, his fellow-prisoner, "Mr. Southworth," who had been condemned for his function a year before, and stood then reprieved, who showed himself out of a great window, and the blessed man, (who was now on his way to the hurdle,) no sooner saw his face, but he lifted up his hands towards him, with great humility, for absolution, (for this was the sign whereof they were both agreed before,) and so that priest absolved the other in the sight of the people. Then he was brought to the castle gates, where a catholic gentleman embraced him straightly, and kissed him tenderly, till the high sheriff made him be removed by force. Then was the blessed man laid and bound upon the hurdle, but with his head towards the horse's tail, "for greater ignominy." He was dragged through the streets to the gallows, which was near a quarter of a mile from the castle, no friend being able to come near him, by reason of the sheriff's halberds and servants, but only some ministers were admitted for the increase of his torment. The executioner went close before the horse and hurdle, with a club in his hand in a kind of barbarous triumph, and the blessed man being then bound on the hurdle, held two papers between his hands, which were called *duæ claves cœli*, the one of them containing an act of the love of God, and the other of contrition, which he used for the increase of his devotion.

'Drawing now near the gallows, the horse and hurdle were stayed; where the old limping minister, who hath been mentioned so often before, showed him a huge and terrible fire, with a cauldron boiling, so hot and high, that no man was able to stand near it; and he spake thus to him, Look you, Mr. Rigby, "for this was the name by which F. Arrowsmith was indicted," what is provided for your death: will you conform yourself yet, and enjoy the mercy of the king? The blessed man looked mildly on him, and said; Good sir, tempt me no more; the mercy which I look for is in heaven, through the death and passion of my Saviour Jesus; and I most humbly beseech him to make

me worthy of this death. They dragged him then to the ladder's foot, where, being untied, he prayed about a quarter of an hour upon his knees; but the sheriff bidding him, then, make haste, he replied, God's will be done, and so kissing the ladder, he most undauntedly went up.

'During the time of his prayer at the ladder's foot, he often repeated these words, as he had also done upon the hurdle: I freely offer thee my death, O sweet Jesus, in satisfaction for my sins; and I wish this little blood of mine may be a sacrifice for them. The old minister then took him short, and said, you attribute nothing to Christ's merits and passion. But he instantly replied, Oh, sir, say not so: Christ's merits and passion are always presupposed.—As he was ascending the ladder, he desired all catholics to pray both with him, and for him, in this last conflict. The minister untruly made answer, That there were none, and that he would pray for him. But the blessed man replied thus, I neither desire your prayers, nor will pray with you; and if it be true which you say, that there are no catholics here, I wish I might die as many deaths as there are people in this place, upon condition that they were all catholics. With that, he prayed for his majesty, and commended to Almighty God, the state of this kingdom, and especially all his persecutors, whom he freely forgave, desiring also forgiveness of whomsoever he had offended. Then going up yet higher on the ladder, he farther spoke to this effect. You, gentlemen, who are come hither to see my end, bear witness with me, that I die a conscious Roman catholic, and for Jesus Christ's sake: let not my death be a hindrance to your well-doing, and going forward in the catholic religion, but rather an encouragement therein: for Jesus's sake have a care of your souls, than which nothing is more precious; and become members of the true church, as you tender your salvation; for, hereafter, that alone will do you good. I beseech you request my brethren, for his sake who redeemed us all, to be careful to supply my want and insufficiency, as I hope they will. Nothing doth so much grieve me as this England, which, I pray God soon convert. He prayed then a little while out of a paper, and so pulled his cap over his eyes, expecting to be turned off.

'But the tempter had not yet done with him. Sir, said Mr. Lee, I pray you accept the king's mercy, conform yourself, and take the oath, and you shall live: good sir, you shall live; I would fain have you live. Here is one come now from the judge to offer you mercy; you shall live if you will conform yourself to our religion. The valiant champion of Christ, pulling up his cap from over his eyes, said, O sir, how far am I from that? tempt me no more; I will not do it, in no case, on no condition. Then, with undaunted courage he addressed himself to the sheriff, persuading him and all the rest to take care of their souls; till some ministers about him said muttering by, as in the name of the rest, we shall look to ourselves well enough. Others, who were farther off, interrupted him by crying out, no more of that, no more of that: away with him, away with him. So pulling his cap the second time over his eyes, and fixing himself in most fervent prayer

to God, he was cast off the ladder, and was suffered to hang till he was dead. The last words which were heard out of his mouth were, Bone Jesu. Being dead, he was cut down, bowelled, and quartered. His head was set upon a stake or pole amongst the pinnacles of the castle, and his quarters were hanged on four several places thereof.

'Divers protestants, beholders of this bloody spectacle, wished their souls with his. Others, wished they had never come there. Others said, It was a barbarous act to use men so for their religion, &c. The judge departing the next day out of the town, was observed to turn up and down, or rather prance his horse, and looking towards the martyr's head, and not thinking it to be conspicuous enough, sent back a command to have it set higher by six yards than any of the pinnacles.' So far the printed account of F. Arrowsmith, published soon after his death.

His life, published in 1737, adds from other ancient memoirs, that the judge who condemned him, sitting at supper, on the 22d of January, 1929–30, felt a blow, as if some one had struck him on the head: upon which, he fell into a rage against the servant that waited behind him; who protested that he had not struck him, nor did he see any one strike him: a little after he felt another blow like the first; and then in great terrors he was carried to bed, and died the next morning.

The same life relates, that F. Arrowsmith, during his confinement, reconciled to the church one of the felons, who was executed on the 29th of August, the day after the martyrdom of the holy man; and that he died very penitent and constant in the catholic religion, though his life was offered him, if he would have returned back to protestancy.

'There is a letter extant,' (says the ancient printed relation of F. Arrowsmith's death,) of this blessed man, the first he wrote after he was imprisoned, which hath these words. All particulars did so cooperate to my apprehension and bringing hither, that I can easily discern more than an ordinary providence of Almighty God therein. And surely it will appear, that whatsoever followed in his story could not but be guided by the like Providence, if these particulars be considered; upon which I will here reflect in a word. First, the known clemency of his majesty, who hath professed, that he likes not to draw blood in case of religion; and the constant practice of the same ever since his inauguration to this crown; so that I make myself sure, and it is since known to be most certain, that this act of the judge was no way encouraged by the king's majesty. Secondly, when the blessed man was flying from his persecutors at the time of his apprehension, he was extraordinarily well mounted; and yet whatsoever desire he had, and diligence he used, it was not possible to put his horse to any speed. Thirdly, a kinsman of his own, whom he had in nature of a servant, well known to be a stout man, forsook him and fled away, when the least resistance might have preserved him. And fourthly, when he was studying his course of divinity in the seminary of Douay, he had twice received extreme unction, but yet was delivered at those times, and reserved to this most glorious and victorious end.' F. Arrowsmith, suffered at Lancaster, August the 28th, 1628. Ætatis 43. Missionis 15. Societatis 5.

RICHARD HERST, LAYMAN.*

THE day after father Arrowsmith suffered, a lay-catholic named Richard Herst, was also executed in the same place; condemned by the same judge, under the colour of wilful murder; but in truth and in the sight of God, for the profession of the catholic faith. His case is thus related by the same author, from whom we have transcribed our account of the death of Mr. Arrowsmith.

'Richard Herst being a recusant convict, warrants went out to arrest him, and carry him before the bishop of Chester. This warrant was put into the hands of one Christopher Norcross, a pursuivant belonging to that bishop; and he associated one Wilkinson, and one Dewhurst, as assistants to himself in that service. This latter, besides his meanness, was of so infamous a life, as that at the self-same time, the officer of the parish had a warrant in his hands for the apprehending and carrying him to the house of correction for his lewdness. Herst was then actually holding the plough, and a youth belonging to him drove it, and a maid of his, was leading a harrow in the same field. Norcross and the other two advanced towards him with the warrant: and Wilkinson struck at him with a staff: whereupon the maid run hastily towards the house, crying out, that they were killing her master in the field: and hereupon both herself and her mistress, a man-servant and one Bullen, (who happened to be at the house at that time,) were all coming on to help Herst. When Wilkinson and Dewhurst perceived this, they made towards that new company, and Wilkinson struck the servant down, as also the other who came with him. In this confusion the maid gave Dewhurst a blow on the head, who partly on that occasion, partly also to apply himself close to Wilkinson, made more haste than good speed, and ran so disorderly over the hard ploughed lands, as that he fell down, and broke his leg. Of which hurt growing worse and worse, and the same striking up into his body, being far from good remedies, he died about the end of thirteen days: before which time the hurt of his head was grown quite whole; and the poor wretch declared at his death, both how much it afflicted him that he had been employed in such a business, and that he came to his death by no other hurt but his fall, which was verified afterwards by the oaths of two witnesses. And it is both true and certainly known, (and nothing was so much as offered to prove the contrary,) that at the time when the maid gave Dewhurst that blow upon the head, Herst was distant from both him and her above thirty yards, and that withal, he gave no direction or encouragement at all, that any such thing should be done.'

Thus stood the case: and how this should be made a wilful murder in Herst, it is hard to conceive: yet so were matters managed, the same judge Yelverton (who has been lately spoken of in the story of father Arrowsmith,) especially concurring thereunto, that, contrary to all show

* From the relation of his death, published in 1630.

of truth and justice, the man was condemned to die, and was executed August 29. It is true, his life was promised him if he would take the oath; but he refused to live upon any such conditions as were inconsistent with his conscience. The day before he was to suffer, he was called upon to go with the other prisoners to church to hear a sermon: but he assured them, that if he had a thousand lives he would rather lose them all than go willingly there: but the high-sheriff ordered him to be dragged thither by force, whilst he on his part made all the resistance that he could, though to his very great hurt; being trailed upon the ground by his legs over a ragged and stony way, for twenty or thirty rods from the prison to the church. When he was there, he cast himself upon the ground, and thrust his fingers into his ears, that he might not hear their doctrine. But when he was to go back again to prison, he went very merrily, telling some catholics whom he met in the way—they have tortured my body, but I thank God, they have not hurt my soul.

Two of his friends found means to see him that evening, and stayed with him in prison till midnight, in prayer and spiritual conversation, who also returned to him the next morning. To them he seemed to be very desirous to be dissolved and to be with Christ: for he would be often saying, They stay long: when do you think they will come? As soon as the sheriff was come to the prison, which was about one o'clock in the afternoon, to take all the prisoners out to execution, he read the dead warrant, wherein all their names who were to die, were inserted, and among the rest that of Mr. Arrowsmith, at the hearing of whose name, Mr. Herst said, You have already sent him to heaven; and I hope I shall not be long after him, for I trust much in his prayers. And looking up towards the top of the castle, where the priest's head was placed, the officer asking what he looked at? I look, said he, at the head of that blessed martyr, whom you have sent before, to prepare the way for us: meaning himself and the other who had been reconciled in prison. In the way to execution, he gave some alms according to his small ability, as he had done before to the poor prisoners in the castle: and being met in the street by Mr. King, the vicar of the town, who questioned him about his faith, he answered, I believe according to the faith of the holy catholic church. The vicar demanded further of him, how he meant to be saved? He answered with his usual cheerfulness, not by your religion, Mr. King. But he further asking him, whether he meant to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ? He sharply replied, Will you be accounted a divine, and ask me such a question?

In the way to execution he carried in his hand a picture of Christ crucified, on which he had his eyes fixed; and frequently repeated to himself short ejaculatory prayers. When he came in sight of the gallows, he said, Gallows, thou dost not affright me; and coming to the place, he kissed the post. Some few ministers were there to importune him again in point of religion, but he regarded them not. The sheriff telling him, he was to be the first man to die, he most earnestly and devoutly recommended himself to the merciful hands of God, begging the prayers and intercession of the blessed virgin, his angel guardian, and

all the saints, especially St. John Baptist, it being the day of his decollation. And looking up at the executioner, who was busy in fastening the rope, but knew not readily how to do it right, he merrily called him by his name, and said, Tom, I think I must come and help thee. Such was his courage and serenity of mind upon the very brink of death. Then ascending the ladder, after divers short speeches of devotion, and repeating three or four times the holy names of Jesus and Mary, he was turned off, and so passed from this mortal life to a happy immortality, August 29, 1628.

The following declaration of his case was written by himself not long before he died.

'Whereas I have been an humble petitioner to his excellent majesty for a pardon for the death of one Henry Dewhurst, and his gracious pleasure was, that I should have a legal trial before that my pardon could pass; and trusting in the innocency of my cause, yielded my body, and put myself in trial before judge Yelverton; who did inform the jury that I was a recusant, and had resisted the bishop's authority, and that it must be found murder for an example. And, whereas, the jury, after learning the matter, was not willing to find the murder in me: three of them, whereof the foreman of the jury was one, went to the judge to his chamber after dinner, who took the foreman by the hand, and told him they must find it murder for an example. This did one of the jury testify unto me when I came from the bar, and did report to divers of my friends; and he was one of the three that went to the judge. And now, whereas the judge hath certified my lord keeper, that it was so foul a murder as he did never hear of, upon which certificate my pardon is stayed, and my life I am certain to lose for the fact; wherefore, for the satisfaction of the world, and the clearing of my friends who have sued for my pardon, and especially for the queen's excellent majesty, who hath been an earnest suitor for my life; the man had no hurt but only on his leg, which was found to be the cause of his death, and he confessed on his death bed, that he broke it himself, and this was given in evidence before the coroner, as may appear by the coroner's verdict, and the examination of witnesses taken before Sir Ralph Ashton and the coroner, which verdict and examination will appear contrary to the judge's certificate. And that the man had no mortal wound but only in his leg, and that I never gave him stroke, nor was within five or six yards of him when he received his hurt; all this will appear to be true by examinations and depositions taken before Sir Ralph Ashton and the coroner, which was all the evidence that came against me at the assizes; All this I declare only for the satisfaction of the world, &c. All this I take on my death, as I hope to be saved, and for no hope of life.' So far the declaration. The like is found in a letter written by him about the same time, to a person of honour.

He wrote also three letters to his ghostly father a little before his death, in the first he delivers himself in the following words:

'Dear and Reverend Sir,—I received your letter with news of death, at which I am not much dismayed, I thank my Lord and Saviour; the more malicious my enemies are, the greater is my comfort, for I do

constantly believe that my religion is the cause of their malice; and my greatest desire is to offer my blood in so good a cause. And although my flesh be timorous and fearful, I yet find great comfort in spirit, in casting myself upon my sweet Saviour with a most fervent love, when I consider what he hath done and suffered for me, and my greatest desire is to suffer with him; and I had rather choose to die a thousand deaths, than to possess a kingdom, and live in mortal sin; for there is nothing so hateful to me as sin, and that only for the love of my Saviour. I do most constantly believe that he hath afflicted me to save me; and I trust I shall die truly humbled, for the which I desire your good prayers, that I may persevere to the end; for of myself I can do nothing without his grace.'

In the second he writes thus: 'Now I am preparing for my soul, for the which I most humbly desire your good prayers, and likewise I desire you to commend my case to the prayers of some good priests and catholics; and I do freely offer myself into the hands of my sweet Saviour, neither desiring life nor death, but according to his blessed will, hoping that he will dispose all things for the good of my soul.'

In the third, written upon the very day of his execution, he speaks thus: 'Dear and reverend Sir, now I take my last leave; I am now dying, and am as willing to die as ever I was to live, I thank my Lord and Saviour, who, I trust, will never fail me. I have comfort in Christ Jesus, and his blessed mother, my good angel, and all the blessed saints; and I am much comforted in the valiant and triumphant martyr that is gone before me, and I do much trust in his good prayers. How I have been used, you will hear, and likewise, what I had offered to me, if I would have taken the oath. I hope my friends will truly understand, that my greatest desire is to suffer; and I would I had as many lives to offer as I have committed sins. Now, dear sir, prepare yourself also to suffer, and animate your ghostly children in suffering. Once again, I desire you to say, and to procure some masses for my sinful soul; and if it please God to receive me into his kingdom, I shall not be unmindful of you, and of all my good friends. I pray you, remember my poor children, and encourage my friends about my debts; and let it appear, that my greatest worldly care is to satisfy them as far as my means will extend. Once again, adieu: I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ Jesus. I trust we shall once meet in heaven, to our eternal comfort: now I take my last leave, this execution day, about eight o'clock, and commit you to Christ Jesus.'

These letters were published, with the relation of his death, in 1630. He left behind him, six young children, and his wife big with child.

From this year, till 1641, I find no more blood shed for religious matters, though as to other penalties, they were frequently inflicted upon priests and other catholics; severe proclamations were issued out against them, heavy fines laid upon them, and the prisons filled with them; insomuch, that in the compass of one year alone, there were at least twenty-six priests of divers orders, seized and committed to that one prison alone, called the Clink; to speak nothing of those that were elsewhere confined.

In the year 1640, John Goodman, priest, was tried and condemned,

on account of exercising his priestly functions; his case has something so peculiar in it, that though he was not executed, he deserves a place in these memoirs.

JOHN GOODMAN, PRIEST, CONFESSOR.—1640.

JOHN GOODMAN was born in the diocese of Bangor, in North Wales, from whence he is called *Bangoriensis*, in the diary of Douay college. He was the son of William Goodman; was brought up in the protestant religion, and sent to the university of Oxford, where he spent a long time in his studies, and was at length, made a minister, after the protestant manner. But growing dissatisfied with his religion, by the remonstrances of some friends, he left both his gown and his country; and going beyond the seas, was, at Paris, received into the church by the Reverend Mr. Richard Ireland, then residing there; and by him, recommended to Dr. Kellison, the president of Douay college, where he arrived, February 12th, 1621, and was admitted amongst the alumni of the college. In the year 1622, September the 24th, I find him, presented to the four lesser orders; which he received at Cambray, from the arch-bishop of that see. After which time, he continued studying divinity in the college, till May the 6th, 1624; when he went from Douay, to St. Omer's, in order to be received into the Society of Jesus, and to make his noviceship at Watten. But whether his health would not suffer him to go on, or what other reason it might be, the sequel of his history ever presents him as a secular priest. I have not found where he finished his studies, or where he was ordained priest; for I meet with his name no more in the Douay diary or catalogues.

In England, after his coming over upon the mission, he behaved himself in such manner, as to be remarkable for his zeal; so that William Prynne, in his *Royal Popish Favourite*, p. 23, calls him *a noted priest*. He was apprehended in 1635, but discharged, upon giving bond for his appearance; of which, the same author loudly complains, in a small tract, entitled, *Hidden works of darkness brought to public light*. He was taken up again, in 1639, and committed to the Gatehouse, from whence he was again released by a warrant from secretary Windebank, September the 17th, 1639. But was retaken not long after, and brought to his trial, and condemned in the beginning of 1640.

The following account is taken from Mr. Nelson's Impartial Collections, vol. 1, p. 738.

'Monday, January the 25th.—Mr. Hide reports from the conference with the lords, the king's message about Goodman the priest, and the expulsion of the priests and jesuits as follows:

'His majesty having informed himself by the recorder, of the names and nature of the crimes of the persons convicted at the last sessions; and there finding that John Goodman was condemned for being in orders of a priest *merely*, and was acquitted of the charge of perverting

* From the Douay diary, and Mr. Nelson, (a protestant historian,) in his Impartial Collections, vol. 1, p. 738, &c.

the king's people in their belief, and had never been condemned or banished before: his majesty is tender in matters of blood in cases of this nature, in which queen Elizabeth and king James have been *often* merciful; but to secure his people, that this man should do no more hurt, he is willing that he be imprisoned or banished, as their lordships shall advise; and if he return into the kingdom, to be put to execution without delay. And he will take such fit course for the expulsion of other priests and jesuits, as he shall be counselled unto by your lordships, &c.

'The effect of the aforesaid conference of the lords and commons, was, that the lords at their petition, resolved to concur with the commons in a joint remonstrance to his majesty, both that Goodman might be executed, and the laws put in execution against all other priests and jesuits.

'Friday, January the 29th.—This day the two houses waited upon his majesty with their remonstrance, which the lord keeper, Littleton, delivered to the king, and was in the following words:

'*May it please your Majesty.*

'Your loyal subjects, the lords and commons, humbly represent to your gracious consideration, that jesuits and priests ordained by authority from the see of Rome, remaining in this realm, by a statute made in the 27th of queen Elizabeth, are declared traitors, and to suffer as traitors.

'That it is enacted in the first year of king James, that all statutes made in the time of queen Elizabeth, against priests and jesuits, be put in execution; and for a farther assurance of the due execution of these laws, the statute of the third year of king James, invites men to the discovery of the offenders, by rewarding them with a considerable part of the forfeiture of the recusant's estate; so that the statute of queen Elizabeth is not only approved, but by the judgments of several parliaments in the time of king James, of happy memory, adjudged fit and necessary to be put in execution. That the putting these laws in execution, tendeth not only to the preservation and advancement of the true religion established in this kingdom, but also the safety of your majesty's person, and the security of the government, which were the principal causes of the making of the laws against priests and jesuits, &c.

'Then they proceeded to inform his majesty, that some priests and jesuits had been executed in the time of queen Elizabeth, and king James. That the reprieve of John Goodman the priest, had given great disgust to the city of London. That it was found that the said Goodman had been twice formerly committed and discharged; that his residence afterwards in or about London, was in absolute contempt of his majesty's proclamation: that he hath been sometime a minister of the church of England, and consequently he is an apostate; and they humbly desire that a speedy course may be taken for the due execution of the laws against priests and jesuits. And lastly, that Goodman the priest be left to the justice of the laws.

'Wednesday, February the 3d.—This day the two houses were or-

dered to attend his majesty in the banqueting-house, at Whitehall, where he delivered himself in these words.

'Having taken into my serious consideration, the late remonstrance of the houses of parliament, I give you this answer.

'I take in good part your care of the true religion, established in this kingdom, from which I will never depart. It is against my mind that popery or superstition should any way increase; and I will restrain the same by causing the laws to be put in execution. I am resolved to provide against the jesuits and priests, by setting forth a proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the kingdom within one month, &c.

'Lastly, concerning John Goodman the priest; I will let you know the reason why I reprieved him. That, as I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth, nor my father, did ever avow, that any priest in their time was executed merely for religion, which to me seems to be this particular case. Yet seeing that I am pressed by both houses to give way to his execution; because I will avoid the inconveniency of giving so great a discontent to my people, as I conceive this mercy may produce; therefore, I remit this particular cause to both houses. But I desire them to take into their consideration the inconveniency which, as I conceive, may fall upon my subjects, and other protestants abroad: especially since it may seem to other states to be severity; which having thus represented, I think myself discharged from all ill consequences that may ensue upon the execution of this person.' So far the king.

The next day his majesty communicated to the house of lords a petition sent to him by Mr. Goodman, of the following tenor.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

The humble petition of John Goodman condemned, humbly showeth, 'That whereas your majesty's petitioner hath been informed of a great discontent in many of your majesty's subjects, at the gracious mercy your majesty was freely pleased to show unto your petitioner, by suspending the execution of the sentence of death pronounced against your petitioner, for being a Roman priest; these are humbly to beseech your majesty, rather to remit your petitioner to their mercy, than to let him live the subject of so great discontent in your people against your majesty: for it hath pleased God to give me the grace to desire with the prophet, that if this storm be raised for my sake, I may be cast into the sea, that others may avoid the tempest.

'This is, most sacred sovereign, the petition of him that should esteem his blood well shed, to cement the breach between your majesty and your subjects upon this occasion.' *Ita testor.*

JOHN GOODMAN.

This uncommon greatness of mind, as it very much moved the king, so it seems to have softened the parliament into some sentiments of humanity towards the prisoner. For certain it is, that we hear no more of this affair; only we find, that Mr. Goodman, instead of a more quick despatch at Tyburn, was permitted to linger

away in prison, by a more tedious martyrdom; and that he died a confessor of Christ, on the common side of Newgate, in some part of the year 1645.

1641.—This year two priests were put to death for the exercise of their functions, and divers others were sentenced to die. The first was

WILLIAM WARD, ALIAS, WEBSTER, PRIEST.*

William Ward, whose true name was Webster, was born at Thornby, in Westmoreland, and educated in the catholic religion. He performed his studies abroad in the English college at Douay, where I find him admitted to the college oath, in 1605, and ordained priest, and sent upon the English mission, in 1608. The best and fullest account that I have met with of this holy man is in a manuscript relation, written by a priest, who was his intimate acquaintance and ghostly child; only that he is in a mistake, when he affirms him to have been made priest in the English seminary at Rhemes; for the seminary had been removed from Rhemes to Douay fifteen years before Mr. Ward was made priest. The account of him sent by way of letter, is as follows:

Sir: 'In the way of an exact story I cannot undertake to tell you the entire life of Mr. William Webster, alias, Ward, born at Thornby in Westmoreland; but this I can say, that I had a perfect knowledge of the man for many years together, and had the happiness to be his ghostly child, divers years before myself was priest, and divers years after. He was made priest in the English seminary at Rhemes, in Champaigne, above forty years before his martyrdom, and was ever known to be of an excellent spirit, exceeding zealous in God's service; not only exemplary in himself, but exhorting others to exemplarity of life; and his zeal was so great in this kind, that he got the repute of a rigid ghostly father: and albeit many great persons made use of him in that way, nevertheless he yielded nothing to their greatness, but was rather more severe to them than to meaner persons; and however, his plainness and round language did not always please them, yet his spirit was so good, that he made impression on their souls, even then when they would scarce lend him patient ears. And I have known many great personages profess, that albeit they could not please him in conforming themselves to that religiousness in their lives which he required of them, nevertheless, they would rather make use of him for their ghostly father, and were better pleased with him in that way, than with any other that was less plain and more indulgent to them.

'It was ordinary with him to threaten those that were worldly, in plain terms, with hell fire, and to tell them, they must make a stricter account of their actions in the next world, than they did here; that

* From the manuscript relation, by a priest, who calls himself Mr. Ward's ghostly child, and from the Douay diary.

heaven was not so cheap as they thought, but must be bought at a dearer rate than they seemed to value it at; that it was not easy to be saints in heaven, if we were not first saints here, and by a perfect charity united to Almighty God.

'He did not use to preach set sermons, though his whole life was a continual preaching, but in confessions, wherein he spent most of his time, he would exhort much to virtue, and the love of God, and dissuade from vice and the vanity of the world; and seldom spared a threat of damnation, if the party were vain, as many of his penitents have told me themselves; and he gave this reason for it, that he found the fear of damnation to work stronger with worldlings for their repentance, than the better motive of the pure love of Almighty God.

'And however some men held him to be passionate, because his speech was earnest, and his face somewhat fiery upon any fervent speaking; yet those that knew he was truly *vir dolorum*, being in perpetual pain of two infirmities, which, for many late years hung upon him, a corroding fistula, and an extremity of tooth-ache, never being free from the actual molestation of the one of these at least, and commonly afflicted with both at once in a high degree; and knowing that he had besides, in his soul, not only a perpetual fire of burning charity, but a passionate, yet holy hatred against sin, which made him with eagerness inveigh against sinners, according to that of the holy prophet, *Irascimini et nolite peccare:* those, I say, which knew this, were of a contrary opinion, and did not think the man to be so choleric as his hasty speech made others believe he was, but were edified at his spiritual zeal, to see it exceed his corporal pain, and give him leave to take pains in reprehending others, when he had more reason to have been indulgent to himself. And I do profess, that for my own particular, I had this opinion of his zeal, and pure intention in all his actions, that even when he did things which others conceived to be odd, I durst not but attribute it to a holy simplicity; and was much edified at many passages in his life, which I know divers did not stick to laugh at, and make themselves merry withal. And whereas, some censorious people presumed to accuse him of avarice, because his diet was ever spare, and his apparel homely, though he had means enough to wear good clothes, and make better fare; yet this blessed man, the day before he died, purged himself of this aspersion, and made profession to a good poor catholic and friend of his, that the sole and true reason why he did not wear no better clothes, nor covet better diet than he used himself to, was only by reason he did in his own conscience not think himself worthy of better; and this he spake with such an edifying simplicity, as would have put a scruple into any man not to have believed him. Besides, the holy man was ever charitable to the poor, which argued no love in him to riches, and he left what he had gathered up to pious uses. It was admirable to see the austerity of this good man's life, who albeit he was never free from pain, and always observed a sparing diet, as was said before, whence he must of necessity be exceeding weak; nevertheless, he did with great rigour keep all vigils, embers, Fridays throughout the year, and lent; insomuch, that all the lent long, he never eat

whitemeat all his life-time, notwithstanding he was eighty years old and upwards.

'And this, amongst other his virtues, to me seemed rare, that in all the time I knew his holy man, I could never hear him relate any passage, or speak of any subject, but it either began or ended with a memory of Almighty God's service, if his whole speech were not upon that theme; insomuch, that it may truly be said of him, that his lamp of charity and love towards God, was ever burning, and that no blast of human commerce was able to blow it out, but still it blazed, and gave light to those whose lamps were extinguished, and many times lighted them again, by enkindling in their souls a devotion, whom if he found key-cold towards Almighty God's service, yet he left them with an ardent desire to serve God better than they had done formerly. This to my own confusion and his honour hath often happened to myself, and I have heard divers others affirm the same; for the truth is, no man that would look fixedly upon him, and observe well his comportment, could go out of his company without much edification; so composed an aspect he had, so grave a speech, so religious a carriage, so incessant a zeal, that a man might see he had always God in his mind, and his own soul in his hand: *Anima mea in manibus meis semper*. As if every one of his thoughts, words, and deeds, had been a matter that concerned his soul's salvation, as in truth it was to him, and is to every one of us, if we reflect, (as he did,) well upon ourselves.

'It was remarkable to see how soon Almighty God was pleased to make trial of this his servant's constancy. The holy man when he was sent in mission into England, for the conversion of souls, had the fortune, by contrary winds, to be landed in Scotland, as he was going to the northern part of England, and being upon suspicion apprehended for a priest, was cast into the dungeon, where, for three years together, he did not see the sun, yet in this desolate place he continued a zealous and constant professor of his faith, and a stout confessor. After three years durance, being released out of this dungeon, and coming into England, it was not long ere he was taken and put in prison again, insomuch that he had been in several prisons of the several counties of England; and as I have been credibly told, of forty and odd years, that he was priest, he had been a prisoner about twenty of them at several times; and had been banished more than once or twice. Yet so the zeal of Almighty God had eaten up the man, that he would never leave exposing himself to danger of death for the gaining of souls to God's holy truth, and the catholic religion.

'And it seems that he was by God's singular providence, ordained to die a martyr, who had lived so long so glorious a confessor. For some few days before he was taken and condemned to death, a nephew of his, and a priest, being careful of his old uncle, and solicitous how to secure him in these dangerous times, came above fifty miles on purpose, up to London, to convey his uncle into a private house in the country, where he might lie sheltered till the storm of persecution was blown over, which the parliament had newly raised, banishing, by pro-

clamation, all jesuits, priests, and seminarists, menacing death to those that should be found in any of his majesty's dominions after the 7th of April, 1641. But no persuasion of the nephew, no entreaty of any other friend, could prevail with the holy man to retire himself, whom, Almighty God it seems, did more strongly persuade to stay in London, out of zeal to his many penitents which were there. And what better proof that it was an holy instinct which made him stay, than that within few days after, the blessed martyr was dogged by a pursuivant, to his lodgings, and at eleven o'clock at night, was taken out of his bed, carried to prison, arraigned, condemned, and executed all within the space of eleven days. In brief, the remarkable virtues in this saint, were, profound humility, apostolical poverty, zeal of souls, holy simplicity, approved fortitude, and perfect charity.

The manner of his taking, imprisonment, arraignment, condemnation, and going to execution.

'He was apprehended on Thursday night, about midnight, being the 15th of July, 1641, in the house of one John Wollam, a nephew of his, and a poor catholic, by Thomas Mayhew, commonly called Mayo, a pursuivant, in virtue of a general warrant, under the hand of the speaker of the house of commons, and by this Mayo, was brought directly to the prison of Newgate, without any order from justice of peace, or other officer that had power to commit him, where he remained till the sessions following, which began at the Old Baily, within six days after his imprisonment, viz: Wednesday, the 21st of July.

'Upon Friday the 23d of July next ensuing, he was indicted and arraigned upon the statute of taking orders of priesthood by authority of the church of Rome. The evidence brought against him, was this Mayo aforesaid, who first professed himself to have been a Roman catholic about nineteen years past, then testified, that about the same time he had made his confession to this Mr. Ward, had absolution from him, heard his mass, and received the sacraments at his hands. And Sir Thomas Gardener, the recorder, demanding of Mayo, what ornaments Mr. Ward had on when he said mass, the impudent fellow, being ready at his lie, said, he had on an albe, a stole, a maniple, a vestment, and such other things as belong to a priest; but as it seems, the thing he affirmed, was false, so he could not tell the colour or quality of the vestments.

'There were two more, who pretended to give evidence against him, that he was a Roman priest; but the one of them said so little to the purpose, that it was not worth the noting, and so he who gave me this relation, being present at the bar, doth not remember what it was, but affirms it was nothing to the purpose. The other witness, testified, that about seven years since, he had apprehended Mr. Ward, carried him to the Gatehouse, and took from him a spiritual book, wherein were his faculties from the see of Rome.

'After these evidences, given in by the three witnesses, the recorder asked Mr. Ward, and bid him answer directly, whether he was a priest or no? He answered, no man was bound to accuse himself, but re-

quired that it should be proved against him, if they desired to know the truth thereof, and then professed openly before the bench, that what Mayo had testified was most false; whereupon the recorder demanded of him, if at least, those faculties which had been taken about him, were his; and he answered, he knew of no such thing.

'Nevertheless, upon these evidences, the jury found him guilty; and the same day, in the afternoon, when the judges had dined, he was sent for from the prison, to the bar, where the recorder pronounced sentence of death against him, in the usual manner.

'After this sentence, he was brought back to Newgate, whither, he went most cheerfully, and there, prepared himself for his death, which was to be upon Monday following, being the 26th of July, 1641. And it was wonderful to see with what alacrity of countenance and speech, he resigned himself unto the holy will of Almighty God, professing an ardent desire to suffer for his sake, and declaring, that if any one should attempt to procure his reprieve or pardon, he would hinder it, if he could.

'Upon Sunday, which was the day before he died, he desired conference with a priest in the same prison, which lasted for some hours, and was sometimes interrupted with tears of joy, both in the one, and in the other; in which tears, the holy martyr expressed his hearty desire of suffering for his blessed Saviour's sake, and so prettily intermingled his joy with sighs, as if his humility had told him he was not worthy of so great a crown of his unworthy labours, as was this of martyrdom, and ever expressed a fear to be deprived of his highest hopes, out of an unworthiness which he conceived in himself of so great an honour. And to all such as came that day to visit him, he expressed signs of an excessive joy, that he had lived so long as to come to this desired end.

'The 26th of July 1641, which was the day of his suffering, being Monday, he said mass very early in the morning, with great devotion and comfort, administered the holy sacrament to some lay catholics, which were his fellow-prisoners and after thanksgiving, communicated to the priest that was with him the day before, certain things, which he desired should be executed after his death; and gave him some money, to be distributed amongst the poor catholics in prison, as also, a twenty-shilling piece to give to Mr. Johnson, the master keeper of Newgate, whom he willed him to thank for his kind usage towards him.

'And it was noted by all who came this morning to him, especially by the priest, that his countenance, which was ever grave, was at this instant more than ordinarily gracious and sweet, as if it had received an outward beauty from the inward grace which was then, no doubt, abundant in his soul. And as the priest and devout catholics who were with him in his chamber, had newly done preparing him for his journey to the gallows, by putting him on a clean cap, band, and cuffs, which were points of great finery in him that affected a contemptible attire, (though then as going to his wedding, and so he was content to put on *vestes nuptiales*,) instantly, one of the keepers of the prison knocked at the door, to know if he was ready, for that the sledge was

come for him; whereat the blessed man, as if he had listened for the glad tidings, made answer himself, with a cheerful voice, saying, Yes, I am ready. And within a short time after, another of the keepers came for him, and told him, he must go a little about by the leads, because though he had favour shown him not to be lodged, after his condemnation, in the common dungeon, yet now that he was to go to execution, he must pass the ordinary way through the common jail to the sledge.

'The holy man obeyed readily, following the keeper, as if he had been his good angel; and when he came up to the leads, was stayed there a pretty while, because the rest of the prisoners that were to suffer as malefactors the same day, were in the chapel, through which he was to pass, receiving their communion, as the custom is: the martyr being told as much, smiled, and passing through the chapel, said, Is this their chapel? And here the keeper, whose name was Meares, was to deliver him to another keeper, called Snelling, whose office it was to carry the prisoner down to the sledge. And this Meares, taking his leave of the holy man, said to him, Sir, I hope we shall one day meet in heaven: whereunto the good man answered, No, in truth shall we not, unless you become a catholic, and this truth I am now ready to seal with my blood.

'After this, he encountered with a woman, prisoner in that place, whom he understood to be allied to Sir Philip Knevet: her, he exhorted to become a catholic, and to lead a virtuous life, using many effectual speeches to that purpose.

'It was now about eight o'clock in the morning, when the holy martyr being laid on his back upon the sledge, was drawn from the prison, by four horses, to Tyburn? but as he passed up Holborn, he cast a special eye upon such houses as he had acquaintance in, and with a cheerful countenance, as well as he could, his hands being pinioned, he gave them his benediction.

'As he was going to execution, a penitent of his went by him bitterly weeping; to whom the martyr spoke, saying, Why weep you, child? The party answered, for you, sir: when instantly the martyr said, Weep not for my death, for I can yet live if I please; but it is my joy to die for this cause, and, therefore, you have no reason to weep.

'And to another he said, with signs of great joy, that he was infinitely happy to be able to lay down that life voluntarily now, which, by course of nature, he could not hope to keep one month longer.

'*Of his Comportment at Tyburn.*—When he came to the place of execution, the sheriff of Middlesex, whose office is to attend in such cases, spake unto the holy man, asking him if he had any thing to say before he died? Whereupon he answered immediately, that he had to declare to all the world the cause of his death, which was purely the point of religion; for he was innocent of any crime that could deserve death: moreover, he said, Mr. Sheriff, I give you and all this company to understand, that whereas I am condemned, and brought hither to die for being a Romish priest; even that hath not been proved against me; so I have received hard usage in this sentence; nevertheless, I shall here do you, and all those that had a hand in my death, this right at

least, to declare that which was never proved, viz.: that I am a Romish priest, and have been so about forty years, God be praised for it. And since I am condemned for being such, Mr. Sheriff, I here make profession to all those that are here present, that I do not only die willingly for this cause, but think myself infinitely happy, and honoured highly therein, since it is to die for my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. Here the sheriff asked him, of what religious order he was? who answered, I am of the apostles' order, I give God thanks for it; and I do rejoice to receive that superabundant reward of my poor labours, which the holy apostles of our blessed Saviour received of theirs, though mine have been far inferior and less than theirs were. Hereunto the sheriff replied, saying, You die, not for point of religion, but for seducing the king's liege subjects. To this, the holy martyr answered, he had seduced none, but reduced or converted many, the which he was glad of, and did wish he could not only have converted more, but even all England; because there was no other saving faith than that of the Roman catholic church; and as for this faith, I die, myself, most willingly, so I say unto you all, that will hope for salvation, you must die in the same faith at least, if not for it. The sheriff seeing the good Eleazar so stout in this point, was willing to divert him from it, and asked him what his true name was, whether it were Ward, or not; and whether he was any thing allied to the bishop of Gloucester? To which he answered, that his true name was not Ward, but William Webster; and for the bishop, he was not allied to him, and so fell upon the profession of his faith again, saying, Mr. Sheriff, I have no relation to that bishop, but have ever professed this religion which I now die for; and if I had a thousand lives, I should most willingly lose them all for the same cause. Here the sheriff, being willing that he should do any thing, rather than inculcate so much to the people the profession of the Roman faith, interrupted him again, and said, Mr. Webster, have you any prayers to say? The blessed man told him, I have said my prayers already: but this sufficed not the sheriff, who fearing he would fall upon the former subject, asked him the second time, have you any more prayers to say? To this, the saint answered, yes, Mr. Sheriff, and if it please you to give me leave I shall say them; when instantly he fell upon his knees, and made a quarter of an hour's silent prayer with a grave, composed countenance; and when the sheriff saw the good man stir, either supposing he had done his prayers, or not being willing to give him any longer time, he said unto him, with a loud voice, Mr. Webster, have you any thing else now to say? To which demand, the martyr answered, Yes, Mr. Sheriff, I have this to say more, that I pray heartily to God to bless the king and queen, the royal issue, and state, and all the people of this realm; and, Mr. Sheriff, I would bequeath some small tokens ere I die, amongst poor catholics; but I can see none of them here. With that, the people cried out, give it to the hangman that he may favour you; at which, the saint smiled, saying, Alas! alas! he favour me! see the fire and faggots, the halter and the gallows, what favour can he do me? Nor do I desire to lose the merit of suffering in this cause; which said, he gave unto the sheriff forty shillings, beseeching him to distribute that

small sum of money amongst the poorer sort of catholics, the saint himself, giving to the hangman two shillings and sixpence, which is, said he, For thy good office thou art to do me; and looking about him a little, he espied the carman who had driven the hurdle to the gallows, and gave him two shillings, which is, said he, For thy pains too, though thou be no catholic; this done, he threw an inkhorn, and handkerchief, and some other things left in his pocket, amongst the people; and then immediately composed himself to die, recommending his soul to his blessed Saviour, and crying out in these word, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, receive my soul*, he ended this life. He hung till he was dead, because they stript him hanging, then cut him down, dragged him by the heels, on his back to the fire, there dismembered and beheaded him, ript up his belly, plucked out his heart and his bowels, and cast them into the fire, &c., setting up his head and quarters upon several gates and places of the city; but by God's special providence, the heart of this glorious martyr was preserved from the fire, by reason it slid down upon the edge of a sloping stick, and so fell into the embers, where it was rather covered than consumed, and by this accident, was found.

'A person of great quality, Count Egmond by name, hearing by a servant of his, who was present at the action, that an holy priest had suffered martyrdom that morning, "being the 26th of July, 1641," asked his servant, if he had brought any relic of the martyr away with him; who told him yes, and gave him, (as he said,) the very handkerchief which the saint had cast out of his pocket. The count, taking it with reverence, kissed it; but finding no blood upon the same, gave the servant his own handkerchief, commanding him to run back instantly to the place of execution, and to dip that in some of the martyr's blood, if he could find any. The servant posting away, came back to the gallows, made diligent search for some of the blood, but finding it was all scraped up by the zeal of other pious catholics, who had been before him, takes his stick, and rubbing up the ashes where the bowels of the martyr had been burnt, finds a lump of flesh all parched and singed by the fiery embers, wherein it lay covered, and hastily wrapped up what he had found, in the handkerchief, which his lord had given him, not having time to shake off the fiery coals or hot ashes, by reason that some malicious persons who stood by, and saw this fellow stooping, and taking somewhat out of the fire, demanded of him what he took thence; The man nimbly slipped over a park pale, and run from them, who would have laid hands on him; whereupon, divers horsemen passing that way, and hearing a great number of foot cry stop, stop, stop, (as the ill custom of our nation is, every man making himself an officer, and hangman, rather than fail,) out of officious curiosity in such cases, rode hard round the park pale, hoping at the next gate to encounter with this poor man, who was pursued by a clamorous and still increasing company of footmen, who continually kept sight of him. The man perceiving himself so beset on all sides, and pursued, resolved not to lose the relic, whatever became of himself, dropped it as he ran, in a bush, and took special mark upon the bush with his eye, where he left it, resolving to come another time and fetch what now he could not safely carry any farther; and this he did with such dexterity, making no stop at all, but

feigning a small trip or stumble, and yet seeming suddenly to recover himself, ran on, drawing his pursuers after him, to delude them, and thereby to save the relic. In brief, this poor man recovered the skirts of the town ere he was overtaken, and there being apprehended, was carried before officers, yet by the power of his lord was fetched off, upon security given that he should be forthcoming; and so went early next morning to the place where he had dropped the relic, and found it in the handkerchief which he had wrapped it in, and in the same place where he had left it; in which circumstance it is remarkable, that the handkerchief was not burnt by any of the fiery coals or hot ashes which might hang upon the flesh when he took it out of the fire; and bringing this home to his lord, upon diligent search what it should be, they found, by incision, it was the very heart of the holy martyr, and it remained fifteen days untainted; after which time, the count, who keeps it as his greatest jewel, caused it to be embalmed; not that he did it to preserve it from corruption, which it seemed no way to incline to, but for reverence and religion to so rich a relic: *Quia pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus.*

'And it may serve for an example to all good christians, that their special devotions and duties to their particular patrons, are exercises not only pleasing to God and his saints, but infinitely profitable to souls; for whereas this man of God was ever singularly devoted to St. Ann, the mother of the blessed virgin Mary, keeping her feast every year, with more than ordinary solemnity, and this commonly in the houses of some of his penitents, virtuous women, who bore that name: see the high reward he received of this his devotion, that Almighty God bestowed the crown of martyrdom upon him on the feast of St. Ann, the 26th of July, 1641! as if that blessed saint had been ambitious to wait upon God's martyr, and put the triumphant crown upon his head with her own hands, who had so devoutly, and so constantly, for many years together, on this, her festival day, solemnized her praises.' So far the manuscript.

EDWARD BARLOW, PRIEST, O. S. B.*

Edward Barlow, called in religion father Ambrose, was born at Manchester, in 1585, of pious and catholic parents, of the ancient family of Barlow of Barlow. His father was that constant confessor of Christ, Alexander Barlow, Esq., who made it his care to give this his son, a catholic and liberal education. By these means his tender mind which had already a happy sweetness of temper, and an inclination to piety and learning, was improved, and strongly established in the true faith and the love of God. When he was twelve years old he was taken from school to be page to a relation, a person of quality. But as

* From two manuscript relations, kept by the English benedictines at Douay, one of them being a letter of his brother, F. Rudesind Barlow, to the abbot and monks of Cellanova, dated January 1, 1642.

he grew up, and considered the emptiness and vanity of the transitory toys of this life, and the greatness of things eternal, he took a resolution to withdraw himself from the world, and to go abroad, in order to procure those helps of virtue and learning, which might qualify him for the priesthood, and enable him to be of some assistance to his native country.

The place he made choice of for his studies was the university of Douay, which had been recommended to him by fame, and by the testimony of many learned and pious priests who studied there. Here, meeting with two other young gentlemen of equal age, and of the same inclinations, he chose them for his chamber fellows, and with them frequented the humanity schools at Anchin college, under the fathers of the society, as the alumni of the English seminary all did during Dr. Worthington's presidency. When he had finished his humanity, he was sent by the aforesaid Dr. Worthington, "August 23, 1610," from the English college of Douay to that of Valladolid; where he went through his course of philosophy, and part of his divinity: for before he had finished the latter, he followed his brother, Dr. Rudesind Barlow, to Douay, where he received the habit of St. Bennet; and after making his noviceship at a house then belonging to the English congregation, near St. Malo, in Little Brittany, he was professed at Douay, in 1615. And being now thirty years old, and otherwise well qualified by virtue and learning for the apostolic calling, he was presented by his superiors, not long after his profession, to the holy order of priesthood, and sent upon the English mission, to which he found himself strongly invited by an inward call.

The seat of his missionary labours was his native country of Lancashire, "where, says Mr. Knaresborough,* his memory is held in great esteem to this day, by the catholics of that county, for his great zeal in the conversion of souls, and the exemplary piety of his life and conversation." 'Tis scarce to be expressed what wonderful blessings the Almighty gave to the labours of this his faithful servant, who made it his constant business to join the care of his own soul with that of his flock, and to preach full as much by example as by words. Such was the fervour of his zeal, that, as my author says, he thought the day lost, in which he had not done some notable thing for the salvation of souls. Night and day he was ever ready to lay hold of all occasions of reclaiming any one from error; and whatever time he could spare from his devotions, he employed in seeking after the lost sheep, and in exhorting, instructing, and correcting sinners; and omitted no opportunity of preaching the word of God. But then he never neglected the care of his own sanctification: he celebrated mass, and recited the office with great reverence and devotion; had his fixed hours for mental prayer, which he never omitted; and found so much pleasure in this inward conversation with God, (from which he received that constant supply of heavenly light and strength,) that when the time came on, which he had devoted

* In his MSS. collections.

to this holy exercise, he was affected with a sensible joy, as much as worldlings would be when going to a feast. He had also a great devotion to the rosary, which he daily recited, and recommended much to his penitents; and was very tenderly affected with the sacred mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the son of God, (which he there contemplated,) and was much devoted to his blessed mother. He often meditated on the sufferings of his Redeemer, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, and these meditations enkindled in his soul a desire of suffering for Christ, a happiness for which he daily prayed.

He had a great contempt of the world, and its vanities; and a very humble opinion of himself, joined with a great esteem, love, and veneration for the virtue of others. He was always afraid of honours and preferments, and had a horror of vain glory, which he used to call the worm or moth of virtues; and which he never failed to correct in others, and sometimes in a jocose way, at others seriously, according to the temper of the persons. He industriously avoided feasts and assemblies, and all meetings for merry making; as liable to dangers of excess, idle talk and detraction. He had no regard for temporal interest; and refused, (though desired by many,) to live in great families, where he might be well accommodated with all things; choosing rather to live in a private country-house, where the poor, to whom he had chiefly devoted his labours, might have, at all times, free access to him: to whom also he plentifully imparted both spiritual and corporal alms, according to his ability. He would never have a servant, till forced to it by sickness; never used a horse, but made his pastoral visits always on foot. His apparel was mean; neither would he ever wear a sword, or carry a watch. He allowed himself no manner of play or pastime; and avoided all superfluous talk and conversation; more especially with those of the fair sex, how virtuous or qualified soever: and when the business of his calling obliged him to make any stay in such company, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and would not look them in the face. Being asked one day by a lady of quality, why he so much avoided the company of women, since he himself was born of a woman? He replied; for that very reason I avoid the company of women, because I was born of a woman: signifying that the corruption of concupiscence, which from our very birth is entailed upon us by original sin, was what made him look upon himself obliged to use those precautions.

He boarded with an honest country farmer, where his diet was chiefly whitemeats and garden stuff; for he seldom eat flesh, unless by occasion of company that came to visit him. He drank only small beer, and that very sparingly; and always abstained from wine: being asked the reason why he did so? he alledged the saying of the wise man, Wine and women make the wise apostatise. He was never idle, but was always either praying, studying, preaching, administering the sacraments, or (which he used sometimes to divert himself with,) painting pictures of Christ or his blessed mother. He was sometimes applied to, to exorcise persons possessed by the devil, which he did with good success. He had a great talent in composing of differences, and recon-

ciling such as were at variance; and was consulted as an oracle by the catholics of that country in all their doubts and difficulties. He feared no dangers, when God's honour, and the salvation of souls called him forth: and has sometimes, when engaged in such expeditions, passed, even at noon day, through the midst of enemies, without apprehension. And when some people would desire him to be more cautious, he would turn them off with a joke; for he was usually very cheerful and pleasant in conversation; so that they who knew him best, thought he was, in this regard, not unlike the celebrated Sir Thomas More. Yet he was very severe in rebuking sin, so that obstinate and impenitent sinners were afraid of coming near him. Nothing more sensibly afflicted him, than when he saw any one going astray from the right path of virtue and truth, more especially if it were a person of whom he had conceived a good opinion, or had great hopes: upon these occasions he would, at first, be almost oppressed with melancholy, till recollecting himself in God, and submitting to his wise providence, justly permitting evil, to draw greater good out of it, he recovered again his usual peace and serenity,

Some months before his last apprehension, (for he was several times a prisoner,) hearing that some persons, whom he loved as his own soul, were in a resolution of doing something very wicked, which was like to be the ruin of many souls, he was so strongly, on a sudden, affected with it, that it flung him into a fit of the dead palsy, which took away the use of one side, and put him in danger of his life: what added very much to his cross, was, the fear lest his poor children, whom he had begotten to Christ, should now be left destitute of spiritual assistance. And, whereas, his convulsions and pains seemed to have brought him to death's door, he had this additional affliction, that no priest could be found to administer the holy sacraments to him. In these extremities, God Almighty was pleased to comfort him; and being in a manner out of himself, he broke forth into these words: 'Lord, thy will be done; a due conformity of our will to thine, is to be preferred to the use of the sacraments, and even to martyrdom itself. I reverence, and earnestly desire thy sacraments; and I have often wished to lay down my life for thee, in the profession of my faith: but if it be pleasing to thy infinite wisdom, by this illness, to take me out of the prison of this body, half dead already, thy will be done.' Whilst in these dispositions, God was pleased to send him a priest of the Society of Jesus to assist him; as he himself had, twelve years before, exercised the same charity to F. Arrowsmith, in prison, before his last conflict: at which time, that confessor of Christ is said to have foretold, that he should be the next to follow him. At least this is certain, by the testimony of Mr. Barlow himself, in a letter to his brother Rudesind, (who quotes it in his manuscript relation,) dated out of prison, May 17, 1641, that F. Arrowsmith 'the night before he suffered, when as yet, Mr. Barlow had not heard of his suffering, came to his bedside, and told him; I have already suffered: you shall also suffer; speak but little, for they will be upon the watch to catch you in your words.'

On the eves before the principal festivals of the year, whilst Mr. Barlow was in health, the catholics resorted to him from distant places,

and passed the night, after the manner of the primitive church, in watching, prayer, and spiritual colloquies; whilst, for his part, he was employed almost all the night in hearing confessions. On the next day, he treated them all with a dinner, where he, and some of the more honourable sort of his flock, served them that were poor, and waited upon them, and then dined off their leavings. When he sent them home, he gave each of them a groat in alms; and when all had dined, he distributed what remained, to the poor of the parish. His zeal had made him as well known in all that neighbourhood, as the very parson of the parish. Some reprehended him for going about so publicly; to whom he replied, Let them fear that have any thing to lose, which they are unwilling to part with; which was not his case, who had set his heart upon nothing in this world: and was even desirous to lay down his life for God's cause. He could not be persuaded by his friends to retire farther off from danger, to a house of a kinsman of his in Cheshire, being desirous, if it pleased God, to shed his blood at Lancaster.

He was beginning to recover of his illness, but was as yet very weak; when he was apprehended, on Easter Day, 1641, in the following manner, according to the account which he himself sent out of prison to his brother Rudesind. A neighbouring minister, who had with him, at church, a numerous congregation, instead of entertaining them on that solemn day with a sermon and prayers, as usual, proposed to them as a work more worthy their zeal for the gospel, to go along with him to apprehend Barlow, that noted popish priest, whom they would now be sure to find in the midst of his flock; whereas were they to stay till church time was over, they would miss the opportunity. They relished the proposition, and being about four hundred in number, armed with clubs and swords, followed the parson, marching in front in his surplice, to the house, where Mr. Barlow having finished mass, was making an exhortation to his people, about one hundred in number, on the subject of patience. The catholics that were within, as soon as they perceived the house was besieged, would have persuaded the man of God to hide himself, there being more than one private place for that purpose in the house, but he would by no means consent to secure himself, and leave his sheep to the mercy of these wolves: wherefore, exhorting them all to constancy, and putting them in mind, that these light and momentary tribulations would work in them an eternal weight of glory; and telling them, withal, how ready he was, for his part, to suffer all things for Christ, he ordered them to open the doors. The mob immediately rushed in, crying out, *Where is Barlow? Where is Barlow? He is the man we want:* and laying hands upon him, they secured him, letting the rest go, upon giving caution for their appearance. In the mean time, they searched the whole house, and broke open Mr. Barlow's chest, in hopes of finding money: but see the wonderful providence of our Lord! though there was a considerable sum of money there, which had been lately sent him by some charitable gentlemen to be given to the poor; and though they rumaged, and turned over all his clothes, and other things, yet they could not find this bag: for which providence, Mr. Barlow was very thankful, and gave

proper orders afterwards, for the disposing of the money according to the intention of the donors.

Mr. Barlow being now in the hands of this mob and their minister, (who, it seems, had acted in this whole affair without any warrant,) was carried by them, the same day, before a justice of peace, who sent him, guarded by sixty armed men, to Lancaster castle. Some of his flock would have attempted to rescue him in the way out of their hands, but he earnestly entreated them not to think of it. He was carried to jail in a sort of a triumph by this armed mob, who insulted over him, and treated him with contempt, which was to him, a subject of joy; though at this time he was yet so weak, that he could not sit on horseback without one behind him, to support him. He was kept in prison from Easter till the summer assizes: and in the mean time, instead of being weakened or cast down by his sufferings, he wonderfully recovered his strength and health. He would not hear of the proposition made by his friends, of using their interest to have him removed up to London, or sent into banishment, as many others had been: but desired them to be easy, and not to concern themselves about him; for that to die for this cause, (viz: for being a catholic priest,) was, to him, more desirable than life; that he must die some time or other, and could not die a better death. To some also, upon this occasion, he imparted in confidence, the vision which he had of father Arrowsmith. In prison, he often entertained himself with the book of Boetius *de consolatione*, which the jailor taking notice of, took the book away: at which, Mr. Barlow smiling, said, If you take this little book away, I will betake myself to that great book from which Boetius learned his wholesome doctrine, and that book, you can never take away from me: and this is what he continually practised, by mental prayer. My author adds, that when any one came to visit him in prison, he would not suffer the time to be lost in vain or worldly talk; but entertained the party with such discouses only, as were for his instruction and edification.

After above four months imprisonment, his trial came on, on the 7th of September, before Sir Robert Heath: who is said to have had instructions from the parliament, if any priests were convicted at Lancaster, to see the law executed upon him, for a terror to the catholics, who were numerous in that county. The indictment being read, Mr. Barlow freely acknowledged himself a priest, and that he had exercised his priestly functions for above twenty years in this kingdom. The judge asked him, why he had not obeyed the king's proclamation, commanding all priests to depart the realm before the 7th of April last past? Mr. Barlow answered, that several persons there present, and especially they who had brought him to prison, very well knew, that he was then so weak, by a long and grievous illness, that he was no ways in condition to obey the proclamation.

The judge asked him, what he thought of the justice of those laws, by which priests were put to death? He answered, that all laws made against catholics on account of their religion, were unjust and impious: for what law, said he, can be more unjust than this, by which priests are condemned to suffer as traitors, merely because they are Roman, that is true priests? For there are no other true priests, but the Roman;

and if these be destroyed, what must become of the divine law, when none remain to preach God's word, and administer his sacraments? Then said the judge, What opinion have you of the makers of those laws, and of those, who, by their office see them put in execution? Mr. Barlow replied, if, my lord, in consequence of so unjust a law, you should condemn me to die, you would send me to heaven, and yourself to hell. Make what judgment you please, said the judge of my salvation; for my part, though the law has brought you hither as a criminal and a seducer of the people, I shall not pass so uncharitable a sentence upon you. I am no seducer, said Mr. Barlow, but a reducer of the people, to the true and ancient religion. The judge, as he afterwards acknowledged, was astonished at the constancy of his answers, and his intrepidity, and put him in mind that his life was in his hands, and that it was in his power to acquit him, or condemn him: and dont you know and acknowledge, said he, That I sit here as your judge? I know said the prisoner, and acknowledge you judge, but in such causes only, as belong to the temporal court and tribunal; but in spiritual matters, and in things belonging to the court of conscience, be pleased to take notice, that I am judge; and therefore, I tell you plainly, that if by that unjust law, you sentence me to die, it will be to my salvation, and your damnation. Upon this, the judge directed the jury to bring him in *guilty;* and the next day, pronounced sentence upon him, in the usual form. Mr. Barlow heard the sentence, with a cheerful and pleasant countenance, and said aloud, thanks be to God; and then prayed heartily to the divine Majesty, to forgive all that had any ways been accessory to his death. The judge applauded his charity in this, and granted him what he petitioned for, viz: a chamber to himself, in the castle, where, for the short remainder of his time, he might, without molestation, apply himself to his devotions, and prepare for his exit.

On Friday, the 10th of September, he was brought out to suffer according to sentence, and laid upon the hurdle, on which, he was drawn to the place of execution, carrying all the way in his hand, a cross of wood, which he had made. When he was come to the place, being taken off the hurdle, he went three times round the gallows, carrying the cross before his breast, and reciting the penitent psalm, *Miserere.* Some ministers were for disputing with him about religion, but he told them it was unfair, and an unseasonable challenge, and that he had something else to do at present, than to hearken to their fooleries. He suffered with great constancy according to sentence, and so passed from short labours and pains to eternal rest and joy, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, the twenty-fifth of his religious profession, and the twenty-fourth of his priesthood and mission.

SEVEN PRIESTS AND CONFESSORS.

In the December following the execution of Mr. Barlow, I find seven priests at once condemned in the sessions at the Old Bailey, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for their character and priestly functions. They

were condemned on the 8th of December, and were to have been executed on the 13th. At the desire of the French ambassador, the king being willing to have them reprieved and banished, sent a message to both houses of parliament, to know their thoughts upon the matter. This message being sent December the 11th, from the lords to the house of commons, and there read, it was singly voted upon these following priests: 'Resolved, that John Hammon, John Rivers, alias Abbot, Walter Coleman, and N. Turner, priests, shall be put to execution according to law.' See Nelson's Impartial Collections, vol. ii. p. 731, 732, &c. However, his majesty having been pleased to grant his reprieve to all the seven, on the Thursday following, December the 14th, both houses agreed to join in a petition, that his majesty would take off the reprieve, and order all the seven to be executed. To which his majesty, on December the 16th, returned his answer, that he would take the matter into consideration.

This reprieve of the condemned priests, who were shortly after reduced to the number of six, by the death of one of them, was perpetually objected to the king by the parliament; till his majesty, answering from York their petition concerning the magazine of Hull, &c., told them, 'concerning the six condemned priests, it is true they were reprieved by our warrant, being informed that they were (by some restraint,) disabled to take the benefit of our former proclamation, since that, we have issued out another, for the due execution of the laws against papists, and have most solemnly promised, upon the word of a king, never to pardon any priest without your consent, who shall be found guilty by law: desiring to banish these, "the six," having herewith sent warrants to that purpose, if upon second thoughts you do not disapprove thereof. But if you think the execution of these persons so very necessary to the great and pious work of reformation, we refer it wholly to you, declaring hereby, that upon such your resolution, signified to the ministers of justice, our warrant for their reprieve is determined, and the law to have its course.' So far the king. And my lord Clarendon, in his history, vol. i, part 2, p. 490, tells us, that this unexpected answer did not a little disturb the parliament. because the king, by referring the matter to them, removed the *scandal* from himself, and laid it at their doors: and certain it is, that we hear no more of this affair, and that these condemned priests were all suffered to linger away their lives in Newgate, though no less than eight of their brethren were executed in different parts of the kingdom, within the compass of that one year, 1642.

It remains, that we should here put down the chief particulars we have been able to discover concerning these seven condemned priests; and first, as to their order; father Angelus Mason, in his preface to his *Certamen Seraphicum*, tells us, that excepting father Coleman, who was a Franciscan, all the rest were either of the secular clergy, or of the venerable order of St. Bennet. Then as to other particulars, to begin with those that were first by parliament voted to die.

1. John Hammon, or Hammond, was a priest of Douay college, ordained and sent upon the English mission in 1625. He was a gentleman of learning and merit, a leading man amongst his brethren; a

member of their chapter; and superior of the secular clergy in the west of England.

2. John Rivers, alias, Abbot, a Londoner, was also a priest of Douay college; he was ordained in 1612, at which time I find he left the college, in order to enter the society of Jesus. But this design proved ineffectual; for by the account of father Angelus, above quoted, when he was condemned to die, he was still a secular priest.

3. Walter Coleman was descended from a good family in Staffordshire, who, going abroad, studied his humanity in the English college of Douay, then returning home, after some years spent among his friends, being disgusted with the pleasures and vanities of the world, he determined to leave all, and to follow Christ, in a life of poverty, humility, and mortification. Upon this he entered among the English Franciscans in their convent at Douay, where he was called father Christopher, of St. Clair. He died in Newgate, anno, 1645. He was author of a small poem, called, The Duel of Death. See more of him in *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 184, &c.

4. John Turner was a priest of the English college of Douay, ordained and sent upon the mission in 1625. He seems to have survived all the rest in prison, and consequently to have endured the longer martyrdom.

5. The other three, (whose names are not recorded in Mr. Nelson's collections,) were, as far as I can gather from other records, Mr. Henry Myners, who died prisoner of the common side of Newgate, anno, ——— Father Lawrence Mabbs, O. S. B., who died prisoner in the same jail, anno, 1641. And father Peter Wilford, O. S. B., called in religion father Boniface, who died in the same prison, March 12, 1646, being fourscore years of age, or upwards. B. W., in his manuscript, says ninety.

Father Mason, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 192, speaking of father Coleman, gives this short eulogium of all his six companions; that they had all laboured for a long time upon the mission, with great fruit in gaining souls to God: that they had suffered all the incommodities of a prison for many years; that they were condemned merely on account of their priesthood; and that they received the sentence of death with great joy, giving God thanks that they were thought worthy to suffer in his cause.

THOMAS REYNOLDS, ALIAS, GREEN, PRIEST.*

Thomas Reynolds, whose true name was Green, was born in the city of Oxford, towards the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and as great numbers of the brightest and most hopeful young men in both universities in those days, disliking the new religion, went abroad to be

* From Mr. Ireland's Douay diary; a manuscript relation by father Floyd, S. J. another manuscript in the collections of Mr. Knaresborough; and Chifletius, in his Palma Cleri Anglicani, printed at Antwerp, in 1645, p. 22.

educated in the old, for which, afterwards, a great many of them laid down their lives; Mr. Reynolds followed their footsteps, and going over to Rhemes to the English seminary, then residing in that city, after some time spent in his studies there, was advanced to holy orders; and being now deacon, was, on the 17th of September, 1590, in the company of several others, sent from Rhemes into Spain, the seminaries in that kingdom, being then usually supplied from the college at Rhemes. Mr. Reynolds was made priest at Seville, and from thence was sent upon the English mission. He had been above fifty years in holy orders, when he was called forth to suffer, and in that space of time had weathered many a storm. I find his name amongst the forty-seven priests, sent from divers prisons into banishment, in 1606. But he quickly returned again to his post: he was therefore again apprehended, in or about the year 1628, about fourteen years before his death; and was then brought to his trial, and condemned; but, by the queen's interest was reprieved; yet so, as still to remain a prisoner. It is true, I find his name in Mr. Prynne's Hidden Works of Darkness, &c., amongst those priests, who, in 1635, upon giving bond for their appearance, were permitted to go out of prison: and in consequence of this permission, he was often abroad amongst his friends, till in June, 1641, (the factious in the parliament being now very clamorous against the reprieving of priests,) he was seized and committed; and in the January following, without any new trial or provocation, was brought down to his former sentence, and executed.

He was a man says my author, "Chiflet, p. 37," of a most religious comportment in his whole life, who, for a long course of years, had preached virtue and godliness to his countrymen, no less by his example than by his words: and he was now far advanced in age, "being about eighty." As to his body, he was fat and corpulent, yet very infirm through past labours and sufferings. As to his temper, he was remarkably mild and courteous; and in the many years he had laboured in the vineyard of his Lord, he had reaped much fruit, in gaining many souls to God. He was naturally timorous; and therefore, when he was so unexpectedly called upon to prepare himself to die, distrusting in his own strength, he earnestly importuned heaven for the grace of constancy and perseverance, by long and fervent prayer, in which he employed a good part of the night before his martyrdom; and begged, to this same end, the prayers of other priests and servants of God; and the divine majesty was pleased to hear him, and in such manner to favour him with his grace, as to banish all his fears, and fill his soul with a wonderful fortitude and vigour; so that he was surprised to find this change in himself, and could not forbear extolling the mercies of God towards him, and the wondrous operations of his powerful grace in so poor, frail, and infirm an old man. On the morning before he was to die, he celebrated the sacred mysteries: and then cheerfully obeyed the summons of the officers, who called for him in order to execution.

"What follows, is mostly transcribed from two manuscript relations, of which I have copies in my hands."

'He, "Mr. Reynolds," 'came forth of Newgate, and put off his

hat to the sheriff, then went up the sledge, and lay down; but lifting himself up again, he saluted them that were about him, and gave his blessing to all catholics that were present. Mr. Roe, a Benedictine, presently followed, and did in the same manner, and they embraced each other on the hurdle. It was the 21st of January, 1641, being Friday, the feast of St. Agnes, that these two courageous soldiers of Jesus Christ were called out to fight. They were drawn on one hurdle by four car-horses; the way being very deep and plashy, so that their faces, bands and clothes were much spattered with dirt. In the mean time, it is almost incredible how much both protestants and catholics were moved to tears at the sight of them, and what show of zeal the catholics made towards these blessed martyrs; for in the streets they went up to the hurdle where they lay, some kissing their hands, some their garments, others craving their blessing publicly; others saying, courage, valiant soldiers of Christ: and the martyrs on the other side, bade them joyfully, farewell, saying, they more esteemed it to be drawn up Holborn on a sledge for his cause, than if they were riding in the best coach the king had, and that they were going to a marriage feast.

'They arrived about eleven o'clock, at the place of execution, where Mr. Reynolds having the sheriff's permission, spoke bravely for half an hour's space; and amongst other things said, that if he had as many lives as there are bright stars in the firmament, he would most willingly give them all for this cause. That he had conversed with all sorts of people, having been a priest in England, almost forty years, yet none could ever accuse him so much as of a word tending to treason or disloyalty; that he had only laboured to reduce strayed souls to the fold of the catholic church, to which as he had reduced some, so he wished that every one of them had been a thousand. He also told them, that God's vengeance hung over England for their seditious treacheries, &c. Here the sheriff asked him what he meant? I do not mean, said he, the parliament; I will not censure nor meddle with their actions, but beseech almighty God to bless them, and to send the holy Ghost to teach them to do what is best for the kingdom, and the catholic church; and withal he excused the king for having any hand in his blood, and prayed for him, for the queen, the royal issue, and the whole kingdom.

'I pray God, said he, that they, "the king and parliament," may settle all things to his honour and glory, and that England may be a flourishing kingdom. I desire all whom I have offended, to forgive me, as I forgive all the world, from the bottom of my heart, and all those who have a hand in the effusion of my innocent blood: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge, and that it may not cry to heaven for vengeance, and lie heavy upon the kingdom. And God forgive them, to please whom, I was so suddenly called away.—And God bless you, Mr. Sheriff, and reward you for your goodness towards me, and for your patience in bearing with my tediousness, and grant you his grace to make you a glorious saint in heaven, &c. Here the sheriff answered in a low voice, and I commend myself to you.

'All this he spoke with such an undaunted courage, a cheerful

aspect, and at the same time with such an air of meekness and humility, as drew tears from the eyes of many; and though the crowd was extraordinary great, the attention and silence was such as might rather be expected in a church than upon this occasion.—The sheriff, who had all this time stood uncovered, and showing, by his own wet cheeks a deep concern for the prisoner, turned towards my lord Rich, and some other persons of distinction, and with a great feeling and concern protested, that he had never seen in his whole life a man die like him; and that, for his own part, he did truly pity his condition.

'Mr. Reynolds having finished his discourse, kneeled down, disposing himself for prayer. When Mr. Roe (a man courageous and valiant, says F. Floyd,) rising up, and looking about him, said with some surprise, Here's a jolly company! I know you come to see me die: my fellow here hath in great measure spoke what I would have said. However, I shall repeat the words I used at the bar. I say, then, here again, for a man to be put to death for being a priest, this being the most sacred and highest order in the world, is an unjust and tyrannical law.—I say, that law of the 27th of queen Elizabeth, which condemns a man to death for being a priest only, is a wicked, unjust, and tyrannical law, a law not to be found even amongst the Turks, or elsewhere, in the whole universe, England excepted. Here the sheriff said, Mr. Roe, I must not suffer you to vilify the laws; I am here to see justice done, and cannot hear you make these reflections upon the laws and judicial proceedings of the nation. Whereupon, Mr. Roe desisted, recommending himself to the prayers of all such as were of his religion, forgiving from his heart all persons whatsoever, and earnestly begging forgiveness of all. This done, he prepared himself for execution, showing in his behaviour, the whole time, an unparalleled contempt of death.

'Then the cart, wherein were three felons (one of which had been privately reconciled by Mr. Roe the day before, and gave great signs of penitence,) was placed under the gallows, and the two confessors were ordered to get into it, which they did with joy; and having there embraced each other for the last time, they betook themselves to their private devotions. While the executioner was fastening the ropes, Mr. Reynolds called to him, Friend, says he, pray let all be secure; and do thy duty neatly: I have been a neat man all my life.

'After some time employed in mental prayer, they rose up; and Mr. Roe espying one of the turnkeys of the Fleet, where he had formerly been a prisoner, Friend, says he, smiling, I find thou art a prophet: thou hast told me often that I should be hanged; and truly my unworthiness was such, I could not believe it, but I see thou art a prophet.

'While the ordinary of Newgate was praying with the felons, the two priests recited the *Miserere* psalm *alternatim*, Mr. Reynolds beginning, and Mr. Roe answering; and having recited the whole psalm, and paused a short time, they repeated it a second time, Mr. Roe giving out the first verse, Mr. Reynolds answering. The executioner coming to cover their faces, Mr. Roe told him, he had disposed of his handkerchief; but, says he, I dare look death in the face.

'In fine, after some devout recommendations of their souls to their Saviour, the servants of God, as the cart was drawn away, saluted the people with great signs of joy and alacrity, and so passed to a better world. They hung till they were fully dead, in their clothes, and afterwards were quartered. Many, present, dipped their handkerchiefs in their blood, others gathered up the bloody straws, and what they could get else, going to London with their spoils The catholics then present, many in number, seemed even beside themselves with fervour and zeal; and into them that were absent, their glorious example hath put life and alacrity. Yea, a protestant said, It would be long enough before any of our religion will die, as these men do, for their faith; they will sooner turn to a hundred religions. Another protestant that fequents our house, "they are the words of father Floyd's MS.," having no handkerchief about him, dipped his glove within and without, and brought it to us, and could not for weeping, relate what the good man said: and added, that many protestants wept, even the sheriff himself. A protestant lord, to my knowledge said, that he was unwilling they should be put to death, and that it would be the cause that two thousand more papists would rise for these two priests; and that he did not doubt, but when Mr. Ward was executed, a thousand were made papists. It is likely, continues the manuscript, that the seven condemned priests will shortly also be executed, notwithstanding the king's reprieve; for now the parliament proceeds against priests upon their own authority, without asking the king's leave. God give them constancy, and make us partakers of their merits.' So far the manuscript. They suffered at Tyburn, January 21, 1641–2.

BARTHOLOMEW ROE, PRIEST.—O. S. B.*

Bartholomew Roe who, in religion, was called father Alban, was born in Suffolk, of a gentleman's family, and was, from his infancy, brought up in the protestant religion. After having gone through his grammar studies in his own country, he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and there, for some time, applied himself with good success to higher learning; till going to visit some friends at St. Albans, as providence would have it, he was there told of one David, an inhabitant of that town, lately convicted and cast into prison for a popish recusant, and was desirous to go and talk with the prisoner, making no question but that he could convince him of the errors and absurdities of the Romish tenets; for he had a sharp and ready wit, and a tongue well hung, and withal, was full of conceit of his own religion, and with false ideas of the catholic doctrine. To the prison, therefore, he went, and entered into discourse with the prisoner, upon the subject of his religion; who, though a mechanic, yet was not ill read in controversy, so that he was able to maintain his cause against all the oppositions of our young

* From a manuscript relation, kept by the English Benedictines, at Douay, and other memoirs in my hands.

university man, and even pushed him so hard upon several articles, that Mr. Roe, soon perceived he had taken a tartar, and knew not which way to turn himself. In conclusion, he who came to the attack with so much confidence of victory, left the field with confusion, beginning now to stagger and diffide in the cause.

From this time, Mr. Roe was very uneasy in mind upon the score of religion; nor did this uneasiness cease, till, by reading and conferring with catholic priests, he was thoroughly convinced of his errors, and determined to embrace the ancient faith. And having found the treasure of God's truth himself, he was very desirous to impart the same to the souls of his neighbours; and to this end, resolved to go abroad, that he might enter into holy orders, and so return home, well qualified by virtue and learning to preach to others the true way of salvation. Being therefore reconciled to the church, he passed over into Flanders, and entered himself a convictor in the English college of Douay, as appears by the records of that house: but after some time, he removed from thence to Dieulwart, in Lorraine, where he took the habit of St. Bennet, amongst the English monks of that venerable order; and having given general satisfaction to all the religious, during the year of his probation, he was admitted to his solemn profession; and after some time, presented to holy orders; and being judged by his superiors, thoroughly qualified, by a long practice of all religious virtues, for the apostolic functions, he was sent upon the English mission.

Here, he took great pains in preaching, conferring with protestants, &c., and gained many souls to Christ and his church; his zeal and charity making him proof against all personal dangers, where he thought he could be serviceable to the soul of his neighbour. After some time, he fell into the hands of the pursuivants, and was committed to the new prison, which was then in Maiden-lane, and for a long time, endured great hardships there; till by the mediation of count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, he was taken out of prison, and with many other priests, sent into banishment. On this occasion, he went to Douay, to visit his brethren in their convent of St. Gregory, and remained with them, for about four months; and then returned again upon the English mission, where he spent the remainder of his days, and that, for the most part in prison.

For after he had laboured for about two years more, with his usual zeal, he fell a second time into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and was then committed a close prisoner to a filthy jail at St. Albans, the very place where he had received the first favourable impressions of the catholic faith. His confinement here, was very strict, and his want even of necessaries, so very great, that he verily believed he must have perished through cold and hunger, if a special providence had not interposed. But after about two months, by the means of some friends, he was sent for up to town, where he was something better accommodated, in the prison of the Fleet, and wanted not opportunity, (which he improved to the best,) during the seventeen years of his confinement, of being beneficial to the souls of many who resorted to him; and even for the latter part of the time, he seems to have had the liberty, as several others of his character had in king Charles's days, of going abroad

upon his parole, and attending to the calls of his ministry. In the mean time, he suffered much from frequent illnesses, and violent fits of the stone: (for which, he was cut more than once,) all which he endured with invincible patience and courage; being remarkably cheerful and facetious even in the midst of his sufferings. He was also very industrious in animating such as applied to him, to the practice of mental prayer; instructing them in this holy exercise, both by word of mouth, and by several pious tracts, which he translated out of other languages into English, some of which, he caused to be published in print, others he left behind him in manuscript.

About the beginning of the long persecuting parliament, being in conversation with one of his brethren, he told him, that war was at hand, and that it was time to prepare for the conflict: and so it happened; for not long after, he was apprehended, and committed to Newgate, and within a few days, brought upon his trial, at the Old Bailey. The chief witness against him, was a fallen catholic, whom he had formerly assisted. He pleaded *not guilty*, but boggled at being tried by *his country*, that is, by the twelve ignorant jurymen, as being unwilling that they should be concerned in the shedding his innocent blood. The judge upon that occasion, told him what punishment the law had ordained for such as refused to plead, which he must look for, if he persisted to decline being tried by his country: Mr. Roe generously replied, My Saviour has suffered far more for me, than all that; and I am willing to suffer the worst of torments for his sake. The judge bid him think better of it, and sent him back to prison.

The next day, after he had taken advice of some grave and learned priests, he was brought again to the bar, and consented, after the example of so many other confessors of Christ, to be tried by *his country*. The jury went aside, and quickly returned, declaring him guilty of the indictment, viz: of high treason, on account of his priestly character and functions, and the judge pronounced sentence upon him, according to the usual form, which he heard with a serene and cheerful countenance; and then making a low reverence, returned thanks to the judge, and to the whole bench, for the favour, which he esteemed very great, and which he had greatly desired; and how little said he, is this, which I am to suffer for Christ, in comparison with that far more bitter death which he suffered for me! He then acknowledged himself to be a priest, but withal, loudly condemned those laws by which the priests were put to death; and made a proffer, to maintain by disputation in open court, against any opponent whatsoever, the catholic faith, which he, for thirty years, had laboured to propagate, and was now about to seal with his blood. This, the judges would not hear of, but sent him back to prison, wondering at his constancy and intrepidity.

During the few days he remained in prison, between his condemnation and execution, his soul seemed always full of joy at the prospect of his approaching happiness. Great numbers came to visit him, and not one of them who did not depart highly edified with his comportment and conversation. On the day that he was to be executed, he found means to celebrate mass in prison early in the morning, which he did with singular devotion; and after mass made a short, but pathetic ex-

hortation to the catholics that were present, giving them his last benediction, and desiring of them, that as often as in passing through the city, they should see that hand of his fixed on one of the gates, or in crossing the water should see his head on London bridge, they would remember those lessons which he had preached to them, of the necessity of holding fast the catholic faith, and of leading a christian and holy life.

When he was admonished that the officers of justice waited for him below, he readily obeyed the summons, and walked down the steps with an edifying composure, and a modest cheerfulness in his looks, saluting the sheriff and all the people with great civility. Then coming up to the hurdle, and taking Mr. Reynolds by the hand, who was already placed on it, and with his usual facetiousness, feeling his pulse, asked him, How he found himself now? In very good heart, said Mr. Reynolds, blessed be God for it, and glad that I am to have for my companion in death a person of your undaunted courage. Then after mutual salutations, Mr. Roe being also fastened on the hurdle, they were drawn to Tyburn, as we have already seen in the acts of Mr. Reynolds.

When they were arrived at Tyburn, they made their last confessions to each other, and after mutual embraces and congratulations, getting up into the cart, they kissed the ropes, and put them on, as their last stoles, in which they were to offer their last sacrifice, and heartily recommended themselves to the prayers of all catholics. We have already taken notice of the last speech of Mr. Reynolds, (during which Mr. Roe was busy in preparing for death one of the malefactors whom he had reconciled in prison,) and how Mr. Roe was hindered by the sheriff from proceeding in his discourse to the people; upon which occasion he begged leave to speak a word or two to the sheriff himself, who told him, he might: Pray sir, said Mr. Roe, if I will conform to your religion, and go to church, will you secure me my life? That I will, said the sheriff, upon my word; my life for yours if you will but do that. See then, said Mr. Roe, turning to the people, what the crime is for which I am to die, and whether my religion be not my only treason. Other particulars relating to Mr. Roe's death, have been recorded above. He recommended his soul to God when the cart was about to be drawn away, and he was observed, whilst he was hanging, to hold for some time his hands joined before his breast, and twice separating them a little, to join them again, as one employed in prayer.

When he was cut down and stripped, in order to be quartered, a certain writing was found about him, perhaps the speech which he designed to have spoke, which the sheriff immediately laid hold of, and is said to have laid before the parliament; but what in particular were the contents of it, we have not been informed.

JOHN LOCKWOOD, ALIAS, LASSELS, PRIEST.*

John Lockwood was eldest son of Christopher Lockwood, Esq., of Soresby, in the county of York, by N. Lassels, his wife, daughter of

* From the Douay diary, by Mr. Ireland, and from the manuscript collections of Mr. Knaresborough.

Sir Robert Lassels of Brackenbrough, in the same county. He was born in 1555, according to the Douay diary, which gives him no more than eighty-seven years of age when he suffered; (though I have before me some relations, which affirm that he was at that time, ninety-six years old.) He had exercised his priestly functions, according to the same diary, for the space of forty-four years before his martyrdom: so it is likely he did not retire out of England till late. Whenever it was, we are assured, that he voluntarily quitted an estate of four hundred a year, to devote himself to the service of God and his neighbours, in the quality of a priest, and of a missioner: and that at a time, and in a kingdom; where he could look for nothing else in that quality, but labours and dangers, prisons, and death.

He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay, or Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome: but at Rome, he was made priest, as appears from his answers in court, when being charged with being a Roman priest, he answered, that it was right enough expressed, in his regard, for indeed, said he, I was ordained priest at Rome. He was twice, at least, a prisoner for his faith, before his last apprehension: for I find in Molanus, that he was sent from prison into banishment in 1610; and after his return upon the mission was retaken again, and then brought upon his trial, and condemned to die; but was reprieved, and kept in prison. How long he was confined at this time I have not found, nor how he escaped out of prison; probably he was discharged, as many others were, either upon occasion of the marriage treaty with Spain, or by the interest of queen Henrietta Maria. He was apprehended for the last time at a place called the Wood-end, the house of Mrs. Catenby, a catholic widow, where the old gentleman had lived for some years. He was cultivating his little garden, when the blood-hounds rushed in upon him, and easily secured their prey. The pursuivants were inhabitants of a neighbouring market town, called Thirsk; their leader was one Cuthbert Langdale, and he and another wretch, to fill up the measure of their iniquities, appeared witnesses against him at the York assizes, and took away the life of the good old man.

Some odd circumstances, bordering upon cruelty, which accompanied the commitment and condemnation of Mr. Lockwood, especially considering his great age, and the peaceable and inoffensive disposition of the man, gave much offence, not only to catholics, but to many of the more moderate protestants; insomuch, that even to this day, says Mr. K., his execution is mentioned in Yorkshire with pity and compassion. Though, as for his own part, it appears by the sequel of the story, that he was well satisfied with the orders of Providence, and did even joyfully take up his cross to follow his dying Saviour. He took leave of his friends with a wonderful evenness of mind, and manifestly showed by his behaviour, that he was not under the least concern at his commitment, or the consequences of it.

The great difficulty, was how to convey the prisoner to York. They set him on horseback, but through weakness and age he was not able to ride: 'Upon this, Cuthbert gets on behind, and supports his feeble charge; but nether would this contrivance long succeed; the poor old man after a short trial fainted away, and had like to have disappointed

the priest-catcher of his reward. When he was a little recovered, they jogged on again, but again the old gentleman grew very sick, and plainly told his governor that he could no longer sit on horseback: then you shall lie on horseback, quoth Cuthbert; for to York castle you are sent, and to York castle you shall go, with leave of the Lord. Accordingly they laid the prisoner on the horse, Cuthbert still riding behind, with one hand managing the beast, and his prisoner with the other. And thus moving on by easy marches, after many a halt, and many a sick fit, and fainting away, he brought his charge alive to York, where they made an odd appearance in the streets, and had many lookers on. A passage well remembered, says Mr. Kn., "from whom we have transcribed it," spoke of to this day and by the ancient inhabitants of that city, with indignation and horror.'

Cuthbert, having now performed his task, and delivered up his prisoner to the jailer, was making haste homeward, when Mr. Lockwood very friendly called to him, and at the same time pulling out his purse, 'Hark you, Cuthbert,' says the old gentleman, 'I have even given you a great deal of trouble in bringing me to this happy place, here take that angel for your pains, and the Lord be with you.' And five shillings more he gave to the under-priest-catcher for his share in the trouble, so they took leave of each other, and parted very good friends.

At the next assizes Mr. Lockwood, with his fellow prisoner, Mr. Catherick, was tried and condemned: and though they were for a short time reprieved by the king, the clamours of the parliament against reprieving priests were such at that time, that his majesty, though, as it is thought, very much against his inclinations, signed the dead warrant for their execution. And accordingly, on the 13th of April, 1642, the king and prince of Wales, with many lords and persons of distinction, being then at the manor in York, Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Catherick were laid on a hurdle, and drawn through the streets of York, to the place of execution, to suffer according to sentence.

After some time employed in private devotions, the sheriff appointed Mr. Catherick to walk up the ladder: he moved towards it in obedience to orders, but showed by his countenance, that the fears of death had encompassed and oppressed his soul: which Mr. Lockwood observing, stepped forward, and planting himself at the foot of the ladder, 'Mr. Sheriff,' says he, 'under favour, the place is mine, I am his senior by many years, and therefore with leave I challenge it as my right to mount the ladder first. Then applying himself to Mr. Catherick, my dear brother in Jesus Christ, and fellow-sufferer,' says he, 'take courage; we have almost run our race, shall we faint and be tired when in sight of the prize? O let us run in spirit to our Saviour in the garden, and call upon him in his agony and bloody sweat. O blessed Lord Jesus! who submittest thyself to death, for the example and comfort of thy servants at the hour of their deaths, be near us we beseech thee at this moment, moderate our fears, strengthen our faith, and confirm our hopes, that in obedience to thy call we may go forth to meet thee readily and cheerfully: and thankfully drink of thy chalice, how bitter soever to nature. O Jesus! sweeten it by thy grace: help thy poor ser-

vants that call upon thee, that we may here lay down our lives in obedience to thy holy will, and in defence of thy holy religion, with constancy and perseverance. Lord Jesus, once more we recommend ourselves in this dreadful hour to thee! help us by thy powerful grace, that thou, O Lord, mayest be glorified in our deaths, and thy church and people edified.'

This done, the holy man began to climb up the ladder as well as he could; but finding himself out of breath, he made a halt, and turning to the sheriff with a smiling countenance, 'Good Mr. Sheriff,' says he, have a little patience with me; indeed this same climbing a ladder, is a piece of hard service for an old man of fourscore and seven: however, I will do my best; for who would not take thus much pains, Mr. Sheriff, to get to heaven at the journey's end.' Then he began again to ascend, and with the help of two men, whom he rewarded with a shilling each, he arrived at the top of the ladder. Here pausing a while to recover his breath, he inquired of Mr. Catherick, how he did? 'In good heart,' replies he, 'blessed be God! and ready to suffer with constancy the death his providence has allotted me. Yes, my dear Father, I am willing and ready to follow you, thanks be to my Lord and Saviour Jesus, who by his grace has strengthened me, and by your good example has encouraged me.'

Mr. Lockwood, overjoyed to see his companion thus disposed, prepared himself immediately for his end; and after a few words of edification to the people, and earnestly desiring the prayers of the catholics, and exhorting them to constancy and patience in their sufferings, he employed a few minutes in silent prayer, and then delivered himself up to the executioner; and whilst with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, he cried out, Jesus, my Saviour! Jesus, my Redeemer, receive my soul! Jesus, be to me a Jesus! the executioner flung him off, and he soon expired.

When he was cut down, in order to be bowelled and quartered, the hangman, it seems, scrupled at the butchery part, and for a time flatly refused it; and even taking a rope threatened to hang himself, rather than embrue his hands in innocent blood. But being at last prevailed upon by a wicked woman to undergo the drudgery, he fell to work like a fury, cutting, slashing, and tearing, the bodies and bowels as well of Mr. Lockwood as of Mr. Catherick, hashing his entrails into small parts, and flinging them like a madman amongst the crowd. The heads and quarters of the two priests were disposed on the several gates or bars, as they term them, of the city; and Mr. Lockwood's head was fixed on the north gate, called Bootham-bar, close by the king's palace, at the manor, where his majesty then resided, insomuch that it was not possible for him to come out of the palace gate, or even look out from the east, but old Eleazar's bloody head was before his eyes, which must have affected his mind with some troublesome remembrances.

EDMUND CATHERICK, PRIEST.*

He was descended from the Cathericks of Carlton, an ancient family in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Richmond. He performed his studies in the English college of Douay, and being there made priest, was sent upon the English mission, about the year 1635, being then thirty years old. He stands with a fair character, in the college diary, and is particularly commended for his extraordinary meekness, and for his zeal and labours in the mission. "R. D. Lockwood, eadem hora secutus est R. D. Edmundus Catherick, alias Huddlestone, Eboracensis, in passione socius, eo quod Sacerdos esset. Vir mitissimus, & hujus colegii alumnus, annos habens 37, quorum 7 in vinea Anglicana operarius strenuus impenderat. Diar. MSS. R. D. Ireland, ad annum 1642."

After seven years labouring in the vineyard of his Lord, he was apprehended on the road, not far from Watlass, and was carried by the pursuivants before justice Dodsworth, who had married a near kinswoman of Mr. Catherick; to whom, it seems, the good man some time before, (having been invited as a kinsman to his house,) had in private, candidly owned that he was a priest; so that Mr. Catherick being now brought before him, the justice, without more ado, committed him to York castle, and afterwards appeared as evidence against him, making oath that the prisoner had owned himself a priest in his hearing. And it is the opinion of the people of that neighbourhood, even to this day, says Mr. Knaresborough, in his manuscript collections, that Mr. Dodsworth and his family, for some years after, felt the guilt of Mr. Catherick's blood very heavy upon them, in a long series of surprising and dire disasters.

He was condemned merely for being a priest. His behaviour at the place of execution, was very religious and devout. He employed the whole time in prayer, while Mr. Lockwood was upon the ladder, and by his looks and reverend posture, plainly showed, that his applications to God were full of affection and fervour. When Mr. Lockwood was turned off, Mr. Catherick was ordered up the ladder, and he cheerfully obeyed; his former fears were now quite dissipated, and a great calm and tranquillity had succeeded in his soul. When he was upon the ladder, he again betook himself to prayer, earnestly desiring all catholics there present, to pray with him, and for him. He spoke little, saying, there was no need of it, for that his trial being lately past, whereat many of the company were present, they could all bear him witness, that he was tried and condemned for his priesthood: and that for this only, and for no other treason, he was brought thither to suffer death. He prayed for the king, his royal consort, and their issue, that God in his mercy would shower down his blessings upon them, and send a right understanding betwixt his majesty and his parliament. Then he prayed for his persecutors, especially the person who was chiefly concerned in his death; that God would bring him to a sense of his crime, and a speedy repentance: adding, that for his own part, he freely forgave him,

* From Mr. Knaresborough's Collections.

as heartily as he expected and hoped for mercy and pardon of his own manifold sins at the hands of God.'

And now recollecting himself again for a few minutes, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he said, Lord, I obey; be near me, O Lord! my soul hath trusted in thee; let me not be confounded forever. Then pulling a cap over his eyes, he delivered himself to the executioner, who, soon after, turned him off the ladder, and he calmly expired. April 13, 1642. His head was placed upon Micklegate bar. His bowels, or rather fragments of them, were buried on Toft green.

MR. WILKS, ALIAS, TOMSON, PRIEST, CONFESSOR.

A little while after the execution of Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Catherick, another priest of the secular clergy, died in York castle, under sentence of death. His name was Wilks, though he was commonly known by the name of Tomson. He was born at Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, was taken at Malton, upon a market-day, and set in the stocks to be gazed at by the people, almost the whole day, till a cutler of the town making oath, that he knew him to be lord Ever's priest, he was sent to York castle, tried, and convicted; but died before execution.

EDWARD MORGAN, ALIAS, SINGLETON, PRIEST.*

Edward Morgan was born in Flintshire, of North-Wales, and was educated in the English college of Douay;† from hence, he was sent into Spain, (as appears, by the account he gave of himself to the people at the place of execution,) and there made priest at Salamanca. From Spain, he went to Rome; and from Rome, he came upon the English mission. In England, after some time, he was apprehended, and committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained confined for fourteen or fifteen years; suffering much from the loathsomeness of the place, and the want of all necessaries; more particularly, during the two last years, with this additional aggravation to his sufferings, that some were pleased to give it out that he was mad; which slander, he willingly forgave, amongst many other injuries, which he had to suffer from the malice of his adversaries.

At length, he was brought upon his trial, in this parliamentary persecution; and was condemned, barely on account of his being a priest, ordained beyond the seas, and remaining in this kingdom contrary to the statute of Elizabeth the 27th. No other crime was so much as objected to him. The sentence of death was pronounced upon him in the usual form, as in cases of high treason, on the 23d of April, being the feast

* From the Douay diary. From a Latin manuscript, by an eye-witness of his death, sent me from St. Omer's; and from Chiflet's Palmæ cleri Anglicani. p. 35, printed at Antwerp 1645, who declares in his epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Antwerp, that he received all his informations either from eye-witnesses, or from such as were informed by eye-witnesses.

† Hujus collegij alumnus. Mr. Ireland's diary, April 1642.

of St. George the martyr, the patron of England; which sentence he received with remarkable cheerfulness, and even joy. Many protestants, as well as catholics, came to see him in prison after condemnation; and, whereas, the former proposed to him their queries, and their objections against the catholic religion, it was wonderful with what solidity, charity, and modesty he answered all their queries, and refuted all their objections; so that on the one hand they found themselves quite overwhelmed with the weight of his arguments; and on the other, so taken with his charitable and modest way of treating religious controversies, that they could not help having a great respect for him, and a great compassion for his case: and it is affirmed that these conferences were of no small service to the souls of several of them.

As to the catholics, many of them made their confessions to him, and these, as well as the rest, thought themselves happy if they could carry off any thing that belonged to him, to keep as a relic; insomuch that they cut off his very buttons, and pieces of his cloak; till he was forced to give it up to be divided amongst them; and instead of it, they furnished him with a new one to carry with him to Tyburn. Many wept and lamented his case, whom he comforted with cheerful words, flowing from the abundance of a heart full of joy at the approaches of so great a happiness as that of dying for Christ; declaring to them withal, to the greater glory of God, that though by nature he was timorous, he had now no manner of apprehension of halters, knives, or fires, or whatever else he could suffer for so good a cause; and that he should be even glad to have many lives, that he might lay them all down in the service of so good a master. However, he begged that all catholics would pray for him, that he might die like a true Roman catholic priest, that is, said he, with a constant humility, and an humble constancy; that no fear may terrify me, neither any presumption puff me up, or transport me out of the bounds of a christian modesty in my words and carriage.

On the day after his condemnation he found means, (which he had not been able to do for a year before,) of celebrating, in prison, the tremendous mysteries, to prepare himself by that august sacrifice and sacrament for his death. And the divine majesty was pleased upon this occasion to visit his soul with such spiritual delights and heavenly consolations, that he was in a manner in an ecstacy, and found all the difficulty imaginable to proceed in the divine sacrifice; his devotion being particularly inflamed with the thought of the holy name of Jesus, from which he was obliged violently to divert his mind, crying out with blessed Xaverius, *Satis est Domine.* It is enough, O Lord! or he could never have finished. The disposition which he found in his soul upon this occasion, he discovered in confidence to a priest of the Society of Jesus, who came to visit him that day, and the same, or another friend of his, found him the following evening in the like raptures of divine love and spiritual joys, though he had been wearied all the day with a continual crowd of people coming to visit and confer with him. The religious man, just now mentioned, asked the confessor of Christ, if there was any thing in which he could be any way serviceable to him? he answered, that he should be glad of the prayers of the society;

and that his prayers should not be wanting for them: but withal taking him aside, he told him, that in the extremity of want under which he had laboured, during the two last years of his imprisonment in the Fleet, he had been obliged to contract some debts to the value of about twenty-two pounds, which it would be a great comfort to him to see discharged before he died. The good father promised he would do his best to procure him that sum of money; which he set about without loss of time; and by the contributions of pious catholics was enabled to carry him the whole sum the next day; for which, in return, the holy confessor promised his prayers for all his benefactors, and in particular for the Society of Jesus.

The night before he was to suffer, he spent in watching and prayer. The following day being Tuesday, the 26th of April, 1642, about eight o'clock in the morning, he was brought out of prison, and laid on a hurdle or sledge incommodiously enough, as well because his head was laid too low, as also because the rope which he had about his neck, was drawn so straight, that he could scarce take his breath: but this being perceived was remedied in Holborn; upon which occasion the sledge being obliged to stand, some one, very courteously, offered him a glass of wine to drink, which he did not refuse; and withal he took that opportunity of informing the people of the cause for which he was going to die; viz., barely for being a priest; whilst all the standers-by were in admiration at that cheerfulness and joy, which they discovered both in his words and looks. The multitude of the people that accompanied the sledge was very great, yet no one in that great number offered to affront or insult him, but rather all showed a compassion towards him. When they arrived at Tyburn, it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable, that the sheriff's men could make room for the sledge, so great was the concourse of coaches, horsemen, and footmen, there assembled, to be spectators of the last conflict of this soldier of Christ. Yet as soon as they saw him, no other voice was to be heard in the crowd but 'Silence, silence,' all being desirous to hear his last words; and a great part of them standing with their heads uncovered.

As soon as he was put up into the cart, he sent to the sheriff, who was at a distance by reason of the crowd, to ask leave to speak to the people, declaring that he had that regard to the authority of a lawful magistrate, that he would not speak without his permission. The sheriff used his best endeavours to draw nigher, but could not, and, therefore, by the means of others that were nearer, gave him the leave that he desired. But first, the servant of God, before he would speak, kneeled down in the cart, and there spent some time in silent prayer: then rising up, and disposing of his hat to a friend who was near, he waited a little while till all were silent, his countenance being all the while wonderfully serene and cheerful. He began by signing himself with the sign of the cross, and took for his text out of the gospel of the foregoing Sunday, those words of our Saviour, The good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep, St. John x. acknowledging at the same time himself infinitely unworthy of that title, which properly belongs to Jesus Christ, the true shepherd of our souls, who died for us all: but withal inferring from this text that we ought also, by Christ's example, and by the

consideration of his dying for us, to be willing to lay down our lives also for him; and affirming, that to die for being a priest of the catholic church, is to die for the church of Christ, and consequently dying for Christ. 'There is but one God, said he, one faith, one baptism, one true church, in which is found true hope of salvation, out of which there can be none; and for this true church of Christ I willingly die; and I offer up my blood for the good of my country, and for the procuring a better understanding between the king and parliament.' Here he was interrupted by a minister, telling him to prepare himself for death, and not to stand seducing the people. The confessor replied, Sir, this is not a proper time for me to dispute with you; I beg you would not be troublesome to me now: and so went resolutely on with his discourse. (though he was several times interrupted by the same minister,) proving the true church by its antiquity, universality, succession, &c., and demonstrating that the modern sects are all too new to have any claim to a succession from the apostles, or commission from Christ. His words seemed to make no small impression on the hearers, who were also astonished at his intrepidity, and that wonderful cheerfulness with which he met death.

He also gave the people on this occasion a short account of his birth, parentage, and education; acknowledging himself to be a priest, and begging of God to forgive all who had slandered him, or been the cause of his manifold sufferings, as he besought his divine majesty to forgive his own innumerable sins. After he had finished his discourse, and the rope was now fastened in order to execution, he cheerfully said, he hoped he should now be sent to heaven in a string. A minister taking him up, said it was no time now to joke: Mr. Morgan replied, indeed this was no joking matter with me, but very serious; but why should any one be offended at my going to heaven cheerfully? For God loves a cheerful giver. Then, after he had recommended his departing soul by prayer to God, the cart was drawn away, and he was suffered to hang till he was dead, and then he was cut down, bowelled, and quartered. He suffered in the fifty-seventh year of his age, April 26, 1642.

HUGH GREEN, ALIAS, FERDINAND BROOKS, PRIEST.*

Mr. Hugh Green, who was known upon the mission by the name of Ferdinand Brooks, or, as he is called in Mr. Ireland's diary, Ferdinand Brown, was born in London, about the year 1584, and after an academical education at Cambridge, became a convert, and went abroad to the English college at Douay, where he was admitted to the usual oath, and received alumnus, July 7, 1610. He was confirmed at Cambray, September 25, 1611, was advanced to the minor orders, and made sub-deacon at Arras, December 17, deacon, March 18, and priest, June 14, 1612. He sung his first mass on St. John Baptist's day, June 24,

* From the Douay diary, and a manuscript relation of his death, by an eye-witness.

and left the college on the 6th of August following, in order to enter himself amongst the capuchins; but the want of health, or some other impediment preventing his going through with that difficult enterprise, he went over upon the English mission, where he laboured for many years, his residence being at Chediok, in Dorsetshire, the seat of lady Arundel.

When king Charles set forth his proclamation, commanding all priests to depart the nation by a certain day, and that at their utmost peril, Mr. Green took a resolution to withdraw upon this occasion, as many others had done. The lady of the house opposed the thing, saying it was to no purpose, the time allowed in the proclamation being now elapsed. Mr. Green had not seen the proclamation, but said with some assurance, that there remained two or three days, and therefore he would make the best of his way to Lime, the next seaport, not doubting but he had yet time sufficient to have the benefit of the proclamation.

When he came to Lime, and was going on board a vessel bound for France, he was roughly accosted by a custom-house officer, inquiring his name and his business there; Mr. Green very freely told him he was a catholic priest, and that as such he was leaving the kingdom, in obedience to his majesty's late proclamation. The officer answered, that he was mistaken in his account, the day fixed in the proclamation for the departure of priests and jesuits being already passed; and therefore he was not to be allowed the benefit of the proclamation. And, whereas, he had owned himself a priest in his hearing, he must be had before a justice of peace. Accordingly, a constable was called, and Mr. Green was carried before a justice; and notwithstanding his pleading his good intentions of obeying the king's orders, and that he hoped where the mistake was only of two or three days, advantage would not be taken of his unwary but candid discovery of his character, to the endangering of his life: he was by the justice committed to Dorchester jail, and after five months imprisonment was tried and condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, barely for being a priest. The following account of his martyrdom is copied from Mrs. Elizabeth Willoughby's MSS., who was an eye-witness.

'Upon Wednesday before the sentence of death being given against him by judge Foster, he said, *Sit nomen Domini Jesu benedictum in scula.* "May the name of the Lord Jesus be for ever blessed." He should have died upon Thursday, and to that end the furze was carried to the hill to make the fire, and a great multitude of people were in the streets, and at the gate, and lanes, to see the execution. But our great martyr, did desire to die on Friday, the which was by a friend of his procured of the sheriff, though with very much difficulty, being opposed by Millard, the master keeper. And it was noted, that after his sentence he never went to bed, and eat but very little, scarce enough to sustain nature; yet he was very cheerful and full of courage to the last.

'Now I beseech our Lord to put his words into my memory, that I may especially relate them, for I have a great scruple to add or take away: and therefore I have had the help of a true servant of God, who was attentive at his death; yet we being two weak women cannot punctually remember all. Much admired was his devotion: he

kneeling on the hurdle made his prayer, and kissed it before he lay down upon it, and continued his prayers until he came to the place of execution. Then he was taken from the hurdle, and stayed on the hill a good distance from the gallows, until three poor women were hanged: two of them had sent him word the night before, that they would die in his faith. O! what comfort was this to God's true servant! who did all which was possible to see and to speak with them, but could not. Then they sent again to desire him, that when they had made a confession of their sinful life at the gallows, and should give him a sign, that he then should absolve them. The which with great joy on his part, and much benefit, (I hope,) on theirs, was performed: they two turning their faces towards us, and throwing forth their arms, cried out to him, God be with you, sir; and so died: but the third woman turned from us, towards the press of people, and so she died, her face or speech never tending towards us.

'Now, I also noted that our martyr's charity in this short time of life was not unrewarded; for God of his mercy was pleased to yield him the like comfort, by a reverend father of the society of Jesus, who was there on horseback to absolve him, the which with great devotion and reverence, taking off his cap, and lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he received from him.

'I cannot but bless God to see the magnanimity of these two, the holy martyr and that reverend father. The one being at the point of death, with such comfort as his cheerful countenance expressed; and the other not apprehending the great danger he was in to be taken by the rude multitude, of whom he should have found no mercy.

'Now, is our martyr brought to the foot of the ladder by the sheriff, where falling upon his knees, he remained in devout prayer almost half an hour: then he took his crucifix and *Agnus Dei* from his neck, and gave them to this devout gentlewoman, my assistant in this relation; and his beads he gave to another: also he gave the master-keeper his handkerchief. And last of all to me most unworthy, he gave his book of litanies, &c., also from the gallows he threw me down his band, spectacles, and priest's girdle. Then turning himself to the people, and blessing himself with the sign of the cross, he began:

'There be four principal things, which all men ought to remember; death, judgment, heaven, and hell. Death is a horror to nature; but that which followeth, is much more terrible, viz: judgment, if we die not as we ought; and as we dispose ourselves to good or evil in this life, so shall the measure of our punishment or glory succeed. I am here condemned to die for my religion, and for being a priest: we know there must be priests, for God foretelling of the church by the prophets, saith, Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech, Ps. cix. And, From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, there shall be a clean sacrifice offered in my name, Malach. i. Now four things are to be considered. A God, a sacrifice, a priest, a man. God must be served by sacrifice, this sacrifice must be offered

by a priest, and this priest must be a man: such am I, and therefore I must die. Wherefore do we receive holy unction, and are made priests, but to offer sacrifice to God? But I am condemned for being ordained by the see of Rome: St. Paul saith, The Romans have the catholic faith, Rom. i. &c., and gives God thanks that their faith and his were one; of which catholic faith I am. Against this Roman faith, all the sectaries cried out; and all heretics that have been since Christ oppugn this faith, and yet truly out of it none can be saved.

'There be four things more, one God, one faith, one baptism, one church. That there is one God we all acknowledge, in whom, from whom, and by whom, all things remain and have their being. That there is one faith appears by Christ's praying that St. Peter's faith, (he said not faiths,) should never fail; and he promised to be with it, to the end of the world. That there is one baptism; we are all cleansed by the laver of water in the word. That there is one church, holy and sanctified: doth not St. Paul say, that it is a glorious church without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Now the marks of this church are sanctity, unity, antiquity, universality; which all of us, in all points of faith believe. "Here the ministers interrupted him, and would have disputed with him; but he said, he had been five months in prison, and in all that time, not any one of them came to dispute with him. There he would not have refused any of them; but now, that his time was too short for disputation. So he went on." But some will say, We are fallen off from this church of Rome: but in what pope's time, in what prince's reign, or what are the errors, none can discover. No, this holy church of Christ did never err. We have often offered public disputation, but it would never be accepted. No, this church can never be impeached of falsehood in matters of doctrine; though scholars in school points may differ, but never in points of faith. God is the author of all truth, and he hath promised to be with it even to the consummation of the world, St. Matth. xxviii., until we meet all in the unity of faith, and knowledge of the Son of God; to the end we be not carried away with every blast of doctrine; because many heresies have risen with diversities of doctrine to oppugn the truth of God's church, as heretofore Arius, Nestorious, Wickliff, and others, so now in these our latter times, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and the rest, whose doctrine at this present hath so inveigled the judgments of this kingdom; for God cannot be divided, nor served in many faiths. And although there have been many heretics, yet this Roman church resisted, confounded, and condemned all heresies: and Luther himself confesses, that his religion was not begun by God, nether should it be ended by God.

'Here a minister, (one Banker, some say it was the minister, who formerly had been a weaver, and now is chaplain to Sir Thomas Trencher,) cried out with a loud voice, He blasphemeth, stop that mouth of the blasphemer, cast him off the ladder: and so much noise was made by the multitude, that the sheriff, to content the people, desired our martyr to leave off that discourse; and silence being made, I truly pity our poor country, said he, with all my heart, to see what di-

visions are in it, and in religion, no unity among you. Then he began to pray heartily for his majesty, and that this kingdom might be settled in peace, the which he said, would never be, until there were unity of religion amongst them.

'Then he said, I am brought hither for a priest and a traitor: that I am a priest, I have confessed, and as such, I thought to have left this, my country, in obedience to his majesty's proclamation; I went to receive that benefit for my passage, but was refused, and taken up on pretence of some few days past, beyond the limitation of the aforesaid proclamation, and brought to Dorchester prison, and am now for no other cause, (I thank God,) than for being a priest, to die, and not for any treason to my king or country. For I protest before Almighty God, I never wished hurt to my king or country, in my life; but I prayed for his majesty, and every day in my *Memento* at the holy mass, I offered and recommended him to God. But there were laws made in queen Elizabeth's days, by which it was made treason to be a priest. By this law, I am condemned for a traitor; but surely the ancient laws of this kingdom would never have done it, as the modern doth. And now, judge you, whether the laws so lately made by men, be sufficient to overthrow the authority of God's church, and to condemn the professors of it?

'Nevertheless, I forgive all the world from my heart, and all those who have had a hand in my death; and I beseech you all, if I have offended any of you in any thing, that you will every one forgive me. I have not had a purpose to give offence to any of you, and I pray God, give you all his grace to seek him, so as you may be able to attain his mercy and eternal glory.

'Then he called to me, and desired me to commend him heartily to all his fellow-prisoners, and to all his friends. I told him, I would, and that some of them were gone before him, and with joy, expected him. Then, on my knees, I humbly begged his benediction; so did five more of ours, and he cheerfully gave us his blessing, making the sign of the holy cross over our heads. Then one Gilbert Loder, an attorney, asked him, if he did not deserve death, and believe his death to be just? To which, he replied, My death is unjust: so pulling his cap over his face, his hands joined before his breast, in silent prayer, he expected almost half an hour, his happy passage, by the turning of the ladder, for not any one would put a hand to turn it, although the sheriff had spoken to many. I heard one bid him do it himself. At length, he got a country clown, who presently, with the help of the hangman, (who sat astride on the gallows,) turned the ladder, which being done, he was noted by himself and others, to cross himself three times with his right hand, as he hanged; but instantly, the hangman was commanded to cut him down with a knife which the constable held up to him, stuck in a long stick, although I and others, did our uttermost to have hindered him. Now the fall which he had from the gallows, not his hanging, did a little astonish him; for that they had willed the hangman to put the knot of the rope at his poll, and not under his ear, as it is usual. The man that was to quarter him, was a timorous unskilful man, by trade, a barber, and his name was Barefoot, whose

mother, sisters, and brothers, are devout catholics; he was so long a dismembering him, that he came to his perfect senses, and sat upright, and took Barefoot by the hand, to show, (as I believe,) that he forgave him; but the people pulled him down by the rope which was about his neck: then did this butcher cut his belly on both sides, and turned the flap upon his breast, which the holy man feeling, put his left hand upon his bowels, and looking on his bloody hand, laid it down by his side; and lifting up his right hand, he crossed himself, saying three times, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, mercy!* The which, although unworthy, I am a witness of, for my hand was on his forehead; and many protestants heard him, and took great notice of it; for all the catholics were pressed away by the unruly multitude, except myself, who never left him, until his head was severed from his body. Whilst he was thus calling upon Jesus, the butcher did pull a piece of his liver out, instead of his heart, and tumbling his guts out every way, to see if his heart were not amongst them; then with his knife, he raked in the body of this blessed martyr, who, even then, called on Jesus, and his forehead sweat; then was it cold, and presently, again it burned; his eyes, nose, and mouth, run over with blood and water. His patience was admirable, and when his tongue could no longer pronounce that life-giving name, Jesu, his lips moved, and his inward groans, gave signs of those lamentable torments, which, for more than half an hour, he suffered. Methought my heart was pulled out of my body, to see him in such cruel pains, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and not yet dead; then I could no longer hold, but cried out upon them that did so torment him: upon which, a devout gentlewoman understanding he did yet live, went to Cancela, the Sheriff, who was her uncle's steward, and on her knees, besought him to see justice done, and to put him out of his pain, who at her request, commanded to cut off his head; then with a knife, they did cut his throat, and with a cleaver chopped off his head; and so this thrice most blessed martyr died. Then was his heart found and put upon a spear, and showed to the people, and so thrown into the fire, which was on the side of a hill. They say the heart did roll from the fire, and that a woman did take it up, and carry it away. This I speak not of my knowledge, but what is here reported to be true; and it may be very probable, because the hill is steep and uneven, and the heart not thrown as usually, but from the point of a long spear. Then did this gentlewoman and myself go to the sheriff, and beg his body, the which, he freely gave unto us. Now did the devil roar, and his instruments, the blinded Dorcestrians, (whom, with my soul, I deplored,) did fret and chafe; and told the sheriff, that he could not dispose of his quarters to papists, neither should we have them. And truly, I believe, that if we should have offered to carry them away, they would have thrown the body and us, into the fire, for our number was but small, and they many thousands. Their fury did so rage against us, that we were forced to withdraw ourselves: and had not I procured the master keeper's wife to have gone back with us to the town, they had stoned us, or done us worse harm, as I was told by many credible people: so great is their malice to catholics. God in his mercy pardon and convert them. From the town we sent

a shroud by a protestant woman, to wrap his happy quarters in; whom, it seems, God did send to us on purpose to do this last office unto his servant, for to us all she was a stranger, and lives twelve miles from the town. And when she heard us mourn that not any of us durst appear, she, with a courage went and saw his quarters put into the shroud, and buried them near to the gallows, although she suffered many affronts from the ungodly multitude; who, from ten o'clock in the morning, till four in the afternoon, stayed on the hill, and sported themselves at foot-ball with his head, and put sticks in his eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, and then they buried it near to the body, for they durst not set it upon their gate, because the last before, which was long since martyred amongst them, "Mr. John Cornelius Mohun, anno domini, 1594," they set up his head upon their town gate, and presently there ensued a plague, which cost most of them their lives; so that still they fear, yet will not amend; God hold his merciful hand over them, or else I fear a severe judgment will befal them for this their last inhuman cruelty. I wish the contrary, and heartily pray that we may all partake of the prayers and sufferings of this our glorious martyr, whose magnanimity and patience were to me both admirable and profitable. And well did one minister say, who was present at his death, amongst forty more of his coat, that if many such men should die, and be suffered to speak as he did, they should soon shut up their books. This is credible, although for some respects the man is not named. Sir, this briefly is what I conceived myself obliged to signify unto you concerning this subject, not doubting but you will conceive the same comfort in reading it, as I did in writing the same unto you, who am, sir, &c.

E. WILLOUGHBY.'

This same account was not long after published in print by Chifletius, in his *Palmæ Cleri Anglicani*, and the substance of it is found in the Douay diary, 1642. Mr. Green suffered at Dorchester, on Friday, the 19th of August, 1642, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

THOMAS BULLAKER, PRIEST, O. S. F.*

Thomas Bullaker, called in religion, father John Baptist, was born at Chichester, in Sussex, about the year 1604, of pious and catholic parents. His father was a noted physician, who brought up his son in the fear of God, and gave him a liberal education. At the age of eighteen he went over to the college of St. Omer's under the care of the fathers of the society; and from thence, after a short stay, he was, with divers others, sent to the English seminary of Valladolid, in Spain. He had not been long here before he found a call to the order of St. Francis, which grew daily stronger upon him; but then how to put this call into execution he knew not, being quite a stranger to the religious of

* From F. Angelus, a S. Francisco, in his Certamen Seraphicum, printed anno, 1649. p. 31, &c.

that order, (as they also were to him,) and not so much as knowing the language of the country, and withal, apprehending an opposition from the superiors of his college, were they to know any thing of his inclinations. In this perplexity he had recourse to God, praying night and day, with many tears, and using divers mortifications, such as hair-shirts, disciplines, lying on the ground, &c., till, at length, he took courage, and communicated the affair to his confessor, the reverend father Baker, S. J., and he, after examining his vocation, and putting him into a spiritual exercise of ten days, and finding him still more ardently desiring to embrace the austerity, poverty, and humility of the Franciscan institute, approved of his call, and joined with the rector of the college in petitioning for his admission in the celebrated convent of the Spanish recollects at Abrojo, at six miles distance from Valladolid. The petition was granted, to the great satisfaction of young Mr. Bullaker, now about nineteen years of age, who, upon the receiving of the news, broke out into those words of the royal prophet, *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum domini ibimus*, Psal. cxxi.

He passed his noviceship, and made his religious profession in the convent of Abrojo, and then was sent by his superiors to another convent of the order, to study philosophy; and from thence to Valladolid to study divinity, which he began there, but finished at Segobia. And now being made priest, the Spanish province of the recollects of the immaculate conception, (in which he was professed,) being about to send missioners to labour in the West Indies, he petitioned to be of the number, but his provincial would not consent to that proposal, but told him his own native country, England, had a better title to his labours, and stood as much in need of them, as the Indies could do. Father Bullaker acquiesced, and willingly embraced the will of God, notified to him by his superior, and having received proper license and mission, and prepared himself by an extraordinary recollection and retreat of ten days, he set out upon his journey, which he made on foot, (in a secular habit, which he had begged,) through a great part of Spain and France, in the midst of many dangers and difficulties, till he came to Bordeaux. Here he took shipping in an English vessel, and landed safe at Plymouth.

He was scarce come to his inn, when he was apprehended upon the information of the master of the ship, and brought before the mayor of Plymouth; and after examination, committed to a filthy jail in that town, where he suffered all kinds of extremities for eight days, having no other bed but the bare ground, it being the winter season, and very severe. From Plymouth he was sent to the county jail at Exeter, where he was put amongst the felons, and not much better accommodated than he had been at Plymouth; only he received some small charities, from the few catholics that were in that neighbourhood. In this prison he remained till the lenten assizes, when he was brought to the bar, in order to be tried; but no sufficient evidence appearing against him, his trial was put off. In the mean time, some friends having interested themselves in his favour at court, he was sent for up to London, and discharged. But what he had suffered in his impri-

sonment brought a violent fever upon him; from which he recovered indeed, yet so that he was never after a healthy man to his dying day.

Being recovered, he was sent by his superior into the country, where he laboured with great zeal and fruit, for about eleven years, till hearing of the martyrdom of Mr. Ward, he was inflamed with a vehement desire of glorifying his master by the like death; which desire of his, was increased by the news of the condemnation of the seven priests in the latter end of the same year. Upon this, he quits his residence in the country, and with the leave of his superior, dedicates himself to the laborious employment of assisting the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned in London; in hopes of more readily meeting with martyrdom there: he takes a lodging for this purpose in the city, which was soon after visited by the pursuivants, coming to search for a priest. What does he do upon this occasion? Instead of hiding himself, he goes up to the men, and boldly asks them, Am I the priest you search for? They answer, no. Why, says he, there is no other here. However, they said no more to him, but went their way; and though they returned again upon the same errand the next day, and found his chamber open, where he was sitting at dinner, in their sight, and his breviary was lying hard by on a table; yet they took no notice of him, nor so much as offered to come within his room; which gave him no small uneasinsss; but his time was not yet come. What follows with regard to his apprehension, examinations, and trial, is an abstract of a manuscript relation, written by himself, at the request of a reverend priest, a little before his death, published in the *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 47, &c.

'On Sunday, being the 11th of September, 1642, it pleased Almighty God to assuage my sorrows, by giving me good hopes that he had vouchsafed at length to hear my unworthy prayers, and would speedily grant my petition. For this morning, in my devotions, immediately before mass, having repeated again my former prayer, with as much earnestness as I could, that God in his infinite goodness would grant me, though most unworthy, the favour of laying down my life for his sake; and having said, as usual, the litanies of the blessed virgin, and begun mass; when I was come to the hymn, *Gloria in excelsis*, the apostate Wadsworth, coming into the room, seized me at the altar. I offered to take off my vestments; but he opposed it, saying he would have me, vested as I was, before the sheriff of London. I urged the inconveniences that might follow to himself as well as to me, from the mob, if he conducted me through the streets in that dress. Upon this remonstrance, he consented that I should pull off my vestments, which he immediately seized, together with the books, beads, pictures, &c., and my silver oil box; and then carried me, together with the lady of the house, before the sheriff.

'The sheriff asked me, if I was a priest? I told him, I was. Then, said he, how durst you presume to return into England, in contempt of the laws, which prohibit priests returning hither, under the severest penalties? I answered, because I was convinced that those laws were unjust, and therefore not to be regarded. I added, that I believed if they went on, as they had begun, they would soon make it high treason

to believe in Christ; for it appeared how little regard they had to him, whose image on the cross of Cheapside they had lately so grossly abused. Some of the standers-by asked me, where Christ had commanded in the scriptures the making of his image? I answered, that though this was not expressly commanded in scripture; yet it was agreeable to the law of nature, to which the divine law is no way opposite, to testify our love to a person by the regard we have to his picture or image; and thus both right, reason, and experience show, that the affront offered to the king's image, is to be looked upon as done to himself, and is punished as such. What then must be thought of the affronts you have lately offered to the image of Jesus Christ, the king of kings? Then the sheriff asked me, for what intent I had returned to England? I answered, to bring back my country to the fold of Christ, from which it was gone astray: that I was sent hither to this end. He asked me, who sent me? I answered, I was sent by those who had an authority to do it, delegated to them by the pope. Then the sheriff left me, and I was carried out by a back door into another street, by reason of the great concourse of the mob before the house, and conducted to the New Prison.

'On Tuesday morning, I was carried to Westminster, to be examined before a committee of parliament, appointed for that purpose. When I came thither, Wadsworth brought in the vestments and other ornaments which he had taken, and laid them upon the table before the committee; one of them said, they were but mean: they are too good, said I, for those that now have them. The chairman gravely said, as mean as they are, they can serve for an idolatrous worship as well as the best. What idolatrous worship, sir? said I. Why, said he, is it not idolatry to worship bread for God? I replied, we worship not the bread and wine for God, in the tremendous mysteries; but we worship Jesus Christ under the species of bread and wine, as the church of God has always done from the days of the apostles.

'Whilst this controversy was in agitation, one of the company in looking over and examining the vestments, uncovered the altar-stone, and viewing the crosses upon it, cried out, that he had there discovered the number of the beast. I could scarce forbear laughing at his ignorance: but going up to him, I said, pray, sir, since you are so well acquainted with the beast, be pleased to tell me what is his name. Then the chairman asked me, how I durst presume to disobey the laws of my country? I answered with the apostles, Acts iv.—Judge you, if it be just in the sight of God, to obey you rather than God. Sir William Cawley, formerly my school-fellow, said, You know, Mr. Bullaker, it is written, Fear God, and honour the king. I know it, said I, and I also know that the parliament which made it treason to be a priest, did, also, by law, establish the government of the church by bishops, the common prayer, and ceremonies; all which in this present parliament you oppose. True, said he, but why may we not amend what is ill ordered before? This, said I, is what you attempt; but assure yourself, that a parliament will come, and that the very next parliament that shall sit, in which that religion which you now pretend to establish, (viz: presbytery, will be rejected and

thrown out. He said, I should never see that day. I know, said I, that the time of my dissolution is at hand, but what I have foretold will certainly happen.' "It did so: for after the rump was dissolved there was no legal parliament till the restoration, when all their religious ordinances were annulled; this prediction was published in print in the *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 51, anno 1649, i. e. eleven years before the event."

'Upon this they cried out, I was a traitor, and that all their present troubles were owing to the practices of me, and such as me. I would to God! said I, there were not in this kingdom another kind of traitors, from whom the nation has reason to fear far more real and greater dangers: for all your pretences of popish plots, I defy you to produce any legal proof of any one single treasonable attempt of any catholic, from the beginning of this parliament, to this present day. Then they asked how long I had been a priest? and how many years I had been in England? I answered, that subducting out of my age, (which was about thirty-eight,) twenty-four years: I had been priest all the rest; and had been about twelve years in England. They asked, How many priests there were of our order in the kingdom? I told them, though I was so free in confessing what related to myself, they were mistaken, if they imagined I would betray my brethren, or bring them into danger; and therefore I should answer nothing upon that head. Here, Wadsworth addressed himself to the committee, said, this man is so obstinate and resolute in his way, that he is not afraid to profess, that if you send him out of the nation by one port, he will return by another; which though they interpreted to be a contempt, I there plainly affirmed. They asked me in fine, amongst many other things, whether the bishop of Chalcedon had given orders whilst he was here in England? I told them no: in conclusion, they sent my name, and my examination, which they had taken down in writing, to the lord chief justice, and sent me to Newgate, in order for my trial and execution.

'When I was brought to the court to be tried, I first made the sign of the cross upon my forehead, mouth, and breast, saying aloud, *Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster;* and then humbly begged the blessing of the most sacred trinity. The clerk of the sessions ordered me to hold up my hand, and my indictment being read, he asked if I was guilty, or not guilty. I answered, if by guilty you mean a criminal, as if by taking orders I was guilty of any crime or fault, I am not guilty: but a priest I am, and that I will never deny. Then, said they, thou art a traitor. Had the kingdom, said I, no other kind of traitors, it would be in a far better condition, than it is at present. At these words the court was silent for a while, and then they cried out, I was a seducer. Now, said I, you give me occasion to rejoice, because you treat me with the same title as the Jews did my Saviour, whom they called a seducer. I added, that he that first taught the law of Christ to the English nation, (viz: St. Augustine,) was a priest like me, and was in like manner sent hither by the pope, viz: St. Gregory the great.

'They asked again if I were guilty or not guilty? I answered,

I am not guilty of any treason, or any other capital crime; but I confess I am a priest, and that I was taken at mass; nor will ever deny my priesthood, though I were to die a thousand deaths for it: but to say I am guilty in being a priest, as if there were any guilt in the matter, whereas, nothing can be more honourable, that I will never do. Here they made a great outcry, as if I had said, I was not guilty of any sin: I told them they did not take me right, for I acknowledged myself the greatest sinner upon earth; but what I meant was, that my being a priest or saying mass, was no guilt or sin. Then the recorder said, Mr. Bullaker, you have here confessed over and over again, that you are a priest, plead therefore to your indictment directly, guilty or not guilty. I answered as before, I am not guilty of any treason, but a priest I am. He urged, your being a priest makes you guilty of treason, by your transgressing the laws of the land. I answered, that those laws were not to be regarded which were repugnant to the law of God: that the heathens of old, and the Mahometans at present had laws, by which it was death to preach to them the law of Christ, but that the transgression of such laws as these could be no treason. I added, that the parliament which had made that law, by which priests were declared traitors, was certainly not infallible in making laws, a privilege which they would not allow even to the universal church of God, which St. Paul calls, The pillar and ground work of the truth.' So far, we have abridged the confessor's own account of himself.

The recorder directed the jury to bring him in guilty of the indictment: and though, as my author says, they boggled at it, and were for having the case referred to the parliament, he proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him, in the usual form. F. Bullaker could not contain his joy upon this occasion, but falling down on his knees, with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, sung the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving to God; then rising, made a profound reverence to the court, thanking them for the great favour they had done him: and so with a remarkable cheerfulness and serenity in his countenance, was conducted back to Newgate, where he employed the short time that remained of his mortal life in private devotions, and spiritual conferences with such of the faithful, as applied to him about the concerns of their souls.

On Wednesday, the 12th of October, 1642, he was brought out of prison, and laid on the sledge, and so drawn to Tyburn, showing all the way a wonderful cheerfulness in his countenance. At the place of execution, he spoke to the people upon the text, Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech, Psal. cix. He offered to speak of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the blessed sacrament, but was interrupted by the ministers; and after a little time was ordered by the officer to make an end; he readily obeyed, giving them hearty thanks for bringing him thither to die for the defence of his faith; a happiness which he said he had always aspired after, though he acknowledged himself unworthy of it. He received absolution from one of his brethren, upon giving the sign agreed upon before: and then, he employed a short time in silent

prayer, standing, as it were, in contemplation, till the cart was drawn away. He was cut down before he was fully dead, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. His heart was saved from the flames by a priest of the same order, whom we just now mentioned: his head was set up on London bridge, and his quarters, upon the gates of the city. He suffered in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the nineteenth of his religious profession, the fourteenth of his priesthood, and the twelfth of his mission.

THOMAS HOLLAND, PRIEST, S. J.*

Thomas Holland was born in Lancashire in the year 1600, and was sent over very young to the English college of St. Omer's, where he employed six years in his studies, giving so great edification to his fellow students, that he was more than once chosen by their votes prefect of the sodality of our blessed lady: and was remarkable for his talent in exhorting and encouraging his companions to piety and devotion. When he had finished his rhetoric, he was sent into Spain, to the English seminary of Valladolid, in August 1621, where he went through the course of his philosophy. Whilst he was here, Charles, Prince of Wales, arrived at Madrid, on occasion of the match then proposed with the Infanta Maria; and it was thought proper, that the English seminaries in that kingdom, should make their compliments to their prince upon his safe arrival: Mr. Holland was made choice of for this office, by the seminary of Valladolid, and performed his part, by a Latin oration, pronounced before the prince, which is said to have given great satisfaction to his royal highness and his attendants.

After three years, Mr. Holland returned to Flanders, and entering into the society of Jesus, made his noviceship at Watten; and studied his divinity at Liege, where also he was made priest. From Liege, he was sent to St. Omer's, where he was confessor to the scholars, and deservedly gained the esteem and love of all, by his prudence, sweetness, and dexterity in the management of youth, and imprinting in their tender minds the fear and love of God. From St. Omer's he passed to Ghent, where he was for some time, minister of the house. He made his last vows, May 28, 1634; and the following year, was sent upon the English mission, in hopes of recovering his health, which at that time was in a very bad state.

The change of air brought no advantage to his health; for the pursuivants being very busy in those days, in making strict search after priests; he was forced to lie concealed in the day, (London being the seat of his mission,) under so close a confinement, that he scarce durst, for months together, walk out so much as into the garden of the house where he was harboured; by which means, after some time, he in a manner, quite lost all appetite, and had even a loathing for his food. Yet, notwithstanding these disadvantages, F. Holland found means, es-

* From his life, published in Latin at Antwerp, anno 1645; from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and persons most worthy of credit.

pecially for the two last years of his mission, when the times were the worst, to be very serviceable to the souls of many, by making frequent excursions amongst the poor, under the favour of the darkness of the night, or early in the morning, and under various disguises, necessary in those evil days, in which he succeeded so well, that sometimes, his most intimate friends could not know him in his borrowed dress.

At length, he was apprehended on suspicion, October 4, 1642, and committed to the New prison, where he was detained for about two months, till his trial coming on, he was removed to Newgate. His behaviour in prison, was such as very much edified all that came near him, and it was, in particular noted, that he seldom went into bed, but spent a great part of the night in prayer. Yet he was very cautious to give his adversaries no advantage or opportunity of gathering from his carriage or behaviour, that he was a priest; so that when he was brought to the bar, December the 7th, to take his trial at the Old Baily, though four witnesses appeared against him, they could alledge no substantial proofs of his priesthood, but only bare suspicions and presumptions. However, upon these presumptions, and his refusing to swear that he was not a priest, the jury, to the surprise of the lord mayor, and others in the court, brought him in *guilty;* and on the tenth of the same month, the recorder pronounced sentence of death against him in the usual form. At the hearing of which, F. Holland calmly said, *Deo gratias*, thanks be to God: and being sent back to prison, invited some other catholics there, to join with him, in reciting the hymn of thanksgiving, *Te Deum laudamus.*

He had now but a short time to live, being to suffer on Monday, the 12th of December; and for this short time, the prison was thronged with people of all conditions, as well English, as foreigners, that came to visit him. He received them all with a religious modesty, joined with a remarkable cheerfulness and courage; spoke handsomely to them with a smiling countenance, in their respective languages, (for he was a perfect master of the French, Spanish, and Dutch,) and his words made a strong impression upon them. The duke of Vendosme, who was then at London, offered him his service, to endeavour to put a stop to the execution: but F. Holland humbly thanked his grace, and desired he would put himself to no trouble about him: as he had some time before, when he was first apprehended, earnestly entreated his superiors by letter, that they would put themselves to no charges on his account, nor make any interest to save his life.

After F. Holland had allowed a great part of the Saturday to receiving of these visits, he then desired to be alone for the remainder of the evening: and on the Sunday morning, having heard the confessions of many, he celebrated mass, and administered the blessed sacrament to his penitents; after which, he spent some time by himself, in recollection, and the rest of the day in offices of charity to the souls of his neighbours. On this day, the Spanish ambassador sent a gentleman to him, recommending the king and kingdom of Spain to his prayers; and letting him know that he had ordered prayers in his chapel for his happy conflict. The father returned thanks for all favours conferred on him and his, by his excellence and the king his master, and pro-

mised that he would pray to God to be their rewarder; and would, for that end, offer up his last mass on the ensuing morning, for that king and kingdom.

On the next day, being the 12th of December, having celebrated early in the morning the sacred mysteries, he was called down to the sledge about ten, to be drawn to Tyburn. It was observed that neither the sheriff of London, nor the sheriff of Middlesex, was present on this occasion, which some interpreted as a testimony of their being conscious that the prisoner was unjustly condemned. Great multitudes resorted to the place of execution, to be spectators of the last conflict of this servant of God: amongst the rest, the Spanish ambassador with almost all his family. When the sledge was arrived at Tyburn, a father of the Society, who had assisted F. Holland in prison, taking him by the hand, bid him be of good courage, and behave himself like a man. To whom the confessor of Christ replied, With the grace of God, you need not fear; I shall not want courage. Then arising from the sledge, and perceiving the people to be very silent and attentive, in expectation of what he should say, he began to speak to them, (making the sign of the cross,) to this effect.

'That he was brought thither to die, for being a Roman catholic priest; though this had not been made out by any legal proofs, for which he durst appeal to all and every one present at his trial. However, for the satisfaction of such as desired to know the truth, he there freely acknowledged that he was a catholic and a priest, and by God's great goodness, a religious man of the Society of Jesus, and the first of that order that had been sentenced to death since the beginning of this parliament: for all which favours, he returned hearty thanks to the divine goodness.' Then he proceeded to tell the people, that there could be but one true faith, one true church, and no salvation out of it; when the ordinary of Newgate interrupted him, and bid him say his prayers to himself, whilst he talked with the two malefactors that were to die that day, and sung psalms with them. The father did so, and when the minister had finished, he began to pray with a loud voice that all might hear him, and made fervent acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition, offering his life and his whole being to his Maker, and begging that his sufferings and death might be accepted of, through Jesus Christ's passion, &c., declaring withal, that he forgave from his heart, the judge, jury, witnesses, and all that had any ways concurred to his death; and praying for the king, queen, and all the royal family, for the parliament, and the whole nation; 'for whose prosperity and conversion to the catholic faith, if I had, said he, as many lives as there are hairs on my head, drops of water in the ocean, or stars in the firmament, I would most willingly sacrifice them all.' Which last words were received with a shout of the people, in testimony of their approbation.

After this the father turning himself to Gregory, the executioner, told him he forgave him also, and presented him two crowns of money, which was all he had left. Then shutting his eyes for a while in silent prayer, and a little after opening them, and looking towards his confessor, who was there in the crowd, at this signal given, received his

last absolution; after which the cart was drawn away, and he was left hanging till he quietly expired; his eyes being observed to remain fixed on heaven, and his hands all the while joined before his breast. The minister would have had the hangman cut the rope before he was dead, but Jack Catch was more humane than the parson, and delayed till his pious soul was let loose from the body; and then he performed the usual butchery. Many of the catholics found means to carry off something of his blood, &c. as relics. And even there were not wanting some amongst the protestants themselves, who highly admired and praised his virtues.

Father Holland suffered December 12, 1642, *ætatis* 42, *societatis* 19. His true character was, 'That he had extraordinary talents for promoting the greater glory of God, and that he made an extraordinary use of them. His knowledge in spirituals was such, that he was termed *The Library of Piety*, *Bibliotheca Pietatis:* and whenever he was in company, whatever the subject of the conversation happened to be, he would, by a dexterous turn, bring it to some moral or gospel instruction, for the advantage of the company; imitating the great saint Xaverius, of whom it used to be said, that in his conversation with the people of the world, he would go in at their door, and come out at his own.'

1643.—This year, two venerable priests were put to death at Tyburn, both of the order of St. Francis; the first was

HENRY HEATH, PRIEST.—O. S. F.*

Henry Heath was born at Petersborough, about the year 1600. His parents were protestants, who brought him up to learning, and sent him to St. Bennet's college in Cambridge, where he remained about five years. The life he led here, whilst yet a protestant, was far more religious than that of his companions; and his ardour for learning was so great, that he rose at two in the morning, winter and summer, to his studies: being now made bachelor of arts, and chosen librarian of the college, and having before observed, as he thought, some defects in the principles of his religion, he was resolved, having gotten books and opportunity, to examine the matter more thoroughly. Wherefore being willing to hear both sides speak in their own cause, he first reads Bellarmin, and then Whitaker against him. But behold, instead of satisfying his doubts by this inquiry, he discovers another defect, viz., the unfair dealing of Whitaker in citing his authors, whereas he found Bellarmin always faithful in his quotations. This made him think better of the catholic religion, and eager to look farther into it. Upon this he reads the ancient fathers, and finding them to deliver the catholic faith, he is inflamed with the love of the old religion, and seeks to communicate the same sentiments to his fellow collegians; four of whom by his means not only left the college, but soon after the world too, and all became religious men, three in the holy or-

* From Certamen Seraphicum, p. 63, and from his life, printed in English, at Douay, anno 1674.

der of St. Francis, and the fourth in the society of Jesus. Mr. Heath, upon those proceedings, perceived that Cambridge would quickly be too warm for him, and therefore quitted the university, and came up to London in order to be reconciled to the catholic church. With this view he applies to the Spanish ambassador, but meets with no countenance. Then he addresses himself to a catholic gentleman, "Mr. George Jarnagan," who also rejects him, suspecting his sincerity. In these straights, not knowing how to meet with a priest, or which way to turn himself, he remembers what he had read of the devotions of catholics to the saints, and especially to the blessed virgin, and what helps they received by applying to her for her intercession, and is resolved to make a trial of this devotion; when behold, on a sudden, the same Mr. Jarnagan, who had a little while before rejected him with reproach, meets with him, treats him most courteously, and conducts him to Mr. George Muscot, a strenuous labourer in the Lord's vineyard, afterwards president of Douay college, who heard his confession, reconciled him to God and his church, and sent him over to Douay, recommended to Dr. Kellison, then president of the college, who received him kindly, and admitted him amongst the convictors of that community.

Mr. Heath had not been long at Douay, when seeing at the college some of the English friars who had been lately established in that city, and being informed of their rule and manner of life, he found a strong call to embrace that penitential institute. He communicated his desires to his confessor, and by him to the president and seniors, who approved of his vocation, and recommended him to the superiors of the English Franciscans, who willingly received him, first to the habit, and then after a year's noviceship, (in which he gave great proofs of a most solid virtue,) to his religious profession. In religion he took the name of brother Paul, of St. Magdalen, and for about nineteen years that he lived in the convent, he led a life of extraordinary perfection.

He fasted four or five of the seven days of the week for many years together, upon bread and small beer; he constantly wore a rough haircloth, and an iron chain or girdle under his habit; he used frequent disciplines besides those of the order; when he slept, he seldom indulged himself even the poor convenience of the straw bed allowed by the rule, but spreading a blanket upon the floor, laid himself down in his habit upon it; and after rising at midnight with the rest of the community to matins, he frequently prolonged his prayer till prime in the morning. As to his interior, it appears by certain regulations which he made for himself, and which were found, written in his own hand, after his death, that he obliged himself constantly to make a meditation after matins, to practice aspirations of the love of Jesus a hundred times in the day; to mortify upon every occasion his eyes, his tongue, his passions, and affections; to support the defects of all, without murmur: to suffer incommodities and want of necessaries, with a pure resignation; to regard God and his service only, and not to seek the affection and esteem of creatures; to abstain from recreations; to retrench all unnecessary discourse, &c., to which he added these three rules: '1st. Of renouncing all right and authority in every thing whatsoever, even in my good name, and corporal conveniences: that I may willingly suffer

myself to be spoiled of all things for God's sake. 2dly. Offering myself as a servant to every creature, that I may do him all good, expecting no profit thereby, although I may, but crosses and afflictions. 3dly. To live as absolutely dead to the defects of others, that I may continually find out and lament my own defects.'

His constant attention to God did not hinder him from making great progress in the sciences, both human and divine; for the attaining to which, he had both good opportunities and great abilities; no less than thirty treatises, on different subjects, of his compiling, are still preserved in his own hand-writing, in his convent, as lasting monuments of his learning. He was for many years first reader, or professor of divinity, and gained great esteem in the university. He was also twice guardian, or superior of his convent, and was preferred to other honourable employs in his order, as that of *custos*, *custodum*, commissary provincial in the parts of Flanders, &c., of all which he acquitted himself with great prudence and vigilancy. In the mean time, his charity for his poor countrymen that had gone astray from the fold of Christ, was very remarkable, and he laboured with great zeal and success in reclaiming as many of them as came in his way, from their errors and sins.

It was in the year 1641, that father Heath seems to have taken the resolution of quitting his convent, and entering upon the English mission, and this in hopes of meeting there with the crown of martyrdom. Two priests had been put to death in 1641, and seven more were sentenced to die for the same cause, that is, for their being in orders, and exercising their functions in England. Amongst the latter was father Colman, a Franciscan, a cotemporary of father Heath, and his intimate friend. It was in the month of December, 1641, that these confessors received the sentence of death, and the news no sooner reached Douay, but father Heath took up his pen, and wrote an excellent letter to these seven condemned priests, who daily looked for the dead warrant. Take here a part of the letter in his own words, which clearly demonstrate the spirit of the writer, and the desire he had of bearing part of their sufferings.

'O ye most glorious men! most noble friends, and most courageous soldiers of Christ Jesus! How great is my unhappiness, that I am not permitted to come to you, that I may be partaker of your chains, and offer myself to be consumed with that ardent love of Jesus Christ, which in your trials hath made you so constant and victorious over human fears. O good Jesus! what is the crime I am guilty of, for which I am not to be permitted to enjoy your company, seeing there is nothing in this world I desire more? nor indeed is it possible that any thing can satisfy me, so long as I am kept from you. Wherefore I humbly beseech you, for the love of God, to pray for me, that I may come to you, and never be separated from you.'

About the same time, he wrote to his provincial for his consent, that he might go upon the mission. This letter runs in much the same strain as the former. 'Alas! most dear sir, says he, I only require this; your obedientials; after this, nothing stays me; if I can get your consent but in one word, I will not endure to be kept from you a moment's time. Why, sir, you cannot allow that soldier to be a man

of courage, who hearing that the army is drawn up in battle array, the drums and trumpets sounding to the charge, and yet shall indulge himself at home in sloth and cowardice. I am unfit, I deny not, and altogether unworthy to discharge this apostolic duty, or presume to suffer for the name of Christ; but his apostle has assured us, that *virtue is perfected in infirmity*, and that God hath chosen the foolish, that he may confound the wise. Our most benign Lord inspire you to hasten your consent, and I shall eternally remain your poor child.'

PAUL MASON.

His provincial returned him an answer, that after some time he might be permitted to leave his convent, and go upon the mission, but that as yet he could not be spared: upon this he applies himself to father Angelus Mason, the commissary provincial residing in Flanders, and casting himself upon his knees, with abundance of tears besought him to send him away, for that he found such strong desires of going upon the mission, that he perfectly languished away, and could not rest night or day: and that he thought the likeness of the hangman putting the rope about his neck was always before his eyes; which last words, (says this superior, page 99,) he spoke with such a feeling, and with such an emphasis in their delivery, that had you seen him, you would have said the man did verily think himself standing under the gallows, in the hands of the executioner. But though father Mason, (who afterwards wrote the life and martyrdom of father Heath, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*) was very much affected with his words, yet he could not be induced to yield, for the present, to father Heath's petition; who being strongly pursuaded, that his desire to go to England was a call from God, was resolved to try one other expedient, which, as we shall see, procured what he desired.

He was wonderfully devoted to the blessed virgin, and had seldom or never failed to obtain of God Almighty, what he had particularly recommended to her prayers and intercession. Of this, my author* alledges these wonderful instances: when he was guardian of the convent, a pestilential fever had taken root there, and carried off some of the religious; others were ill, and himself not without some suspicion of having contracted the infection: but what added to his affliction, was, that the wants of the community were at the same time extraordinary great, with little prospect of relief from any quarter. Here he applied himself to this *mother of consolation*, and immediately his tears were dried up, and his fears dissipated; his sick brethren recovered, and a plentiful and seasonable supply of necessaries for the support of his convent (reduced, at that time, almost to the extremities of want) was brought in by the citizens. His father had, hitherto, continued protestant, proof against all arguments, and now upon the brink of his grave; father Heath recommends his almost desperate condition to the care of the virgin Mary; when, behold, on a sudden, the feeble old man, aged fourscore, crosses the sea, and unexpectedly calls for his son in his convent at Douay, there to abjure his errors, and to be taken into the

* From an epistle or prayer found in father Heath's own hand.

made the best of his way barefoot, begging a bit of bread for God's sake, when hunger compelled him to it.

At London he arrives, wearied, as well he might, having travelled barefoot forty miles that day, and it being the winter season. It is now time to take up his quarters, and give some little rest and refreshment to the body. But how shall this be done, for money he has none, nor acquaintance? however, he ventures to call at the Star Inn, near London Bridge, but the people of the house finding he had no money, turned him out of doors at eight o'clock, in a cold winter night; and where now to put his head, and what course to take till morning, he knew not. At length, wearied with standing in the streets, he resolved to lie down at some citizen's door, where he might meet with some little shelter from the cold air; and accordingly he laid himself down, and composed himself to rest, designing in the morning to call upon father Colman, in Newgate.

After some time, the master of the house coming home, stumbles upon him, and taking him to be a shoplifter, calls the watch, sends for a constable, and upon a strict search discovers the writings that were concealed in his cap. Upon this, he is committed to the Compter, and the next day is carried before my lord mayor, where his writings and himself being examined, he owned himself to be a priest, and so was sent to Newgate. After some days he was examined by a committee of the parliament, to whom he also owned himself a priest; and being asked to what intent he came into England, he frankly told them, he came upon a very lawful and commendable business, viz: the conversion of his countrymen from sin and heresy. 'What heresy? said they. Even the Protestant heresy, said he, the Puritan heresy, the Anabaptist heresy, the heresy of the Brownists, and many others. Being told that his coming over was against the laws of the nation, he answered, that the preaching of the apostles was also against the laws of the nations to which they preached; and that his coming over to preach the gospel in England, could no more be treason than the preaching of Christ and his apostles.

Soon after this he was brought to the bar, being indicted upon the 27th of Elizabeth, for being a priest and returning into England, and therefore guilty of high-treason. The trial was soon over, for as he had acknowledged himself a priest, he was brought in guilty of the indictment; and accordingly received sentence as in cases of high-treason; which as soon as he had heard, making a low reverence to the bench, he said, 'My lords, I give you thanks for the singular honour you have done me; for now I shall die for Christ.'

During the short interval betwixt his condemnation and execution, the prison was continually thronged with crowds of visitants from all parts of the town, as well protestants as catholics: amongst the former were reckoned above forty ministers, who came to confer with him in matters of religion; some of them seemed very much to pity him; and all in general spoke well of him, as a man of great parts and learning. As to the catholics they came to confess to him, or to consult him in matters of conscience; so that with one and the other, he could scarce get a moment's time for a little repose.

grind me to dust. For I know, I know full well how profitable it will be for me to die for Christ. The moment of this suffering doth work an eternal weight of glory in heaven. May your reverend paternity be pleased to pray for me, a miserable sinner, who will ever be in the wounds of Christ, until death be swallowed up in victory.

Your reverence's most humble servant,

F. PAUL, *of St. Magdalen.*

It is also remarked of F. Heath, in Mr. Ireland's diary of Douay college, that he declared in prison, though he always was convinced that the martyrs found much joy and consolation when they were to suffer for Christ, yet he never could have imagined this delight to be so exceeding great, as he now found by his own experience.

It is likewise the tradition of the English Franciscans in Douay, that when F. Heath was executed at Tyburn, the first that had the news of it in their convent, was his aged father, then a lay-brother amongst them, informed by a vision of his son.

ARTHUR BELL, PRIEST, O. S. F.*

ARTHUR BELL, who in religion was called father Francis, was born August 13, 1590, at Temple Broughton, the seat of his father, in the parish of Hanbury, six miles from Worcester; his parents were both virtuous, and of good families, his mother being sister to Francis Daniel, Esq., of Acton Place, near Long Melford, in Suffolk. He was brought up in the fear of God, and in grammar learning, privately at home in his mother's house, who was left a widow when he was eight years of age; afterwards he lived for some years with his uncle Daniel in Suffolk. At the age of twenty-four he went over to the English college of St. Omer's, where he employed a year in the study of rhetoric; and then was sent, by the fathers of the society, to the English college of St. Alban, the martyr, in Valladolid; where he studied his philosophy, and some part of his divinity, and was made priest; and not long after, took the habit of St. Francis, in the convent of Segobia, August 9, 1618, and having very much edified the whole community during the year of his probation, he was, by the unanimous votes of all, admitted to his solemn vows and profession, September 8, 1619. Not long after, F. Gennings, being about the restoring the English Franciscan province, and having authority from the general to call to him for this purpose the English friars, wherever they were to be found, sent for F. Bell from Spain to the English convent newly erected at Douay, where he employed two years more in the study of divinity, and then was made confessor, first of the poor Clares, at Graveline, and afterwards of the

* From Certamen Seraphicum, p. 127, &c., and from a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's.

nuns of the third order of St. Francis, at that time residing in Brussels, till about the year 1630, when he was chosen guardian for the first time of the convent of the English Franciscans at Douay, and made definitor of the province, discharging at the same time the office of lector or professor of the Hebrew tongue. But before he had gone through the usual term of his guardianship, he was called to Brussels by F. Joseph Bergaigne, the commissary-general of the order, (afterwards archbishop of Cambray,) and for the restoring the province of Scotland, was appointed its first provincial, and sent in that quality to the general chapter then held in Spain. After his return he was sent by the state commissary-general upon the English mission, where he arrived September 8, 1634. He laboured with great zeal, for nine years, in the mission, in converting souls to Christ, and then received the crown of martyrdom for his reward, which for the space of twenty years he had earnestly prayed for.

He was apprehended on the 6th of November, 1643, at Stevenedge, in Hartfordshire, by the parliament soldiers, upon suspicion of his being a spy, who, upon a strict search, found in his bags some papers, in which he had written out the lessons of the office of the blessed sacrament, and a form of blessing the cord of the confraternity of St. Francis, &c., which, after sending for the school-master of the town to interpret them, appeared, (not only to these military men, but also afterwards to to the committee of the parliament) dangerous matters, especially the form of blessing the cord, which they imagined to be some spell or conjuration. That day and the following night he passed under the guard of four soldiers, and the next morning was searched again, when they found about him a letter in Spanish, addressed to, or designed for the Spanish ambassador, then residing in London, in which was made mention of his being of the order of St. Francis; so that now they resolve to secure him, no longer as a spy, but as a suspected priest. This drew many officers and others to the place where he was detained. One of them asked him of what religion he was of? he readily answered, I am a catholic. What! said the other, a Roman catholic? How do you mean a Roman? said father Bell. I am an Englishman. There is but one catholic church, and of that I am a member. They all said, he was in the right to own his religion. That, said he, I will do, with the grace of God, to my last breath. Another asked him if he believed the pope to be the head of the catholic church? He answered in the affirmative; upon which there arose a dispute concerning the church and the pope, but in a confused manner, as is usual to this kind of disputants, who are ever running from one point to another: they brought their bibles to confute him, but in vain, for he showed them that they had shamefully corrupted even their very scriptures. In conclusion, he told them their arguing against church authority and infallibility, and grounding all things in religion upon the weak and uncertain bottom of private judgment, and private interpretation of the scriptures, (liable, as they acknowledged, to error,) was not a way to invite him to their religion; for that it would be a very unequal change to part with a church (which he was assured was an infallible guide, by the divine promises, as recorded in scripture,) for a religion which owned itself liable to error, and

could give no assurance to its followers that it was not leading them on in the broad way of eternal damnation. Such an exchange as this, said he, would be like that which your soldiers have obliged me to make, who have taken away my clothes that were whole, and given me nothing but rags in their place. In fine, at parting, he told them, plainly and sincerely, that no salvation could be hoped for out of the catholic church, and that he wished them all to be, even as he was, excepting his present state of confinement.

From Stevenedge, he was carried before the committee then sitting in Hartfordshire, to whom all his papers were delivered; with a particular caution to look well to him, for that he had a spell amongst his papers, by means of which, he could get out of any prison or dungeon; for such they supposed to be that form of the benediction of the cord of St. Francis, which was found amongst his papers. Here he was examined, whether he had ever been beyond the seas? He answered, yes. Whether he had taken holy orders there? He answered, that as this was, by their laws deemed a crime, he was not to be his own accuser. Upon this, he was given over to Jones, the city marshal, to be by him conducted the next day to town; who stript him of what the soldiers had left, and set him on horseback, half naked as he was, in his rags, and so carried him to London, making him a subject of mockery to the people, in all the towns and villages through which they passed; whilst F. Bell, as appears by his own written relation, so far from taking this in evil part, thought this cavalcade of his too great a pomp for one whose profession obligeth him to take up his cross every day, and follow Christ. When they were arrived in town, the marshal, (who before in searching him, had found the key of his trunk, found means to get the trunk into his hands, and seized upon it, and all its contents, as a lawful prize. 'Tis true, the committee of the parliament, by whom F. Bell was shortly after examined, upon hearing the case, ordered the marshal to return his goods; for as he was not as yet, convicted, he had certainly a right to keep what was his. But the marshal, though he promised to return them, never did it. 'I shall never hear any more, says F. Bell, of my goods, till the day of judgment; and then, I fear I shall be blamed for transgressing holy poverty, by having so many goods to lose: for I firmly believe these men were appointed by God to put me in mind of my vocation. Thanks be to God for it.' Such were the dispositions of this holy man.

In his examination before the committee of the parliament, being questioned concerning the Spanish letter that was found about him, he acknowledged that he was a poor penitent of the order of St. Francis, but would not satisfy them as to the point of his priesthood: so he was committed to Newgate, in order to take his trial at the next sessions. But before these things were transacted, his brethren had made choice of him, to be for the second time, guardian or superior of their convent at Douay, which office had been vacant ever since the martyrdom of F. Heath, who was actually guardian when he came over to England, where he so quickly met with the crown he sought. F. Bell had not been full four and twenty hours in Newgate, when his provincial's letter was brought to him, requiring of him, in virtue of obedience, to fill

up the vacancy: and not long after, he received the patents for that office from F. Marchant, the commissary general. His answers, both to the one and the other, are worthy to be recorded.—To his provincial, he writes as follows:

'Reverend Father,—I received your command with all humility and readiness at the very time that I was putting it in execution: for I took possession of F. Paul's place in Newgate, about twenty hours before yours came to my knowledge. As to what remains, I beg your prayers that I may persevere to the end; and I beg of all christians, with St. Andrew, that they would not hinder my sufferings, &c.

Your poor Brother, F. BELL.'

To the commissary general, he returned the following answer:

'*Most Reverend Father, obedience and reverence.*

'I received the command of your most reverend paternity, with humility, and am disposed with all possible readiness, to put it in execution, as soon as this present impediment which stands in the way, shall be removed. Now the impediment is this. On the 6th of November, O. S. I was apprehended on my way to London, by the parliamentary soldiers, and being examined, and found to be a catholic, I was put under the custody of four soldiers night and day. And after I had been stript of all things, sword, money, clothes, and even my very shirt, and clad in an old tattered coat of some poor soldier, I was brought before the parliament at London, where being again examined, I was found out by certain arguments, to be a friar minor, which I did not deny; and being withal, suspected to be a priest according to the order of the Roman church, I was for this reason, committed to the prison of Newgate. I am to be tried on the 5th of December, what will then be done with me, my Lord Jesus Christ knows, with whom, I am ready to go to the cross, and to death, if his mercy will vouchsafe to extend itself so far, as to be willing to accept of the sacrifice of such and so great a sinner: but if I am still necessary to his people, the will of our Lord be done. I have begged death for Christ. This I will continue to beg for. My sinful life has been a long time hateful to me. Pardon me, I know what is for my profit; to die is my gain I humbly beg your prayers, and those of my brethren, that if, (as I wish,) it be my lot to die, I may depart with obedience in the grace of Christ; and with St. Andrew I beseech all christian people not to be a hindrance to my death. If I shall not be condemned to die, I will labour by all lawful means, to procure my liberty, that I may be able to obey, as it is my duty, the command I have received. God preserve your reverence,' &c.

Newgate, November 22, 1643.

F. Bell was not tried on the 5th of December, as he expected, but on the 7th of that month. The witnesses that appeared against him, were Wadsworth, Mayo, and Thomas Gage, all apostates from the catholic religion, and the last also from his religious vows. Wadsworth deposed, that he knew him twenty years before at Brussels, in the habit of St. Francis, and that he was esteemed by all, as an

honest plain friar. Mayo declared, that he knew him at Graveline, in the monastery of the poor Clares, and that he was one of the priests of that monastery, and that also he knew him at the convent of the English Franciscans at Douay. Gage made oath, that the prisoner lived for some time at London, with a lady, a near relation of his, where he had often heard him say mass; and that he remembered his complaining to him of his kinswoman's rising so late, that he could seldom begin mass before twelve o'clock. F. Bell excepted against all the witnesses as infamous apostates, who having broken their faith to God, deserved none with men. And as to the jury, he said, he hoped they were christians; 'that he was certainly not a priest of the Levitical order of Aaron: and that it would not be wisdom, if any one had a call from God to the priesthood, to neglect the fountain-head, and to take up with troubled water.' The recorder told him, he spoke mysteriously; and asked if he had any thing else to say? He answered, no. Upon which, the jury going out, after a short deliberation, pronounced him guilty; for which verdict the holy man returned them thanks.

In the afternoon he was brought again to the bar, and asked what he had to say, why sentence should not pass upon him. Upon which occasion he expressed himself in the following manner: 'My accusers have given in their depositions against me, and my jury has pronounced me guilty: I return them my most hearty thanks, for I shall most willingly, and with the greatest joy, die with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, my cause being the same as theirs. And since I am going to speak of a matter of equal or greater importance than was that of which the prophets spoke of old, let me invoke heaven and earth with them: be astonished, O ye heavens! and be thou covered with confusion, O earth! to see a christian state, at least that pretends to profess Christ and his gospel, to make that priesthood high treason which was founded and established by Christ and his gospel; that priesthood, I say, which supports the gospel, and is supported by it. It was for this reason I asked in the morning whether the gentlemen of the jury were christians, intimating that christians might perhaps condemn the priests of the order of Aaron, but not those of the institution of Christ; as on the other hand, Jews would condemn christian priests, but not their own. What before appeared to you mysterious I now explain. Whoever has a call from God to the priesthood, let him seek it there, where there is a certain and undoubted succession never interrupted from Christ's time, viz: in the Roman communion; and not there, where the succession is called in question, or rather, where without all question it has certainly failed, as it has amongst protestants; for it is certain, there is no true priesthood in the protestant church.'

Thus far they heard him with patience; but here one of the bench interrupted him, telling him, that the laws under which a man is born, are to be obeyed. It is true, said father Bell, and if I had been born among pagans, I should have obeyed their laws, if they were not contrary to the law of God. "But as for these unchristian laws, by which priests are put to death," know for certain, 'That the makers of them

have long since received their just rewards; and let all such look to themselves in time, and to their own consciences, who are, or shall hereafter, by reason of their office, be in the occasion of putting them in execution.' Serjeant Green the recorder, pronounced sentence in the usual form, at which father Bell is said to have joyfully intoned the *Te Deum*, and to have returned hearty thanks to the court; who also, on their part, seemed to pity his case, and exhorted him to conformity; he told them he had much more reason to pity their case, and that he begged of God's mercy, they might not have far more grievous torments to suffer in the next world, than those he was to endure in this.

During the three days which father Bell remained in prison, between the sentence of death and the execution, he was visited by great numbers of catholics, as well English as foreigners; some coming to beg his blessing, others to get something of him, which they might keep as a relic, &c., all admiring the cheerfulness and joy which appeared in his words and countenance. Amongst the rest, the imperial envoy came more than once to see him: to whom the man of God declared, that he would not exchange his present condition for that of the emperor, his master. The French ambassador also sent to him to desire his prayers; and he being one of whom the parliament at that time had great regard to, Monsieur Charles Marchant, his chief chaplain, was in great hopes by this means, to have put a stop to the execution: but father Bell frankly told this good priest, when he spoke to him in prison upon that subject, that instead of a friend, as he had hitherto esteemed him, he should look upon him as his capital enemy, if by his means he should be deprived of the crown which he had so long desired; and therefore conjured him to lay aside all thoughts of hindering his death, which would be to him the gate of life.

On the 11th of December, the holy man was brought out of prison, laid upon a hurdle, and drawn by four horses to Tyburn, the serenity and sweetness of his countenance, speaking all the way the interior disposition of his soul. When he came to the place of execution, he said, Now I see verified in me, what was foretold me, by happy Thomas Bullaker. Who, it seems, when father Bell was complaining to him in prison, that as he was the elder brother in religious profession, he ought rather to have gone before him, replied, God will have me to go first, but you shall soon follow me. Then being put up into the cart, and having leave of the sheriff, (who treated him with a great deal of humanity,) to speak to the people, he delivered himself to them in these, or the like words: 'Dear countrymen, give ear to me, and as you desire to be delivered from your present miseries, put an end to your sins: for, without all doubt, your enormous crimes, are the cause of the calamities under which you groan. But above all, I exhort you to renounce heresy, in which you have been so long engaged; for this (with grief I speak it,) has cut you off like putrid members from the true body of Christ, and like dead branches from the tree of his church. But if you resolve to persist in loving darkness more than light, long afflictions will attend you: and cer-

tainly, many calamities and miseries threaten this city, and the whole kingdom, unless they desist from persecuting priests and catholics. See and consider, I beseech you, the afflictions with which God has begun, visibly, to punish you; and be assured, that all these punishments are tokens of his love, and a manifest testimony that he would not destroy you, but as it were by constraint. I say it again, all these chastisements, civil wars, and calamities are inflicted upon you by him, to the end, that he may at length, from shipwreck, bring you into the haven of the catholic church. Abuse then no longer his goodness and mercy; do not force him to destroy you, by continuing to provoke his divine justice, by obstinacy in your evils.'

Here being interrupted by the sheriff, he said no more, but turning himself to one of the malefactors who were to suffer with him, he spoke to him some words of exhortation and comfort, and had the satisfaction to see him resolved to die a member of the catholic church. He also addressed himself to the hangman with a cheerful countenance, and embracing him, gave him wholesome advice for the salvation of his soul; with which, and many other things he spoke, the people being much moved, the officers hastened the execution, and ordered the cart to be drawn away. He hanged for the space of one *Miserere*, and then was cut down, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. In stripping him, they found under his secular coat, the habit of his order, which it seems, he was accustomed to wear: upon which occasion, the people cried out, with astonishment, see what mortified men these are, who so much despise the pleasures of the world! Guards were appointed to hinder the catholics from carrying off any thing by way of relic; yet this did not prevent some from dipping their handkerchiefs, or other things in his blood. He suffered December 11, 1643, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the twenty-fifth of his religious profession, and ninth of his mission.

N. B. That a little before father Bell's trial and execution, there happened to be taken at Yarmouth, in Norfolk, one Mr. Walter Windsor, a catholic gentleman, or, as some say, a priest; whose papers being seized, there was found amongst them, a letter from the archbishop of Cambray, to some priests upon the mission, with a copy of a brief of pope Urban the VIII., sent to the said archbishop, by which he was directed to nominate and empower certain priests, then upon the mission, to make diligent inquiry into the cause and manner of death of several priests, lately executed upon the penal statutes, and to transmit the account thereof to Rome. Now the persons deputed for this business, by the archbishop's letter, were these: for London, and all the counties on the south of the river Trent, George Gage, D. D., prothonotary apostolical; father Thomas Dade, provincial of the Dominicans; father Bennet Cox, O. S. B., and father Francis Bell, definitor, O. S. F. For York, and the northern counties, Mr. Phillips, confessor to the queen; Mr. George Catherick: father Robert Haddock, provincial of the benedictines; and father William Anderton, O. S. F. These were commissioned personally to such places where informations were likely to be had, and to call before them persons of credit and integrity, who had been acquainted with the said priests, and the particulars of their

trials and behaviours at the place of execution; and to take their depositions upon oath, and to put them down in writing, with the names of the deponents, and to certify the same in due form to the archbishop. Now, these papers coming to the hands of the parliament at this conjuncture, are by some supposed to have hastened the execution of father Bell, who was one of the persons nominated in the archbishop's letter. Certain it is, at least, that they were published by order of parliament, the very day that father Bell was brought upon his trial: being printed by Husband, printer to the parliament, December 7, 1643.

This year the parliament made and published several rigorous acts and ordinances against delinquents, as they called them, and papists; by which all, whether catholics or others, that had already, or should hereafter assist the king against the parliament, were to have their whole estate seized and sequestered into the hands of committees, named to that purpose; and all catholics, as such, without any other offence, were to forfeit two-thirds of their whole estates, real and personal, unless they would take an oath, by which they abjured the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, worship of the host, &c. With what rigour these acts were put in execution, we shall see hereafter.

1644.—This year the civil wars continuing, two priests of the venerable order of St. Benedict, lost their lives by the savage cruelty of the parliament soldiers, of whom thus writes father B. W., in his manuscript; 'Father Boniface Kempe, alias Kipton, professed at Mountserrat, in Spain, with father Ildephonse Hesketh, in the civil wars in 1644, were taken by parliament soldiers, and driven on foot before them, in the heat of summer; by which cruel and outrageous usage they were so heated and spent, that they either forthwith or soon after died.'

This same year also, as Mr. Austin writes, (under the name of William Birchley,) in his Christian Moderator, Mr. Price, a catholic gentleman, was murdered at Lincoln, in hatred of his religion. The story he relates thus: 'I remember an officer of my acquaintance, under the earl of Manchester, told me, that at their taking of Lincoln from the cavaliers, in the year 1644, he was an eye-witness to this tragedy. The next day after the town was taken, some of our (the parliament) common soldiers, in cold blood, meeting with Mr. Price, of Washingley, in Huntingdonshire, a papist, asked him, Art thou Price, the papist? I am, said he, Price, the Roman catholic: whereupon, one of them immediately shot him dead.'

Likewise, two reverend priests were executed this year at Tyburn for their character, viz: Mr. John Duckett, of the secular clergy, and father Ralph Corby of the Society of Jesus.

JOHN DUCKETT, PRIEST.*

John Duckett was the third son of James Duckett, (by his wife, Mrs. Francis Girlington,) a gentleman of an ancient family, but small

* From three manuscript relations sent me from Douay, "one by Mr. Duckett himself," and from the college diary.

estate. He was born at Underwinder, in the parish of Sedbergh, in Yorkshire, anno 1613. He performed his studies in the English college of Douay, and received all his orders there, being made priest in September, 1639. After he was ordained, he went to Paris, in company of Mr. Francis Gage, (afterwards Doctor of Sorbon, and president of Douay college,) and there remained three years, in the college of Arras. The Douay diary takes notice, that he was much addicted to mental prayer, so that whilst he was yet a student in the college, he was known to have employed whole nights in those heavenly communications: however, as he was very humble and discreet, when he was going upon the English mission, not content with having before conferred at Paris, with some very spiritual persons, who approved of his way of prayer, (though what passed therein betwixt his soul and God, was so sublime, that they owned it was above their comprehension,) for farther security, he called at Newport, on purpose to consult his kinsman, the reverend father Duckett, son of James Duckett, the martyr, and prior of the English Carthusians there, and to put himself under his direction, to the end, that he might proceed more safely in the internal way, and avoid the delusions of the enemy, to which contemplatives are often exposed. Here he spent about two months, in preparing himself, by spiritual exercises, for the great work of the conversion of souls.

His mission was in the bishopric of Durham, where he had been about a year, when he was taken in the following manner: he was called from Drusame, the place of his residence, to baptize two children, upon the feast of the visitation of our blessed Lady, July 2; and as he was going on his way, in the company of two catholic laymen, some parliament soldiers, who had intelligence of it, way-layed him, and apprehended him and his companions between Whissingham and Lenchester, and carried them to Sunderland, where there was sitting at that time, a committee of the sequestrators. These examined him, whether he was a priest, or no? He declined giving them a positive answer, and told them, If he were brought thither as a delinquent, he expected to see what proofs could be alledged against him: and if none were produced, he conceived, that by the course of the law, he was quit. But as they had strong suspicions of his being what he was, from the books and holy oils which were found about him, they committed him to prison; and a little while after, sending for him again, still pressed him to give a direct answer, and threatened to put lighted matches betwixt his fingers, and to burn him therewith, till he would confess what he was. But let us hear Mr. Duckett's own relation of this part of his history, and of the motives, upon which he at length confessed himself a priest. 'They committed me to prison, says he, making no doubt of my being a priest, by reason of my holy oils, and such like things they found about me; afterwards I was called again, and being I would not answer directly, that I was no priest, they threatened to put fired matches betwixt my fingers, till I would confess what I was. But when their threats would not prevail, they sent me to jail again, and put irons on me. About an hour after, they called me again; in the mean time, they were examining the other two that were taken with me; who, when

I heard they would be shipped and sent away, seeing it was because I would not confess what I was, and also fearing lest some of the country should come, who knew me, whereby the most part there, "i. e. the catholics of that neighbourhood," might have suffered, but especially those with whom I lived, I confessed myself to be a priest, to free them and the country.'

It seems, says another manuscript, 'this was an inspiration from heaven: for immediately, no more inquiry was made after his friends, but he was sent up to London, with father Ralph Carlington, "Corby" a jesuit, who was taken in those parts in his vestments, as he was going to the altar to say mass. So Mr. Duckett imitated our Saviour; 'If you seek me, let these go their way.' What follows, is taken from a letter, dated September 19, 1644. 'The two confessors being brought up to London, were examined by a committee of parliament, where they both stoutly confessed themselves to be priests, as they had done before in the country, so were committed to Newgate, and brought to their trial the next sessions; where Mr. Duckett being asked by Mr. Glyn, "the recorder," if he were a priest? replied, yes, I am. Upon this, Mr. Recorder said to the jury, you know what follows, he confesseth himself a traitor. *No*, said Mr. Duckett, I do not confess myself a traitor, though I confess myself a priest. But this sufficed to the forward jurymen and judge; for upon this alone, he was cast by the jury, and condemned by the judge,' says another manuscript relation.

Mr. Duckett adds, in his written account of himself, that when he was condemned, he told the judge, that he rejoiced more to hear the sentence pronounced against him, than he did to pronounce it. And both the other manuscripts, and the college diary all agree, that whereas Mr. Duckett's natural complexion was pale, immediately upon his arraignment, his countenance became, in a manner angelical, and his cheeks beautifully red, and continued so till his death. Insomuch, that some who knew him before, and appointed his picture to be drawn, condemned the painter, for not making it like him: but all that had seen the man in the three last days of his life, confessed the picture exactly represented him as he then appeared. See what a transformation grace can work in human creatures.

'It was also much noted, (says the letter of Sept. 19, 1644,) that his cheerful countenance proceeded from a heart overjoyed that he was to die in such a cause: and himself hath testified in many letters, under his own hand, that ever since he was a priest he did much fear to live, but nothing fear to die. Insomuch that he wrote a letter to one of those who were taken in company with him, (if he were importuned) to confess, that he knew him to be a priest; for, said the blessed man, if other witnesses fail, I shall supply all defects in that point myself, God willing; knowing what it will avail me to die for such a cause; much like St. Ignatius the martyr, casting himself on the lion's jaws, saying, *Scio quid mihi prodest, ignoscite mihi filioli.*

'He was a true humble man, (continues my author,) and contemned riches and the vanities of this world; the first appeared in his refusing many accommodations of money and apparel, offered him, not only by

myself, but by others, even when he had never a cloak to his back; but rather chose to borrow one when he went to the sessions, &c. The other, in refusing to hear the confession of the duchess of Guise, who came back from Dover on purpose to spend the last night of the martyr's life with him in watching and prayer, in the prison. For although he pretended scruple of not having French enough, yet it is probable, he having been so long abroad, and especially coming lately from Paris, might easily have understood the lady, had not his humility made him refer her to others.

'He was much importuned to accept of a pardon of his life, by way of exchange for a Scotch lieutenant-colonel, in prison under the emperor of Germany: and when he saw the matter of grace, (as the world termed it,) far advanced, and offered unto him,* by the father of the society, that was condemned with him, he returned the favour back to the father, saying, It is a thing procured and prosecuted by your friends, be you therefore pleased to accept thereof. But being persuaded by them, "father Corby and his friends," that there was another way to save that father's life, by his being an Irishman born, and therefore not subject to the penalty of the laws; then Mr. Duckett, (however willing to die,) thought he was bound not to refuse the offer of life, upon such fair terms. And this I insert here, to show how little he esteemed life, for he was nothing altered, upon notice that the parliament, (which had by their committee given hopes formerly of such a thing,) was now resolved not to save a priest's life by any such exchange. Had this happened to a soul less resigned than blessed Mr. Duckett's, it would have made some alteration, whereas, here it made none at all in this constantly cheerful martyr.

'It was noted by all sorts of spectators that he had a continual smile in his looks all the way he went to execution; which smile it seemed was from the heart. For when the blessed man came to the hurdle, he was not content to be helped up, but of himself leaped into the straw, and composed himself upon it, as if he had been riding in triumph. Before he went out of prison to the hurdle, seeing many weeping about him, he smilingly said, Why weep you for me, who am glad at heart of this happy day? And added, *Hæc dies, quam fecit dominus, exultemus, et lætemur in ea.* And some of the jailors observing his smiling farewell from the prison, said, assuredly this man dies for a good cause, since he and all of his profession go cheerfully to the gallows, whereas, those of our religion go weeping and wringing their hands.

'He gave his benediction to all that asked it on the way, with his head raised from the hurdle, and a smiling look. This was testified unto me by many, but especially by Don Antonia de Sousa, resident for the king of Portugal, who attended the martyrs unto the place of execution, and twice upon the way spoke to them, and asked their benedictions, and affirmed with what alacrity Mr. Duckett gave it him.

'At the gallows he said little, only he told the minister that went about to pervert him, Sir, I come not hither to be taught my faith, but

* Mr. Corby, when it was proposed to him, referred it to me, and I again to him; thus to and fro it went, till, &c. Mr. Duckett's MSS.

to die for the profession of it. It seems there was a fear lest Mr. Duckett would have spoken much, out of the abundant joy that appeared in him; so to prevent that, he was in a manner throttled alive, (by an ill-favoured hampering of the rope about his neck, which the hangman used to none but to him,) and he was observed to stand a long time in prayer upon the cart, before it was drawn away, half hanged indeed. When the hangman came to cast the rope about his neck, Mr. Duckett took it into his own hands, and smiling, kissed it for joy that he was thereby so near the end of his time and the beginning of eternity; for he did many times express the sense he had of eternity, and his longing after it, which made him glad at the shortness of his time upon so happy an occasion.

'One thing was singular in these blessed martyrs, more than in all that went before them in England of latter days, that they both appeared in their own weeds in this last scene of their lives; going with hair cut, shaved crowns, and in their cassocks, from the prison to the place of execution, which, if they had asked leave to do, perhaps had been denied them, as it was to some who had asked leave before, and were denied. "As to this whole relation," I can assure you, I have many of these particulars under Mr. Duckett's own hand-writing, and all the rest from persons of good credit, both ear and eye-witnesses thereof.' So far the letter.

Whilst he was in Newgate he reconciled one of the felons, who afterwards died with him. Mr. Duckett suffered at Tyburn, Sept. 7, 1644, in the thirty-first year of his age, the fifth of his priesthood, and the second of his mission.

RALPH CORBY, ALIAS, CARLINGTON, PRIEST, S. J.*

Ralph Corby, who was known upon the mission by the name of Carlington, was born near Dublin, in Ireland, of English parents, natives of the bishopric of Durham, and zealous converts, who went over into Ireland, for the freer exercise of their religion. Here, our confessor was brought into this world, on lady-day, in March 1598, and when he was five years old, accompanied his parents in their return to England, with whom he lived, partly in Lancashire, and partly in the bishopric, (for the persecutors suffered them not to continue long in the same place,) till the age of fifteen, being all the while remarkaby dutiful and obedient to his parents, modest and reserved in his words, peaceful and meek in his temper, wonderfully sincere and exact in his speech, despising money, and when any was given him, giving it away to a younger brother, and above all, very devout at his prayers, and a great lover of the blessed virgin, whose little office he used to recite upon all Sundays and holidays; all which virtues were, under God, due to his pious education; his parents being very virtuous themselves, and taking

* From his life, printed at Antwerp in 1645.

care to bring up their children such. Insomuch, that both parents and children all entered into religion; the father and his three sons, in the society of Jesus, the mother and her two daughters, in the holy order of St. Bennet.

Young Mr. Ralph at fifteen years of age, was admitted into the English college of St. Omer's, where he spent six years in the study of humanity, and then was sent into Spain; where he employed five years more in the study of philosophy and divinity; one year at Seville, where his health permitted him not to remain any longer, and four at Valladolid, where he was made priest. He then returned into Flanders, made his noviceship in the Society of Jesus, at Watten, finished his divinity at Liege, and after two years spent at Ghent, was sent upon the English mission in 1632. His missionary labours were employed amongst the poorer sort of catholics, in the bishopric of Durham, where he travelled much, winter and summer, day and night, and generally on foot; to instruct, comfort, and administer the sacraments to a persecuted people, scattered here and there in the villages of that country; and this for the space of twelve years, suffering very much all the while from a bad state of health, and meeting with very indifferent accommodations, both as to lodging and diet, from his country hosts; whose hearts, nevertheless, he had gained in such manner by his virtue and charity, that they loved him as their father, and reverenced him as an apostle.

He had long aspired after the happiness of dying for Christ, and now the time came when his desire was to be accomplished. It was on the 8th of July 1644, when going to mass at a country house, in Hampsterly, not far from Newcastle, he was apprehended by the parliament soldiers, rushing into the house, and scarce giving him time to put off his vestments, and was hurried away to Sunderland, where a committee of the sequestrators was then sitting. To these men, he readily confessed himself to be a priest; and being required to sign a paper, in which his confession was set down in writing, he obeyed, and without more ado, was put on shipboard to be carried to London. Here, to his great comfort, he found the reverend Mr. John Duckett, a prisoner for the same cause, and now designed to be his companion in the same voyage, as he afterwards was, both in prison and in death. And here these two servants of God, contracted a holy friendship, which death itself could not dissolve, and being founded in God, will unite them in God to all eternity.

As soon as these two confessors of Christ were arrived at London, they were carried before a committee of the parliament, at Westminster, where their confession, which they had signed before, of their being priests, was produced, and acknowledged by them for their own act and deed. Upon which, they were ordered to Newgate, and conducted thither through the streets lined with the mob, by a whole company of soldiers, with their captain at their head, beating their drums and shooting off their muskets from time to time, as if they had taken in war, the generals of their enemies, and like the old Romans, were carrying them in triumph. In Newgate, the servants of God remained close prisoners till the next sessions, that is, till the month of Septem-

ber. And as the violent disposition of the parliament at that time, with regard to priests, made them look for nothing else but the sentence of death, so they took care to prepare for it, by giving themselves up to prayer and other religious exercises; seeming at the same time, by a pious emulation, to vie with one another, which should excel in humility, charity, patience, zeal for the divine glory, and other heroical virtues; yet so as to maintain a wonderful harmony of will, and mutual concord in all things, to the great edification of all that came near them.

But what was particularly remarkable in these two confessors, was, their pious strife upon the occasion lately mentioned in our account of Mr. Duckett; when some hopes being given, that the life of one of them might be saved, by way of exchange for a Scottish officer, (a lieutenant-colonel,) at that time the emperor's prisoner; the imperial resident made the offer first to F. Corby, and he, after many thanks to his excellency, modestly declined it, and desired it might be conferred on Mr. Duckett, who, he said, was young and healthful, and in all other respects, well qualified to do good service upon the mission; whereas, for himself, he was grown infirm, and if his life was spared, could do little service. On the other hand, Mr. Duckett, when the offer was made to him, returning thanks both to the resident and F. Corby, equally declined the favour, and professed it would be better placed on F. Corby, a person of known experience, zeal, and piety, and far better qualified to serve the mission than himself. And thus, to the great edification of the resident, who came in person to Newgate on this occasion, the offer he made was handed to and fro between them, neither being willing to accept of it, till an expedient was proposed to save them both; but it succeeded not, for the parliament, it seems, was resolved they both should suffer.

They were both, therefore, brought to the bar upon the 4th of September, at the Old Baily, where their trials were soon over, both having confessed before under their own hands, that they were priests. 'Tis true, Mr. Corby alledged that he was a native of Ireland, and, therefore, out of the case of the statute: but the recorder told him, he was mistaken, and ordered the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth to be read, by which it is made high-treason for any man born within the queen's dominions, of which Ireland is a part, to remain in England after being made priest, &c. The jury therefore, as directed, brought them both in guilty, and the following day, they both received sentence of death according to the usual form; and returned with joy to the prison, there to wait for that blessed and happy Saturday, as F. Corby expresses it, in his letter written to his superior the day that he was condemned, which is the vigil of her glorious nativity, (the 7th of September,) by whose holy intercession, I hope, says he, to be born again to a new and everlasting life.

At their return to Newgate, they were thrust down into the condemned hole amongst the felons, by one of the turnkeys, who also began to strip them, and load them with irons; till the master-keeper, who was more humane, (though not without some consideration of money to be paid by them,) allowed them a better lodging. The last

day of their mortal life, and the whole ensuing night they devoted to prayer, fasting, watching, (so as not so much as once to close their eyes,) and spiritual conferences with those who came to visit them, as many did, both English and foreigners; and amongst the latter most of the ministers of catholic princes and states then residing in London, as also the dutchess of Guise, who passed the whole night in watching and prayer with them; and having made her confession to F. Corby, received the blessed sacrament at his hands, and purchased the chalice in which he said his last mass, which she afterwards kept as a precious relic. The French envoy also made his confession to the father, and received from him a pair of beads and a blessed medal, to be sent to the queen-mother of France, and professed after his departure, how much he had been edified by the sight and conversation of both these champions of Christ, and that he had never seen their equals for christian fortitude. Many others also there were that confessed to them, and received at their hands their last masses, to the great comfort of their souls.

It was observed that F. Corby, who from the time of his condemnation till then, had been full of joy at the approach of his happy dissolution, whilst he was saying his last mass, like his Saviour in the garden, appeared to be as it were in an agony of sadness and fear, which discovered itself in his gestures, and in his voice, to the surprise of the standers by, who afterwards inquiring of him the meaning of it, learnt from his own mouth that certain melancholy thoughts at that time pressed in upon him, which overclouded his soul, till by earnest prayer to God they were dispelled, and tranquillity and joy succeeded in their place; and so from that time till his happy death, he continued cheerful and joyful; and told his friends, who wept at their last parting with him, when he was going out in order for execution, that they had no reason to weep, but rather if they loved him, ought to rejoice and congratulate with him, who was going to meet so great a happiness.

And now, the 7th of September was come, when these two soldiers of Christ were to fight their last battle; when about ten o'clock in the morning they were called down to the hurdle, they went forth with their crowns shaved, the one in the religious habit of the society of Jesus, and the other in his clergyman's cassock; and being pinioned down according to custom, they were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn. Many catholics asked and received their blessing in the way; and even the protestants who saw them could not help admiring their courage and constancy. When they were arrived at the place of execution, they kissed the gallows, and giving God thanks, got into the cart, where there stood five malefactors, who were to he executed with them. Mr. Duckett for his part made no speech, but stood silent, with his eyes lifted up towards heaven. F. Corby contented himself with a short discourse, in which he gave an account of the cause for which he and his companion were to die, viz: merely for being catholic priests; nothing else being alledged against either of them. The sheriff told him, they had seduced many, and were to die because having been made priests beyond the seas, they had returned into England,

and seduced the king's subjects, in contempt of the laws of God and the kingdom. Pardon me, Mr. Sheriff, said F. Corby, there is no contempt of the laws of God in the case; and if our desiring the salvation of our neighbours, if our receiving for this purpose the holy order of priesthood, instituted by Christ, if our bringing back to Christ's fold the sheep that were gone astray, be against the laws of the kingdom, and punishable by death; I would have the whole world understand, that in such a cause we are not afraid of death, but earnestly desire it, and embrace it with open arms. Yes, Mr. Sheriff, we most willingly render this day to our Saviour, who most willingly died for us all, this life of ours, due a thousand times over to his merits and death: and we shall joyfully die for the love of him, and for the cause of our religion. This was the sum of his words, says my author, diligently noted by a catholic that stood near; nor was there opportunity for his speaking much more to the people: but the confessor was not wanting in exhorting and animating one of the five, who were to suffer with him, Hauard by name, condemned, though, as 'tis thought, wrongfully, for coining, who had been lately reconciled in prison, and made a public profession of his faith at the gallows, regretting very much that he had known it so late: and declaring aloud, that there was no other way to eternal salvation.

And now the two confessors most lovingly embraced each other, and took their leave for a moment to meet for ever in a happy eternity. The sheriff would not permit them to be cut down, till he was assured they were quite dead. But then on the other hand, he showed his zeal against popery by ordering all things to be burnt, even to the very apron and sleeves of the hangman, that had been sprinkled with any of their blood, that the papist dogs, as he said, might have nothing to keep for relics. Yet some there were, who, notwithstanding all this diligence of the sheriff, found means to procure some pieces of Mr. Duckett's cassock, one of his hands, and the whole cassock of F. Corby. He suffered September 7, 1644, *ætatis anno* 46, *societatis* 20.

1645.—Five months did not fully pass from the execution of Mr. Duckett and Mr. Corby, when another gentleman of the same character suffered at the same place, for the same cause, viz:

HENRY MORSE, PRIEST, S. J.*

Henry Morse, sometime known upon the mission by the name of Cuthbert Claxton, was born in Suffolk, of a gentleman's family, anno 1595. His parents were protestants, who brought him up in their own religion, in which he continued till the 23d year of his age; when being a student of the laws, in one of the inns of court in London, he began to examine more seriously, the grounds of the catholic faith, and

* From his life, published at Antwerp, the same year that he suffered. From the Douay diary, &c.

after some time, retired into Flanders, and was there received into the church, at Douay. This happened about the beginning of the year 1618, (for this was the twenty-third year of Mr. Morse's age,) and I find in the Douay diary,* that he was admitted convictor in the English college, in the month of August of that same year, having already suffered imprisonment for his religion, upon his return into England, after his reconciliation. At Douay, he remained till September 15, 1620, when he left the college, being then in logic, in order to go into England; but not long after he travelled to Rome, where he was received in the English seminary of that city, and having finished his studies, was promoted to holy orders, and sent upon the English mission.

He landed at Newcastle, and was no sooner got to shore, but immediately was carried before a magistrate, upon suspicion of his being a priest, and committed to prison, where he was detained three years in great sufferings, under a very bad state of health, besides the other incommodities of the place; all which he endured with a most edifying patience. This prison was, it seems, to serve for his noviceship; for he had obtained of the general of the jesuits, at his departure from Rome, that after his arrival in England, he should be admitted into their society; and conveniently for that purpose, another priest of the society was, about the same time, cast into the same prison, who might assist him in quality of master novice. After three years close confinement here, amongst felons and malefactors, several of whom he had the comfort to reconcile to God and his church, he was transported into perpetual banishment; and upon that occasion went to Watten, where he recruited his health, which was much impaired in prison, and spent some time amongst the novices, in such manner, as to give them great edification. From thence he was sent to make a mission amongst the English soldiers, at that time in the service of the king of Spain, who were quartered in the neighbouring cities, of which charitable employ he acquitted himself with great zeal and success, till he contracted a malignant fever, which had like to have bereaved him of his life; but God preserved him for greater things. After his recovery, he spent some time at Watten and Liege, in quality of minister of those communities; and then his zeal of souls prompted him to desire to be sent back upon the English mission.

To England, therefore, he was sent, and quickly found an opportunity of labouring with great fruit, during the plague, which raged in London in 1636 and 1637. It is scarce credible, what pains he took on this occasion, in visiting, assisting, comforting, and relieving such as were infected, as well protestants as catholics; having to this end provided himself with a list of about four hundred families, where the infection had taken, which he allotted to his own particular charge, and punctually visited in their turns; and great was the blessing God was pleased to give to his labours, not only in respect to the souls of the poor

* Anno 1618, mense augusto, e carcere ad nos reversus est Henricus Morse, et ad communem mensam est admissus. Anno 1620, 15 Sept. Henricus Morse logicus in angliam esse e collegio recepit. Douay diary.

catholics, whom he assisted with the sacraments, but also in the conversion of many protestants. During the course of this plague, father Morse was, himself, thrice seized with the infection; and when at the third time he looked for nothing but death, he recovered again upon the receiving a letter from the superior, commanding him to desist for the future from attending the infected.

Not long after this, he was apprehended by a special warrant from the lords of the council, and committed to Newgate; and at the next sessions brought upon his trial, accused of being a priest, and of having seduced his majesty's subjects from the religion, by law established. Mr. Prynne, in his *Popish Royal Favourite*, page 29, informs us, that there was exhibited, and read in open court, a certificate, showing that he had perverted, as they termed it, five hundred and sixty protestants in and about the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. But this part of the accusation, it seems, could not be legally proved; of the other point, viz., of his being a priest, he was found guilty by his jury; yet upon the mediation of the queen, he did not receive sentence of death; but, after some time, was bailed out, and at length sent into banishment, by the king's proclamation, in the beginning of 1641.

In the time of this banishment he was not idle, but made another mission amongst the English soldiers of colonel Gage's regiment, with such diligence and zeal, that he deservedly gained the esteem of that great officer, insomuch that he usually called him the holy father. But his ardour for the greater glory of God prompted him continually to desire to return into England, where he might have a larger field to work in, not without a prospect of receiving the crown of martyrdom for the reward of his labours; nor did he desist importuning his superiors, till they gave their consent to his return. He was at Ghent when he received this welcome news in 1643, which he immediately imparted with great joy to his brethren there, going from room to room to them; and, as he made no doubt but that he was going to die for his faith, promising that he would hereafter be mindful of them. He sailed for the northern parts of England, and landed safely there, and for about a year and a half diligently laboured amongst the catholics of those provinces in those turbulent times; till going to a house on the borders of Cumberland to assist a sick person, he was apprehended upon suspicion, by some soldiers that were making search there after another person, and was sent under a guard towards Durham. In the way thither he was to lodge one night at a constable's house, whose wife was a catholic, who managed matters so as to give him an opportunity of making his escape for that time. But about six weeks after, it plainly appeared, that it was God's will he should glorify his divine name by suffering for him; when he, travelling in that county with a guide perfectly well acquainted with all the ways thereabouts, and being within a mile or two of the house to which he was going, his guide all on a sudden was puzzled, and knew not which way to turn, as if his memory had been quite gone from him; upon this they went up to the next cottage, to inquire their way, and behold, at the very door they meet a man, who looking father Morse in the face, asked, if he was not the person who lately escaped from the soldiers who were car-

rying him to Durham? This unexpected rencounter surprised the father, who not being able to deny the truth, was apprehended, and hurried away to Durham jail, where he was close confined in a filthy lodging for several weeks, and then carried to Newcastle, to be shipped off for London.

At sea he suffered much from the barbarous usage of the rascally ship-crew, and withal, had like to have been cast away in a violent storm, in which another ship was lost before his eyes; but God reserved him for a more glorious death. Being arrived at London, he was committed to Newgate, January the 24th, and notwithstanding his brother, who was an eminent lawyer, and a protestant, left no stone unturned to save his life, he was brought to the bar on the 30th of the same month, and being found to be the man who had been brought in guilty of priesthood some years before, he was, without further trial, sentenced to die as in cases of high treason, and sent back to Newgate, where, for the short remainder of his mortal life, great numbers of all sorts of people flocked to him, and were much edified by his saintly comportment and conversation.

On the first of February, the day of his execution, he celebrated early in the morning, a votive mass of the blessed trinity, in thanksgiving for the great favour God was pleased to do him, in calling him to the crown of martyrdom, having first, according to custom, recited the litanies of our blessed lady, and of all the saints, for the conversion of England. After which he made an exhortation to the catholics that were present, and having reposed himself for about an hour, and performed the canonical hours of the divine office, he went to the rooms of all his fellow-prisoners, and took his leave of them with that cheerfulness in his looks as astonished them all. The little time that remained he employed in private, with another religious man of his order, in most fervent acts of faith, hope, divine love, contrition, &c., till being admonished that his time was come, he cast himself upon his knees, and with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, gave hearty thanks to the Almighty, extolled his infinite mercy towards him, and offered himself without any reserve, as a sacrifice to his divine Majesty. 'Come, my sweet Jesu, said he, that I may now be inseparably united to thee in time and in eternity! welcome ropes, hurdles, gibbets, knives, and butchery! welcome for the love of Jesus my Saviour.

At nine in the morning the sheriff came to the prison, and calling for father Morse, handed him down very courteously to the sledge, on which he was drawn by four horses to Tyburn. The French ambassador met him in the way in his coach, and in the sight of the whole multitude saluted him, and craved his benediction; and afterwards attended him at the place of execution, with all his retinue, begging his prayers for the common peace of christendom, and for the king and kingdom of France. The count D'Egmont was also present in his coach, to take his last leave of the confessor, who, getting up into the cart-under the gallows, and being permitted by the sheriff to speak to the people, addressed himself to them in these, or the like words, which he delivered with a loud voice.

'I am come hither to die for my religion, for that religion which is

professed by the catholic Roman church, founded by Christ, established by the apostles, propagated through all ages by an hierarchy always visible to this day, grounded on the testimonies of holy scriptures; upheld by the authority of fathers and councils, out of which, in fine, there can be no hopes of salvation.' Here the sheriff interrupted him, and bid him desist from that subject, and rather tell, if he knew of any plots against the king or parliament. So Mr. Morse went on: 'The time was,' said he, 'when I was a protestant, being then a student of the laws, in the inns of court in town; till being suspicious of the truth of my religion, I went abroad into Flanders, and upon full conviction renounced my former errors, and was reconciled to the church of Rome, the mistress of all churches. Upon my return into England, I was committed to prison for refusing the oath of pretended allegiance; and from prison, though I was then no priest, I was sent into banishment. I went to Rome, and after I had gone through the course of my studies, for seven years, I returned into England, to help the souls of my neighbours; and here, amongst other charities, I devoted myself to the service of the poor catholics and others, in the time of the late plague, and suffered nothing to be wanting that lay in me, to their spiritual comfort.'

You ought not to glorify your good works, said the sheriff, and the protestant minister that stood by him. 'I will glory in nothing,' replied the father, 'but in my infirmities; but all glory I ascribe to God, who was pleased to make use of so weak an instrument in so pious a ministry; and who is pleased now to favour me so far, as to allow me this day to seal the catholic faith with my blood; a favour which I have begged of him for these thirty years; and I pray that my death may be some kind of atonement for the sins of this nation: and if I had as many lives as there are sands in the sea, I would most willingly lay them all down for this end, and in testimony of the catholic faith, which faith is the only true, the only certain faith, the only faith confirmed by miracles still continuing; in which to this day the blind see, the dumb speak, the dead are raised to life. For thy testimonies, O Lord, are made credible exceedingly.

'But as, Mr. Sheriff, you were pleased to ask if I knew of any plots against the king or parliament, I here declare sincerely, in the presence of God, I never in my life had knowledge of any such plot or conspiracy, much less was I myself ever engaged in any. And I hold for certain, that the present tumults, and all the calamities under which the nation groans, are to be ascribed to nothing else but heresy, and this spawn of so many sects; and that it will be in vain to look for tranquillity and happiness, or any lasting remedy for these evils, as long as this mortal poison remains in the very bowels of the nation.'

Here the sheriff would not suffer him to proceed, but bid him say his prayers, and prepare himself for death. 'I will do as you bid me,' said father Morse, 'and will prepare myself, as well as I can, for my departure hence, which is indeed the thing I have been doing for these thirty years, ever since I was a catholic.' Then recollecting himself for a while, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed with a loud voice to the blessed trinity, acknowledging himself a great sinner, humbly begging mercy and pardon for all his offences, and forgiving his

enemies and persecutors, as he hoped forgiveness from God. He also prayed for all christian kingdoms, and most particularly for England; and in conclusion, recommended his departing soul to God, in those words of his dying Saviour, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; and so the cart was drawn away, and he quietly expired. His quarters were set up on four of the gates of the city, and his head on London bridge. He suffered February 1, 1644–5, *ætatis* 50.

BRIAN CANSFIELD, PRIEST, S. J. CONFESSOR.

He was commonly known by the name of Christopher Barton, was a zealous and laborious missioner, and a man of great mortification. He was apprehended at the altar, saying mass, hurried away in his vestments to the next justice of peace; and after divers injuries and affronts which, like his master, he suffered with invincible patience, was cast into a filthy prison, where the stench, and other incommodities of the place, put an end to his mortal life in some part of this year, 1645. See *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*, p. 72.

GEORGE MUSCOT, ALIAS, FISHER, PRIEST AND CONFESSOR.

This worthy gentleman, whose memory will be always dear to the English college of Douay, and whose pastoral zeal and great sufferings in the cause of religion will ever challenge an esteem and veneration from all that have the interest of religion at heart, justly claims a place in these collections, though he neither suffered at the place of execution, nor died in prison. For if he was not actually executed, he came as near it as ever man did; and if labouring for the salvation of souls, in spite of threatening dangers, be deserving the gallows, never man better deserved it.

The summary of his life and sufferings is contained in his epitaph, engraved on the marble under which he lies interred in the chapel of our blessed lady, in the parish church of St. James in Douay, and is as follows:—

Post plurimos in Anglia pro fide catholica exantlatos labores cum ingenti animarum lucro, hic quiescit reverendus admodum dominus Georgius Muscottus, sacerdos Anglus qui post carceris squalores viginti amplius annis toleratos, post damnationem pro fide ad patibulum, ad ignem, ad membrorum discerptionem, ferali crate ad portam carceris egressurum præstolante, et populo ad spectaculum currente; vita interim ad preces reginæ Angliæ a rege ampliata, ad præsidentiam collegii Anglo Duaceni a summo pontifice evectus est; quod adeo præclare administravit, ut disciplina reflorescente, rem familiarem quadrienij spatio,

etiam calamitosis temporibus, ultra viginti millia florenorum adauxerit; et tandem meritis ipsemet auctus, ærumnis et morbis attenuatus, corpus gracile terræ, animam divitem cœlo, odorem optimum boni exempli omnibus sacerdotibus reliquit. Obiit anno ætatis 65, sacerdotij 40, præsidentiæ 5, die 24 Decembris, anno 1645, in ipsa vigilia nativitatis Domini: qua die ipse olim in fœdissimum lacum inter latrones detrusus, inibique per triduum detentus suavissimos reportavit fructus; nam ex decem facinorosis, qui morte mulctabantur, novem ad fidem catholicam reconciliati sunt.—Requiescat in pace.

Englished thus;—After a great many labours undergone in England for the catholic faith, with very great profit of souls, here reposeth the very Reverend Mr. George Muscot, an English priest, who after having suffered the incommodities of a prison for above twenty years; after having been condemned for the faith to the gibbet, to the fire, to the dismembering and quartering of his body, the fatal hurdle waiting at the gate of the prison for his coming out, and the people running to the sight was, in the mean time, at the intercession of the queen of England, reprieved by the king, and advanced by the pope to the presidentship of the English college of Douay, which he governed in such manner as both to give a new life to the discipline of the house, and in four years to improve, even in the hardest times, its temporal estate by the addition of above 20,000 florins; and at length he himself being improved by merits, reduced by sufferings and infirmities, bequeathed his emaciated body to the earth, his rich soul to heaven, and the excellent odour of a good example to all priests. He deceased in the 65th year of his age, the 40th of his priesthood, the 5th of his presidentship, on the 24th of December, 1645, on the very vigil of the nativity of our Lord, on which day, he having heretofore been thrust down into a most filthy dungeon amongst felons, and kept therein for three days, had produced most sweet fruits: for out of ten malefactors who were condemned to die, nine were reconciled to the catholic faith.—May he rest in peace.

PHILIP POWEL, ALIAS MORGAN, PRIEST, O.S.B.—1646.*

Philip Powel, commonly known upon the mission by the name of Morgan, was the son of Roger Powel and Catharine Morgan, both of very ancient families, and virtuous, though not rich. He was born in the parish of Tralon, in Brecknockshire, on Candlemas-day, 1594, and brought up in grammar learning in the common school of Abergavenny, where he was noted for being always very towardly, though amongst many rude companions. At the age of sixteen he was sent to London to study the law under F. Augustin Baker, 'who before he was a monk, was a famous lawyer in the Temple, with whom he continued till he was near twenty years old; at which time, being sent by him on some

* From three manuscripts preserved by the English benedictines at Douay.

temporal affairs into Flanders, coming to Douay, he was inflamed with a great desire of being a monk amongst the English Benedictines of St. Gregory's in that town. His spirit being tried, he was admitted to the habit in 1614; and after having made a good progress in virtue and learning, (having for master, that learned divine, F. Leander, of St. Martin,) at the age of twenty-four, he was made priest; "in 1618," and in 1622, on the 7th of March, was sent on the mission.

'At his first entrance into England, he repaired to his former master, F. Baker, with whom he lived sixteen months: and who was ravished at the exchange the young man had made, and was much more ready now to teach him in the divine law, than ever he had been formerly, to instruct him in the civil. After this trial, finding him every way qualified, he sent him to a good family, (Mr. Risden's, in Devonshire,) where, in a short time, he gained the affection of all, insomuch, that when Risden's daughter was married to Mr. P. of L. in Somersetshire, there was a pious strife between the father and the daughter, who should have Mr. Powel: but the daughter prevailed, and with this couple, he had a constant residence at L. for twenty-one or twenty-two years, behaving to the great edification of all; till the late wars forced that family from home, and obliged them to disperse themselves in different places. Whereupon, Mr. Powel repaired to his old friend, John Tre———, in the parish of Yearcombe, in the county of Devon, and to John Coff———, in the parish of Parcombe. Here he had not been above three or four months, before those parts were overrun with parliament soldiers; so that no catholic could find any place of safety but in Goring's army; whither our pastor followed his flock, and there took exceeding great pains in his functions, for the space of six months, till that army being dissolved, he took ship in a small vessel, that was bound from Cornwall to Wales; and as he was sailing, on the feast of St. Peter's chair, (February 22,) his vessel was boarded by captain Crowder, vice-admiral of those seas; where two of the admiral's men knew him, and accused him of being a priest, saying that they had lately been acquainted with him in the parishes of Yearcombe and Parcombe, where, said they, he seduced the greater part of the parishes from their churches.'

Upon this the admiral told him he certainly was a priest, which, at first he would neither confess nor deny; but afterwards recommending the matter to God, and to the prayers of the blessed virgin, his angel-guardian, and St. Benedict, begging to be inspired how to behave, and what answer to give on this occasion, he found himself suddenly determined to acknowledge his priestly character; so that being asked again that same morning, by captain Crowder, if he was not a priest? he cheerfully owned himself to be one; all which particulars he told a benedictine monk, who was his confessarius whilst he was prisoner in the King's-bench.

'He was, therefore, committed prisoner under deck, where the soldiers barbarously stript him of all his clothes, to his very shirt, and clothed him with most beggarly rags; and in this condition, he was detained prisoner from the 22d of February, to the 11th of May following, being Monday, when by orders of the earl of Warwick, admiral for the

parliament, he was sent up to London, and delivered to the custody of St. Catharine's jail, in Southwark. Upon the Wednesday following, he was examined by judge Roules, if he was a priest! he acknowledged he was; and by him, he was commanded to the King's-beach, with recommendation to be civilly used, as indeed he was at his first entrance; so he ingratiated himself much with divers gentlemen, who, were there prisoners for debt. On the Saturday following, he was called before the two judges, Bacon and Roules, by whom he was examined of all his whole life; of which, he gave them account as follows, to my best remembrance, for I heard it thrice read at the King's-Bench bar.

'I was born in Brecknockshire, was educated at the school of Abergavenny, and at sixteen years of age, was sent by my parents, to London, to apply myself to the law, where I remained betwixt three and four years; then I went to Douay, to the monastery of St. Gregory, of the order of St. Benedict, and amongst them, I received the habit of St. Benedict, when I was about twenty years of age. There I studied, and when I was at the age of twenty-four, I took holy orders, and was made a Roman catholic priest; and at the age of twenty-eight, I was sent into my country, by my superiors, to convert and assist poor erring souls; where I have remained about twenty years, in Cornwal, Devon, and Somersetshire, saying mass, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, and using all sorts of functions of a priest.

'To this confession, he set his hand, and so was returned back to his lodging in the King's-Bench, where his best accommodation was upon mats, without bed, bolster, or sheets, and in a chamber with five more, a catholic, his bed-fellow, and some of the rest being sick persons. Here some few friends now came to visit him: and two amongst others, who often importuned him to recal his former confession, and to pretend he was distracted when he wrote it, through the hard usage he had met with at sea.—But the holy man would not hear of any such advice.

'On Friday, the 29th of May, he was cast into the common jail, being the next day, to be judged upon his confession: here the miseries of his lodging far exceeded the former, insomuch, that it cast him into a most dangerous pleurisy. As soon as he began to get a little strength, he was carried to the King's-Bench bar, in Westminster-hall, on Tuesday, the 9th of June; and his indictment, drawn up from his own confession, being read, the clerk demanded of him, art thou guilty, or not guilty? The holy man answered, with a great deal of meekness and courage, That I am a priest, I freely did confess, and now acknowledge again; but guilty of any treason or crime against the state, I am not. The judge then said, Mr. Morgan, you are to answer directly to the demand, are you guilty, or not guilty? He replied, I have acknowledged myself a priest and a monk, but I am not guilty. —The judge demanded, by whom he would be tried? By God, and by his country? He answered, If I must needs be tried, I will permit myself to be tried by the country. So he was conducted back to prison.

'On Friday, the 12th of June, he was again carried to the King's-Bench bar. His indictment being again read, and the jury present, the judge asked him, (Mr. Morgan,) what can you say for yourself? He modestly replied, that the proceeding against him ought to be deferred; for, first, said he, I doubt whether you, my lord, have any just power derived from his majesty to try me, or no. Secondly, his majesty's flag flying in a civil war, all trials of life and death cease. He was permitted to say no more, but conveyed by two tipstaffs to a bye seat, whilst the jury sat upon him, and then was called again to the bar, to hear their verdict, who brought him in *guilty;* so he was sent back to the King's-bench prison.

'Tuesday, the 16th of June, he was called again to the bar; he desired the favour to speak, which being granted, he pleaded that Henry VIII. made a statute of qualification of all statutes; and that the reason of queen Elizabeth's statute against priests, was her fears and jealousies of the queen of Scots, and the Spaniards; and that it was conceived at that time, that all the priests in England had a relation to them both; but that now the case was altered; that the king's person was absent, and no plot could be executed by him upon it, so that both the person and the cause being taken away, this latter statute might receive the benefit of mitigation, which point was long argued by him and the judge, in presence of many lawyers, for it was term-time. He added, that according to the letter of queen Elizabeth's statute, he was not guilty, not being taken in England, but on the sea. But all would not do. So judgment was pronounced by judge Bacon; upon which the holy man, with a cheerful countenance and pleasant voice, lifting up his hands and eyes towards heaven, said, *Deo Gratias*, thanks be to God, adding, I have not here room, by reason of the throng, to give God thanks on my knees; but I most humbly thank him on the knee of my heart. Then he made an offering of himself, in a loud voice, to his Saviour Jesus Christ, praying, that the shedding of his innocent blood might not increase God's wrath upon this kingdom, but rather be a means to appease it. Then he prayed for the king, queen, and their posterity; for the judge, jury, and all who were any way guilty of his death. The judge said, you do us wrong; you have received judgment, and cannot plead your innocent blood. The blessed man replied, My lord, I have said; I will not offend. The judge bid him make choice of what day he would die. He answered, with a pleasant and modest aspect, as always, My lord, consider, it is not an easy matter, or a thing so compassed, to be provided to die well. We have all of us much to answer for, and myself have not the least share; therefore, my lord, consider what time your lordship would allot to yourself, and appoint that to me. Yet the judge made him the same proffer a second and a third time; to which he lastly replied, he would by no means be an allotter of his own death, or be any way guilty of it; but would leave it to his lordship's discretion. So, being promised he should have a competent notice, he was sent back to his lodgings in the prison.

'It was admirable to see how pleasant, how affable and liberal he was towards all; in a word, his comportment was such, that his fellow-prisoners, of their own accord, drew up a certificate of his innocent

and virtuous behaviour, signed by twenty-nine gentlemen, all protestants, excepting six, whom he had reconciled in prison, (viz: captain Bromfield, Mr. Martin, Mr. Dutton, Mr. Hierome, Mr. Richabie, &c.) This gentleman last named had a most wicked custom of swearing; the blessed man once hearing him swear, whilst he was drinking amongst his companions, (after his reconciliation,) goes to him, calls him out, pays his shot, and so severely reprehends him, that to this day the man was never heard to swear an oath, as his fellow-prisoners can testify.'

In the common side of the prison, where he was now lodged, the holy man was placed in a little low earthen ward, in which there were eleven lodgings; and bore with patience all the nastiness and miseries of the place. His office, it seems, was to sweep the ward, which he did with great delight. One whom he had reconciled, desiring to do that office for him, he refused the courtesy, and gave God thanks, that he had this opportunity of serving the poor and prisoners.

It was also very observable in this blessed man, that he 'daily increased in pleasantness and cheerfulness, as he grew nearer and nearer to heaven, even to his last hour, as many can witness, (says my author) and myself can, being with him daily. On the 28th of June, being Sunday, near eight in the evening, an officer came from the judges, to advertise him that Tuesday morning next following, was appointed for his death; beginning first with an apology, how unhappy he was to be the messenger of such sad tidings; at which the holy man, imagining what it was, joyfully said, Welcome, whatever comes; God's name be praised! The manner and cordiality of his speech so daunted the officer, that he could not read his charge, but the blessed man looking over his shoulder, prompted him; then, after giving him many thanks, called for a glass of sack and drank to him, (saying, as it is in another manuscript, O what am I, that God thus honours me, and will have me die for his sake! which words drew tears from the eyes of a protestant that was standing by,) after which he withdrew to praise and give thanks to God. Many such like things were daily observed in his comportment.

'The last of June, (the commemoration of the martyrdom of St. Paul,) being come, our confessor having first spent the precedent night with his confessarius, except two hours in which he reposed, having finished his confession and private devotions, celebrated the divine mysteries with tears trickling down his cheeks. Then, "being called for," he went with great cheerfulness to the hurdle, on which he was drawn from the common jail of the King's-bench, to Tyburn. In the way some presented him with wine, and he taking the glass in his hand, asked leave of the sheriff to drink to his coachman, meaning the carter, that drove the horses. When he was come to the place of execution, arising from the hurdle, he knelt down upon his bare knees under the gallows, and there for some time prayed in silence; then rising, he stepped up into the cart, and making the sign of the cross upon himself, saying with a loud voice, *in nomine patris, &c.*, he began to speak upon the text, *spectaculum facti sumus, &c.* We are made a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men. All you, said he, that are come to behold me, may think you are come to a sad spectacle, but

to me it is not so. It is the happiest day, and greatest joy, that ever befel me; so that I may say with the prophet, *hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, &c.* This is the day which God hath made; a day wherein I may truly rejoice in my soul: for I am brought hither, a condemned man, to execution: for no other cause or reason alledged against me, than that I am a Roman catholic priest, and a monk of the order of St. Bennet. And this I freely confessed myself. This confession and cause only bringeth me hither to execution. I give God thanks, that he has honoured me with the dignity of a priest, and I glory that I am a monk of this holy order, which first converted this kingdom from being heathens and infidels, to Christianity, and the knowledge of God; St. Augustin, being their leader, sent by St. Gregory the great, pope of Rome, with forty other monks.

'Here the sheriff interrupted him, and bid him tell none of his old stories and tales, and ordered the hangman to do his office, who immediately tied up the holy man to the gallows. What he spoke afterwards, was to express himself, how freely he forgave all who were accessory to his death; and to pray for the king, queen, prince and royal progeny; and for a happy peace for the nation and the true knowledge of God; desiring all catholics to pray for him. Then he knelt on the side of the cart, (for being tied up he could not kneel down,) and made his prayer to himself; which being ended, lifting his eyes to heaven, and giving the appointed sign, he received absolution,' "from one of his brethren in the crowd, probably the same from whom we have copied the greatest part of this narration." Then giving some money to the hangman, and pulling his cap down over his eyes, he waited in silent prayer, for the cart being drawn away about a quarter of an hour; for the carter, whose office it was, having a horror of concurring to the death of so holy and innocent a man, withdrew himself into the thick of the throng, and would not drive the cart away; but another was found to do the job, and the man of God was suffered to hang till he expired. His dead body was cut down, bowelled, and quartered; but his head and quarters were not set up, as usual, on the gates and bridge, but buried in the old churchyard in Moorfields; and this by petition of the common-council of London to the parliament, hoping, as it is supposed, by this means sooner to obliterate his memory, and the impression which his comportment had made upon the people. His clothes and shirt, dyed with his blood, were redeemed of the hangman for 4*l.* by father Robert And—, a Benedictine. He suffered June 30, 1646, *ætatis* 53, *relig.* 33, *missionis* 26.

One of his fellow-prisoners expressed his esteem for him, by the following lines:

'He was of princely race, of British blood,
Nor yet the twentieth part so great as good,
Sufficient, and so qualified withal,
That he did seem to be without a gall.
Mild, patient, stout: his hand to every poor
Most open, till they blush'd to ask him more.
Most temperate, and most constant to his Christ, &c.

One of the Douay manuscripts adds the following remarkable circumstance to the narration of his martyrdom, viz: that in the way whilst he was drawn from Southwark to Tyburn, it happened, that a collier met them on Cornhill, driving six strong horses with a load of coals; who being obliged to stop, and make way for the hurdle and crowd that attended it, fumed and raged at the holy man, complaining aloud, that he should be stopped in his way for that traitor, as he called him: but mark what follows; the hurdle was scarce passed, when one of the collier's horses, without any previous sign of hurt or illness, falls down dead in the street, and obliges his master to make a much longer stay, than that which so much offended him before. The same manuscript also takes notice, that the jailor was so much taken with the comportment of the man of God, that he accompanied him to the place of execution, and always spoke of him with the highest esteem.

EDWARD BAMBER, ALIAS, READING, PRIEST.*

Edward Bamber, commonly known upon the mission by the name of Reding, was son of Mr. Richard Bamber, and born at the place called the Moor, the ancient mansion-house of the family, lying not far from Paulton, in that part of Lancashire, called the Fylde. Having made a good progress in his grammar studies at home, he was sent abroad into Spain, to the English college at Valladolid, where he learnt his philosophy and divinity, and was ordained priest. 'But in what year this happened, says Mr. Knaresborough, or when he was sent upon the mission, my short memoirs do not tell us; and they leave us as much in the dark, as to many other passages and particulars relating to the life and labours of this good priest, as well as to the history of his trial, of which we have a very imperfect account. But then, short as they are, they are very expressive of his zeal and indefatigable labours in gaining souls to God; his unwearied diligence in instructing the catholics committed to his charge; disputing with protestants; and going about to do good every where, in times and places of the greatest danger, with a courage and firmness of mind, much spoken of and admired at that time, and mentioned by one of his contemporary labourers and fellow-prisoners, "in a short manuscript relation," 'as something that was wonderfully surprising, and, as he expresses it, above the power and strength of man.

'When, how, or where he was apprehended, I have not found, but only this, that he had lain three whole years a close prisoner in Lancaster castle before he was brought to the bar.' "But now the judges going out of their several circuits, which for some time before they could not do by reason of the civil wars, and coming to Lancaster, Mr. Bamber and two other priests his companions were brought upon their trial." Here, 'his conduct was discreet and cautious, so as to

* From Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript collections.

give the judge no unnecessary provocation; but at the same time his comportment was remarkably courageous and brave, in a degree that was astonishing to the whole court; where he stood with such an air of fortitude and resolution of suffering in defence of truth, as might not have ill become even one of the most forward and zealous confessors of the Cyprianic age. Two fallen catholics, Malden and Osbaldeston, appeared against him as witnesses: these wretches made oath that they had seen him administer baptism, and perform the ceremonies of marriage: and upon these slender proofs of his priesthood, the jury, by the judge's direction, found him guilty of the indictment, who thereupon had sentence in the usual form, to be hanged, cut down alive, &c., as in cases of high treason. All which Mr. Bamber heard with a composed countenance, and without manifesting the least sign of trouble or concern.

'It was on the 7th of August, when he and his two fellow priests and confessors were drawn on sledges to the place of execution, and at the same time a poor wretch, one Croft, condemned for felony, was brought to die with them. Mr. Bamber applied his discourse in a most affectionate manner to this poor man; beseeching him to take compassion on his soul, and provide for its eternal welfare, by true repentance of his sins, and embracing the true religion; telling him for his encouragement, that it was never too late to make his peace with God, who showed mercy to the penitent thief at the hour of death; and he will also pardon thee, said he, if, like him, thou wilt be converted to him, and truly repent of thy sins. Take courage, my dear friend, and boldly declare thyself a catholic, and withal confess some of thy more public sins, and be truly contrite and sorry for all; and I, a priest and minister of Jesus Christ, will instantly, in his name and by his authority, absolve thee. The officers of justice, and the ministers, began here to storm and threaten, but Mr. Bamber stood his ground and carried his point. The prisoner fairly declaring his fixed resolution of dying in the faith and communion of the catholic church; and having confessed aloud some of his public and scandalous crimes, and begged pardon for them, and at the same time signifying his sincere repentance for his sins in general, Mr. Bamber, according to promise, publicly absolved him, in the sight and hearing of the crowd, and to the intolerable mortification and confusion of the protestant ministers. But they were resolved, it seems, he should do no more mischief; and therefore bid him walk up the ladder, and prepare for death. The confessor obeyed their orders, having first taken leave of some friends, and sent a small token to some others, enjoining the messenger to tell them, from him, not to grieve at his death, for, says he, I hope to pray for them in heaven. Here mounting up some steps he halted, and taking a handful of money he threw it among the people, saying with a smiling countenance, that God loved a cheerful giver. Then, after some time spent in private devotions, he turned towards his fellow confessors, exhorting them to constancy and perseverance, having his eyes more particularly upon Mr. Whitaker, who by his looks appeared not a little terrified at the approaches of death, which gave occasion to the protestants to be very busy in tempting him with the hopes of life, if he

would promise to conform to their religion. Mr. Bamber was speaking to him in the most tender and feeling manner, to be upon his guard, and beware of the enemy in that critical hour, on which the welfare of his soul was to depend for an eternity;—when the sheriff called out hastily to the executioner to despatch him; and so he was that moment turned off the ladder, and permitted to hang a very short time, when the rope was cut, the confessor being yet alive; and thus was he butchered in a most cruel and savage manner, as my author, a priest and confessor, then actually a prisoner at Lancaster, has avowed in the relation abovementioned, which he drew up upon the subject of the death of these three priests. Mr. Bamber suffered at Lancaster, August 7, 1646.'

An ode or sonnet composed on his death, and that of his companions, speaks of him:—

STANZA 27 and 28.

Few words he spoke, they stopp'd his mouth,
And choked him with a cord;
And lest he should be dead too soon,
No mercy they afford.

But quick and live they cut him down,
And butcher him full soon;
Behead, tear, and dismember straight,
And laugh when all was done.

JOHN WOODCOCK, ALIAS, FARINGDON, PRIEST. O.S.P.*

JOHN WOODCOCK, called in religion, father Martin, of St. Felix, was born in Clayton, near Preston, in Lancashire, in the year 1603. His father was a protestant, his mother a catholic, who found means of sending her son over to the English college of St. Omer's to be there trained up by the fathers of the Society, in piety and learning. Here he studied his humanity; and from hence he was sent to the English college of Rome, to learn his philosophy and divinity. But before he had gone through the usual course of his studies in that college, he conceived a strong desire of embracing a more strict and penitential kind of life. In order to this, he first applied himself to the Capuchins, but not succeeding with them, he made his application to the English Franciscans of Douay, by whom he was received, being clothed by R. F. Paul Heath, in 1631, and after his year's noviceship, making his profession in the hands of R. F. Francis Bell, who, as we have already seen, both gave a glorious testimony to their faith at Tyburn, anno 1643. Within a year or two after his profession, he was presented to the sacred order of priesthood; and some time after made preacher and confessor. He lived also for some time at Arras with Mr. Sheldon, in quality of his chaplain and confessarius, till he was called away by his superiors, in order to be sent upon the English mission.

In England, he discharged the part of a zealous and laborious missionary, notwithstanding his frequent infirmities, till being desirous of ending his days in his convent, he obtained leave of his superiors to

* From Certamen Seraphicum, p. 159, &c.

return thither: where he lived a most exemplary life, suffering much, from his almost continual illness, with remakable patience, till F. Paul Heath, having lately suffered at Tyburn, and the English friars at Douay having a solemn thanksgiving service on that occasion, where a French capuchin preached a most moving sermon upon the happiness of suffering in so good a cause: F. Martin was so animated with a desire of meeting with the same crown, that he desisted not importuning his superiors, till he procured leave to return again upon the mission. He landed at Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence, made the best of his way to Lancashire, his native country; where he was apprehended the very first night after his arrival, and the next day, committed by a neighbouring justice of peace, to the county jail of Lancaster castle, in which he was kept two whole years, suffering much from the incommodities of the place, and daily aspiring after his happy dissolution.

His trial came on in the beginning of August, 1646, when being brought to the bar, with his two companions, "Mr. Reding and Mr. Whitaker," he confessed himself a priest, and a friar of the order of St. Francis; his zeal during the time of his imprisonment, having furnished proofs enough of his being so, if he had had a mind to conceal it. Upon this confession, he was condemned to die, as in cases of high-treason. It is hardly to be expressed with what joy he received the sentence, breaking out into acts of thanksgiving, such as praise be to God! God be thanked, &c. He passed the last night of his mortal life in prison, in meditation and mental prayer; and on the next day, being the 7th of August, 1646, he was drawn, together with the two gentlemen abovenamed, both priests of the secular clergy, to the place of execution; the catholics being much comforted and edified, and the protestants astonished and confounded, to see that cheerfulness and courage with which these servants of God went to meet that barbarous and ignominious death to which they were condemned.

At the place of execution, F. Woodcock being ordered up the ladder, after some short time spent in his private devotions, offered to speak to the people of the cause of his death, and the truth of the catholic faith; but he was quickly interrupted by the sheriff, and flung off the ladder by the executioner. Some say the rope broke immediately, so that being perfectly sensible, he was ordered up the ladder again, to be hanged a second time. But however this may be, it seems he was scarce half hanged at last, but barbarously cut down and butchered alive. He suffered at Lancaster, in the forty-fourth year of his age, the fifteenth of his religious profession, and the thirteenth of his priesthood. His head is kept in a cloister of the English Francisans at Douay.

N. B.—F. Woodcock, in some catalogues, is known by the name of Thompson.

THOMAS WHITAKER, PRIEST.*

'He was son of Thomas and Helen Whitaker, born at Burnley, in Lancashire, a small market town, in Blackburn hundred, where he, the

* From Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript Collections.

said Thomas, was master of a noted free-school. The son performed his grammar studies under his father's care; and then, for his farther improvement, was sent abroad, at the charges of a neighbouring catholic family, "Townley of Townley," and went through his higher studies in the English college of Valladolid. He was ordained priest here, and entered upon the mission, in some part of the year 1638, and exercised his functions with great zeal and success, for the space of five years before his commitment to Lancaster castle. In this space of time, he was once taken up, but escaped out of the hands of the pursuivants, while on the road towards Lancaster. His guard, it seems, having locked him up in his chamber at night, took the liberty of making merry below stairs, which Mr. Whitaker being apprised of, made his advantage of the occasion, and in the dead of the night, let himself down out of the window: but the passage being very straight, he was forced to strip himself to his shirt, and through haste, forgot to throw out his clothes before him, so that he was obliged to make the best of his way that night in this naked condition. After wandering some miles, meeting with a poor shelter, he ventured to sit down, and take a breath a while, being at a loss what to do for clothes, and farther security of his person, in a part of the country where he was a stranger to the roads, as well as to the people. But providence declared itself in his favour; for while he was in these streights, a catholic met with him, and being informed of his character and condition, conducted him to his own house, and took such precautions for his concealment, that the good man made a safe and effectual escape for that time, and returned to his people, and the exercise of his functions, leaving the pursuivants to the confusion of being well laughed at, for not taking more care of their prisoner.

'How long Mr. Whitaker enjoyed his liberty after this, I cannot learn; only I find that he was seized a second time, and that, in the year 1643, at Mr. Midgeall's, of Place-hall, in Goosenargh, and then, he was effectually conducted to Lancaster, and committed to the castle, or county jail, on the 7th of August, the very day and month on which, three years after, he and his two companions were drawn on hurdles to the common place of execution. He was apprehended by a gang of priest-catchers, armed with clubs, and swords; who, it seems, fell to club-law with their prisoner immediately, and ceased not to beat and abuse him, (threatening also to murder him upon the spot,) till they had extorted from him a confession that he was a priest.—In prison, he was treated at first, with uncommon severity, being sequestered from the other prisoners, and thrown into a nasty dungeon, where solitude and darkness was his portion, which he patiently suffered for six whole weeks, before he was allowed the liberty of the common jail, and the company of his fellow-confessors.

'An ancient priest, his fellow prisoner, who has left behind him a short account of the behaviour of the three martyrs, always speaks of Mr. Whitaker as a person of a most saintly life; and declares, from his own observation and knowledge, (having been an eye-witness of his conduct for so long a time,) that he was still the first and last at prayer, or rather, that his whole employment was a continual communication

with God, either in mental or vocal prayer; and that the little time which he spared from his holy exercise was constantly employed in charitable offices about such of his fellow-prisoners as by sickness or age stood in need of help. He was particularly assiduous with regard to his brethren, the other three priests; the more, because being the youngest, by far, he looked upon it his duty to serve them and assist them upon all occasions; and this he performed with pleasure, and at the same time with so much humility, deference and respect, as if he had verily believed them not only his *seniors* in years, but his superiors in authority—and was glad to be serviceable to them even in the lowest menial offices.

'Thus did this holy priest employ himself during the three years of his imprisonment: but when the assizes drew near, and he had notice given to prepare for his trial, he shut himself up in a more strict retirement, and a more exact spiritual retreat for a whole month; joining, during that time, to his prayer and contemplation, rigorous fasts, with other penitential exercises. For as he was by nature very timorous, and withal, very sensible of his own weakness, so was he remarkably careful to place his trust in God in all dangers, and exceedingly diligent in the use of prayer and other proper means to obtain from him, who strengthens the weak, such grace and helps as were necessary for his support in the day of battle.

'His hearing before the judges was quickly over; for having owned himself a priest to the pursuivants and soldiers, who, with threats of death extorted this confession from him, and these appearing witnesses against him, he could not, and would not deny the truth; and so committing his cause to God, and his condition to the favour and compassion of the court, he said no more, but with a meek and humble deportment waited in silence the return and verdict of the jury, who after a short deliberation brought him, and his two companions, in guilty of their indictments; and the same day they all received sentence of death in the usual form.'

Mr. Whitaker was drawn with the other two to the place of execution, on the 7th of August, and was the last that suffered. He was naturally of a faint-hearted and fearful disposition; and at the approaches of death showed evident marks of the dread and anguish that assaulted his soul. This gave occasion to both his companions, in their turns, to exhort and encourage him; and to the protestants, to tempt him with proffers of life, if he would conform. But, notwithstanding his natural fears were heightened by the sight of the barbarous butchery of his companions, and that scene of blood which he had before his eyes, the Almighty, whom he earnestly invoked, supported him by his powerful grace; and when it came to the upshot, he generously told the sheriff, 'his resolution was fixed to die in the profession of the catholic faith; use your pleasure with me, said he, a reprieve, or even a pardon, upon your conditions, I utterly refuse.'

'When he was upon the ladder, he prayed devoutly and earnestly; and having now the rope about his neck, he prayed for his enemies, declaring that he freely forgave them, and that he heartily desired to die in perfect charity with all the world Then resuming his former ejacu-

latory prayers, while he was calling for mercy, and recommending his departing soul into the hands of his Saviour Jesus Christ, he was suddenly flung off the ladder, and executed. He suffered at Lancaster, August 7, 1646, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the eighth of his mission.'

RICHARD BRADLEY AND JOHN FELTON, PRIESTS, S. J. CONFESSORS.

THESE two religious fathers both died confessors of Christ within the same month, some part of this year, 1646. The former falling into the hands of the pursuivants, was committed close prisoner at Manchester, and died of the jail disease, before he was brought to his trial. The latter, venturing to go into Lincoln in a disguise, in order to assist father John Hood, who looked for his trial and death at the next assizes, was there apprehended upon suspicion, and after some weeks imprisonment in that city, in great want of all things, was translated to another jail, and lodged in a cold room in the winter season, where the wind blew in on all sides. Here he continued destitute of all human aid and comfort, and continually afflicted with the blasphemies and other immoralities of the wretches, his fellow-prisoners, till after seven months, no witnesses appearing against him, he was discharged indeed from prison, but with his health and strength so much impaired, that he died within a month. See *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*, page 73, 74, who informs us, page 75, that father Felton, for twenty-seven years, never omitted preaching on all Sundays and holidays.

THOMAS VAUGHAN, PRIEST, CONFESSOR.

THIS gentleman, though he did not suffer at the common place of execution, was, nevertheless, a martyr for his character and religion; and that, in the time of these troubles, though I have not met with the certain year of his death. Mr. Austin, in his Christian Moderator, published under the name of W. Birchly, part II., giving a list of the priests executed in several places, during the parliamentary persecution which begun in 1641, closes it with this short account of our confessor; 'Mr. Thomas Vaughan, after very hard usage aboard captain Molton's ship, soon after died at Cardiffe, in South Wales.'

He was of the ancient family of the Vaughans, of Courtfield, and was nephew to the famous Dr. Giffard, who from a priest and professor of divinity in the English college then residing at Rhemes, became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, and first president general of the English congregation; and at length was made archbishop of Rhemes, and primate of France. Mr. Vaughan, as appears by the Douay diary, entered student in the English college of Douay, anno 1622, and having taken the college oath, was by Dr. Kellison, then president, presented for holy orders to his uncle, the archbishop of Rhemes, from whom he received all his orders in September, 1627, and

was from Douay sent upon the English mission, the 27th of August, 1628. Other particulars relating to him, I have not been able to find.

Some time also during these troubles, though I have not found the precise year, died prisoner for his faith and character, Mr. Thomas Blount, another priest of the secular clergy. He was a younger son of James Blount, Esq; performed his humanity studies at St. Omer's; was sent from thence to the English seminary of Valladolid, but after six months' stay there, returned into England: then going abroad again, he entered himself a convictor in the English college of Lisbon, anno 1635, where he finished his studies, and was made priest. He was sent upon the mission, April 14, 1642, and having for some years discharged the duty of a laborious missioner in the worst of times, he was apprehended and committed to the common gaol in Shrewsbury, and died there.

And now we are speaking of priests that died prisoners for their religion, we must not omit to mention father Robert Cox, in religion called father Benedict, an eminent religious man of the venerable order of St. Bennet, who, after having received the sentence of death, and endured a long and tedious martyrdom in prison, died in the Clink, anno 1650. We are forced to pass over the sufferings of divers other priests in those evil days, for want of proper record.

1647, &c.—From the year 1646, till the year 1651, I find not any priests put to death for their character; though otherwise the persecution against catholics did not cease, and the sequestrators were every where busy in sequestering and plundering their estates, as well real as personal. That the reader may have a better idea of the sufferings of catholics in this kind, I shall here transcribe some pages out of Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript collections, concerning these sequestrations.

The sequestration of two parts of the catholic estates, real and personal, pursuant to several ordinances of the lords and commons, A. D. 1643, 1644, &c.

'The first of these ordinances bears date April the first, 1643, appointing certain persons, there named, to be commissioners or sequestrators for the several counties of England and Wales; and empowering them forthwith to seize as well all the moneys and other personal estate, as also all the manors, lands, and other real estates of notorious delinquents, that is to say, of all persons who had then raised, or should afterwards raise arms against the parliament; or who had voluntarily contributed, or should contribute any moneys, horse, plate, arms, ammunition, or other aid or assistance, towards the maintenance of any forces raised against the parliament.

'And also two parts of all the estates of every papist, or which any person had in trust, or for the use of any papist; this to be let, set, sold, and converted and applied to the uses of the parliament, towards supporting the charges of the war.

'A second ordinance passed the 19th of August the same year, con-

taining an explanation and further enlargement of the fore-mentioned ordinance for sequestering the estates of delinquents and papists. In this is explained, who are to be deemed papists, and who are liable to the penalty mentioned above; that is, of having two parts of their estate seized for the use of the parliament. These are, first, all such as have willingly harboured any popish priest since the 29th of November, 1642, or that should hereafter harbour any. 2dly, all that had been already convicted of popish recusancy. 3dly, or that have been at mass any time within one whole year, before the 26th of March 1643, or should hereafter be at mass; or whose children, or grand-children, or any of them living in the house with them, or under their tuition, shall be brought up in the popish religion. Finally, all such persons, as being of the age of twenty-one years, should refuse to take the oath of abjuration, "by which they abjure and renounce transubstantiation, &c," which oath, any two of the committee-men, or any two justices of the peace; or for want of these, the mayor, bailiffs, or head officer of any city or town corporate, had power to tender to any suspected papist. All these are here declared liable to the penalty above mentioned; that is, two parts of three of their whole estates, real and personal, were to be forthwith seized, sold, and disposed for the uses of the parliament.

'And to the end that a full discovery might be had of the catholic estates, so that it should be morally impossible for them to convey away any part of their effects, or conceal or screen them from the commissioner's knowledge, by the assistance of their protestant friends, or otherwise, the said sequestrators were further empowered by this second ordinance, to examine, upon oath, any person suspected to be aiding in concealing these men or their effects, or entrusted for them, or who should owe any thing, or be indebted to any papist; and if the said persons should refuse to be examined, or to declare the whole truth, they were to be committed to safe custody till they should conform, and make the discovery insisted upon by the commissioners.

'And for the more speedy and effectual seizure of the personal estates of the said delinquents and papists, the commissioners had power to authorize their several collectors and agents employed under them, to break open all locks, bolts, bars, doors, or other strength, where moneys or goods were, upon probable grounds, suspected to be concealed, and seize the same into their possession; with this further engagement to to such as were assisting to the sequestrators, that for their reward, they were to have one shilling in the pound, of all moneys, lands, or goods, as they should discoverer; and for their indemnity, the protection of both houses of parliament; and to be esteemed as persons who did acceptable service to the commonwealth.

'Finally, amongst the remarkable instructions given to the sequestrators, consisting of thirteen articles, that of number six ought to be carefully remembered, viz: You are to seize two parts of the estates, both real and personal, of all papists, (as they are papists,) and the whole estates of all other sorts of delinquents mentioned in the said ordinance, whether they be papists or others; and you are to understand by two

parts of papists estates, two of their whole lands, and two of their goods into three to be divided.

'Armed with these powers, the sequestrators set out towards their respective divisions, and fell to seize, sell, or let, the estates of papists wherever they could come at them. And in the south and midland counties they made quick despatch; bringing under sequestration, either as delinquents or convict recusants, the whole body of the catholics without exception. But as the progress of the parliament's victories was not so quick in the north and west, so neither could their committees execute their powers with that undisturbed freedom, nor make their seizures and commit their plunders with the same unlimited and uncontrolled tyranny, as they did in those counties which had been more early reduced, &c.

'But after his majesty's affairs declined, and his forces were so weakened, as not to be able to make head against the rebels, then the sequestrators poured in upon those other provinces, and fell upon all the estates of the royalists and catholics, not hitherto sequestered, with rage and fury.

'After the independents came in play, they made great changes in their commissions, and put in sequestrators of their own party: but the harvest then was in a great measure over. The catholic estates had already been under sequestration seven or eight years, and the presbyterians had plundered them to the bare walls, so that there was nothing left to these new sequestrators. However, as they were a hungry crew, they were resolved to have something from the papists, though less; and thus they made new inquests, and forced many of these oppressed people to undergo new compositions, upon pretence that they had not been sequestered according to the full extent and meaning of the late ordinances.

'Of the sufferings of the catholics in general, and of the miserable state to which they were reduced by these sequestrations, take this short but faithful account from a contemporary writer, an eye-witness of their oppressures, viz., Mr. Austin, under the name of William Birchley, in his Christian Moderator, part I. p, 9, &c.

'Of the papists, says he, some are sequestered for delinquency, and those of all cavaliers, (*cæteris paribus*) the most severely, though of all the most excusable, because wholly depending upon the pleasure of the late king, and infinitely obliged to his royal lenity; noting it as an unanswerable argument of their fidelity and gratitude toward such as deal with them in mercy, as also that their declining to receive the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, for which they have heretofore been so violently persecuted, proceeded not from any aversion to civil obedience, but because there were mingled in those oaths certain expressions of a pure spiritual nature, repugnant to their consciences, and altogether unnecessary to the common security.

'Others are equally punished, that is, their whole estate sequestered, allowing only a fifth part for their wives and children, though in true reason they are altogether justifiable, having never been in any engagement, but found only in some garrisons of the king, whither they were driven for refuge, being put out of the protection of the parliament by

public proclamation, their houses every where rifled, their goods plundered, and lives endangered by the soldiers, whose condition seems clearly to be within the equity of that article of the army's proposals, August 1647.—That the king's menial servants, who never took up arms, but only attended on his person, according to their offices, be freed from composition; much more those who had both the civil reason of duty, and the unanswerable argument of necessity, to plead for their discharge: and (which is yet more hard) some recusants of this class, who never bore arms, but were only found in garrisons, for their own personal security, as aforesaid, are now ranked among the highest delinquents, and their estates to be sold, such as sir Henry Bedingfield, Mr. Bodenham, Mr. Gifford, &c.

'As for the single recusants, two-thirds of their estates are seized upon, only for the cause of religion, under which notion are included all such as were heretofore convicted of not resorting to common prayers, or do now refuse the oath of abjuration, a new oath made by the two houses, when the former kind of service was abolished, wherein the practice is strangely severe; for upon bare information, the estate of the suspected is secured, that is, his rents, &c., suspended, before any trial or legal proof, even in these times of peace; and being once thus half condemned, he has no other remedy to help himself, but by forswearing his religion, and so by an oath, a thousand times harsher than that *ex officio*, they draw out of his own mouth his condemnation.

'When the sequestrators have thus seized into their hands two-thirds of the most innocent recusants' lands and goods, then come the excisemen, tax-gatherers, and other collectors, and pinch away no small part of the poor third-penny that was left them; so that after these deductions, I have known some estates of three hundred pounds a year, reduced to less than threescore; a lean pittance to maintain them and their children, being persons for the most part of good quality, and civil education. And as for priests, it is made as great a crime to have taken orders after the rites of their church, as to have committed the most heinous treason that can be imagined, and they are far more cruelly punished than those that murder their own parents.

'Besides these extreme and fatal penalties that lie upon the recusants merely for their conscience, there are many other afflictions whereof few take notice, which though of lesser weight, yet being added to the former, quite sink them down to the bottom of sorrow and perplexity; as their continual fear of having their houses broke open and searched by pursuivants, who enter at what hours they please, and do there what they list, taking away not only all the instruments of their religion, but oftentimes money, plate, watches, and other such popish idols, especially if they be found in the same room with any pictures, and so infected with a relative superstition.

'Another of their afflictions is, that they, I mean these single recusants, have no power to sell or mortgage the least part of their estates, either to pay their just debts, or defray their necessary expenses, whereby they are disabled of all commerce, and their credit being utterly lost (upon which many of them now provide even their daily bread) they must needs in a short time be brought to a desperate necessity,

if not absolute ruin; and if any, the most quiet and moderate amongst them, should desire to transplant himself into a milder climate; and endeavour to avoid the offence that is taken against him in his own country, he cannot so dispose of his estate here, as by bill of exchange, or any other way, to provide the least subsistence for himself and his family: a severity far beyond the most rigid practice of the Scotch Kirk; for there, (as I am informed,) the persons of recusants are only banished out of the kingdom, and prohibited to reside at their own homes above forty days in a year, which time is allowed them for the management of their estate, and their estates allowed them for their maintenance abroad. A proceeding which their principles would clearly justify, if they could justify their principles. But in England, where compulsion on the conscience is decried as the worst of slaveries, to punish men so sharply for matters of religion, contrary to the principles publicly received, is a course that must needs beget over all the world, a strong suspicion and prejudice against the honour and reputation of that state, which at the same time can practice such manifest contradictions.

'To this deplorable condition, are the English catholics now reduced; yet they bear all, not only with patience, but even silence; for amongst the printed complaints so frequent in these times, never any thing hath been seen to proceed from them, though always, the chief, and now, the sole sufferers for their conscience, except, (not to be altogether wanting to themselves,) some modest petitions, humbly addressed to the parliament, though such hath been their unhappiness, that more weighty affairs have still disappointed their being taken into consideration; else, were they admitted to clear themselves of the mistakes and scandals unjustly imputed to them, they would not doubt, fully to satisfy all ingenuous, and dispassionate men, nay, even whomsoever, that were but moderately prejudiced against them.' So far Mr. Austin.

Who, in his second part, sets down the following passages, observed by himself, upon cases depending before the commissioners at Haberdashers-hall, which will further demonstrate the grievances the catholics endured in those evil days.

'The case of Mr. Robert Knightly, a recusant only, a great part of whose mansion-house in Essex, was pulled down to repair the fort at Tilbury; for which, he petitioned, at Haberdashers-hall, in December, 1651, to have satisfaction out of the two sequestered parts of his own lands there; but in regard, it appeared to be done before January 1649, the present commissioners' answer was, they had no power to relieve him.

'On the 11th of February, 1651, was heard the case of Mr. Parker, the lord Morley's only son, about fourteen years of age: he petitioned for maintenance out of his father's sequestered estate; but because it was suspected the child might incline to his father's religion, who is a papist, it was denied him, unless he might be taken both from father and mother, and committed to the government of a mere stranger; which was ordered accordingly, and the poor pittance of one hundred pounds per annum only, allowed him out of his own and father's estate.

'In February 1651, Mr. James Hanham, of the west, petitions the commissioners at Haberdashers-hall, to this effect: that he had never acted any thing against the parliament, yet two parts of his estate were sequestered with such rigour for his recusancy, that he could not possibly subsist with necessaries, by the remaining thirds, when taxes, and other charges were deducted: that he was, therefore, constrained to borrow fifty pounds upon bond, and having disbursed fifteen pounds of the money; it seems, the sequestrators got notice that the petitioner had somewhat in his house, worth a new sequestration or review, as they call it; thereupon, they search his trunks, find the remaining thirty-five pounds, pull out the guilty bag, and two parts of it they sequester into their own pockets, to the use of the commonwealth; and for relief therein, Mr. Hanham appealed, but found no redress at present, more than an order for the sub-commissioners in the country to examine the business, and certify, &c. At the return of whose certificate, I leave the petitioner to expect his doom.

'On the 31st of March, 1652, the petition of one Hammond or Ammot, was read, to this effect; that the petitioner never did bear arms, or assist the enemies of the parliament, yet his estate had lain under sequestration ever since the year 1645, and not one penny allowed him for his maintenance. The petitioner being a recusant, did in the time of the late war, continue at his own house, as long as he could without apparent danger of his life; but considering how obnoxious even the most peaceable of his religion were to be affronted and ruined by the daily mischiefs they received from some disorderly soldiers, and especially seeing one of his neighbours (a recusant,) slain at his own door, the petitioner did then, and not before, fly for protection, to a garrison of the late king's, without acting any thing in the least kind against the parliament. And, therefore, humbly prayed he might have a fifth of his estate, and the arrears allowed him, to buy bread. But it not appearing to the commissioners that he had a wife or children, their answer was, they had no power to grant him any relief.

'On the 16th of April, 1652, the case of Mrs. Church of Essex, a recusant, was heard, whose petition spoke to this effect: that her late husband in his life-time, settled a lease of Muck-hall, (or such like name,) in Essex, of considerable value upon her, in lieu of jointure, for divers years yet in being, and was held of the late dean and chapter of St. Paul's, that alderman Andrews and Mr Nathaniel, his son, had bought the reversion of those lands, at Gurney-house, and had since taken a lease of seven years of the commissioners for sequestration, in Essex, of the whole present possession, without the petitioner's consent or knowledge, and without any regard to her thirds: and that the said Mr. Andrews having now possession of the whole estate, had demolished the petitioner's mansion-house, and did refuse to pay the petitioner her thirds, whereby she was driven to a necessity of wanting bread, being a distressed and friendless widow, of almost eighty years of age: she therefore prayed her thirds, and the arrears, and that the said lease might be annulled, &c.

'The first, was charitably granted, but as to the lease, and what her thirds should be, she was left to the mercy of Mr. Andrews, who I

fear does forget what the Father of Mercies says, in Jerem. xxii. 3, execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor, and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, and fatherless, and widow, &c. And in Matt. xxiii. 14, Wo unto you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye devour widows houses, and for a pretence make long prayers; therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation.

'That which in this case did most exact my observation, was, that Mr. Andrews, (a person of quality,) should make use of his power against a poor widow, and should be present, and openly avow the taking of her estate over her head, with so little regard to the thirds, which is allowed her by the act of parliament, and so much to his own benefit, without which it is like he would not have taken it, and with which the petitioner must needs suffer.

'From Haberdashers-hall give me leave to make a step into Moorfields, where on the 19th of May 1650, being the Lord's-day, Richard Ledsam and one Ledbeater, two pursuivants apprehended Robert Segar, a poor old decrepid man, upon a suspicion, (and it was but a suspicion,) that he had been at the Spanish ambassador's at mass; upon this bare surmise the poor man was searched, and in his pockets they found an old prayer book; whereupon he was carried before a justice of peace, and committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster, where he lay in the common jail till the quarter sessions in January 1651, being full twenty months, without any discharge or proceedings against him, and at that session was acquitted by proclamation, through the mercy of justice Scobell, but was detained prisoner, (until April 1652,) by Mr. Weeks, the keeper of the prison, for the rent of his lodging, for which the said keeper demanded fourteen pence a week, besides fees; and yet, (as I am credibly informed,) the old man lay on the boards in the common jail, and had no other pillow for his head, but a hard stone, for which he must now pay more than he is worth, or continue till he perish in prison, being above 86 years of age.

'And now I am at the Gatehouse I shall give you the supplement of a like sad story, mentioned in the twenty-first page of the first part of this Moderator, concerning a great-bellied gentlewoman, committed to prison on the 24th of June, 1651, her name upon inquiry I find was Delavall, an English woman, but her husband a Frenchman; she was committed to the Gatehouse, and with much importunity got leave by petition, to go out upon bail, till she was brought to bed, but was an actual prisoner full seven months of the twelve, which is prescribed by the statute, and the fine of one hundred marks stood charged upon her, till she was relieved by the late act of oblivion, and all this poor woman's sufferings merely grounded upon a bare supposition, that she had been at the then French agent's in Long Acre at mass, without so much as one witness that there was any mass said there at all; it being the truth of the case, (if I may believe their most serious protestations,) that they were only at their other private devotions.'

See much more in this author of the unmerciful severities which the catholics endured in those days; who also informs us, that the sequestrators had so little regard to charity, or even common humanity, that

they 'tripartited even the day-labourers' goods, and very household stuff, and have taken away two cows, where the whole stock was but three.'

I shall here add my lord Castleman's list, (though imperfect in regard to several persons omitted,) of catholic noblemen and gentlemen that lost their lives for their loyalty in the quarrel of king Charles the first.

A CATALOGUE OF CATHOLICS THAT LOST THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR LOYALTY.

THE Earl of Carnarvan, slain at Newbury, first battle.

Lord Viscount Dunbar, at Scarbro,' and two of his sons wounded.

KNIGHTS.

Sir J. Smith, banneret, (who rescued the king's standard from the rebels at Edghill,) slain at Alresford, in Hampshire.
J. Cansfield, wounded at Newbury, of which he died a lingering death.
H. Gage, (governor of Oxford,) slain at Collumbridge, Jan. 11, 1644.
J. Digby, wounded at Taunton, and died at Bridgewater.
P. Brown, wounded at Naseby, died at Northampton.
Tim. Featherstone, killed at Chester.
Nich. Fortescue, knight of Malta, slain in Lancashire.
Troylus Turbevil, capt.-lieut. of the king's life-guard, slain upon his majesty's marching from Newark to Oxford.
J. Preston, wounded at Furnace, of which he died a lingering death.
Arth. Aston, (governor of Redding,) slain at Tredaugh in cold blood.
Thos. Tildesly, slain at Wigan.
H. Slingsby, beheaded on Tower-hill.

COLONELS.

Col. Thos. Howard, (son of the lord Wm. Howard,) slain at Piersbridge.
Th. Howard, (son of Sir Francis,) at Atherton-moor: the gaining of which battle was principally ascribed to his valour.
Thos. Morgan, of Weston, in Warwickshire, slain at Newbury, first battle: he raised a regiment of horse at his own charge, and his estate was given to Mr. Pym's son.
Cuthbert Conniers, at Malpass.
T. Dalton, of Thurnham, mortally wounded at Newbury, second battle, and died at Marlborough.
Francis Hungate, slain at Chester.
Poor, (governor of Berkley-castle,) near Lidney.
Wm. Ewre, (son to the late Lord Ewre,) at Marston-moor.
Ral. Pudsey, at ——.
Cuth. Chiton, slain at Manchester.
Cas. Bental, at Stow, in the Wolds.
Trollop, slain at Wigan.
Wm. Bains, at Malpass.
Wm. Walton, at Tredagh.
Rich. Manning, at Alresford.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Lieut. Col. Thos. Markham, of Allerton, slain near Gainsborough.
Lanc. Holtby, at Branceford.
Haggerston, at Preston.
Pavier, at Lincoln.
Jordan Metham, at Pontefract.
John Godfrey, at Tewksbury.
George Preston, at Bradford.
Wm. Houghton, at Newbury.
Phil. Howard, slain at Chester.
Middleton, at Hopton-heath.
Michael Constable, there also.
Sayr, at Naseby.
Scot, at Alresford.
Thomas Salvin, at ——.
Richard Brown, at ——.
Goodridge, wounded at —, and died at Oxford.
Congrave, slain at Dean, in Gloucestershire.

SERJEANT-MAJORS.

Major Cusand, slain at the taking of Basing, in cold blood.
Richard Harborn, wounded at Malpass, died at Kendal.
T. Vavasor, slain at Marston Moor.
Panton, wounded at Cover, died at Highmeadow.
Hudleston, slain at York.
Thomas Ewre, at Newbury 1.
Lawr. Clifton, at Shelford House.
Thomas Heskith, at Malpass.
William Leak, at Newbury. 1
Rively, wounded at Naseby, died prisoner at London.
Richard Sherburn, at ———.
Holmby, at Henly.
R. Norwood, slain before Taunton.

CAPTAINS.

Capt. Marmaduke Constable, standard bearer to Lieutenant-General Lindsey, slain at Edghill.
W. Laborn and M. Anderton, at Sheriffhutton, in Yorkshire.
Joseph Constable, at Newbury.
Wiburn, slain at Basing, in cold blood.
Thomas Paston, slain at York.
Henry Butler, slain at Brinle.
Burgh, slain at Cover.
Thurston Anderton, wounded at Newbury, died at Oxford.
Haggarston, eldest son of Sir Thomas, in Lancashire.
Anthony Rigby, at Basing-house.
Richard Bradford, at ———.
Kenelm Digby, (eldest son of Sir Kenelm Digby,) raised a troop of horse at his own charge, and was slain at St. Neot's.
Ratcliff Houghton, at Preston.
Robert Molineux, of the wood, in Lancashire, slain at Newbury. 1
Charles Thimelby, at Worcester.
Robert Townsend, at Edge-hill.
Matthew Ratcliff, near Henly.
Richard Wolfole, at Newbury.
Anthony Awd.
Thomas Cole, at Newark.
Pattison, at Wigan.
Maximilian Nelson, at Marston Moor.
Francis Godfrey, slain at Sherburn.
Thomas Meynel, at Pontefract.
John Clifton, at Shelford House.
Abraham Lance.
R. Lance, at Rowton, in Cheshire.
Hoskins, slain at Lidney in cold blood.
Philip Darcey, at ——.
William Jones, at Ragland.
Henry Wells, wounded at Newbury 2, died in prison at London.
Anth. Hamerton, near Manchester.
W. Symcots, Capt-Lieu. to lord Piercy, slain at Newbury. 1
Thomas Singleton, at Newbury.1
Francis Errington, of Denton, in Northumberland, at Rotheram.
George Singleton, at ———.
Michael Fitzakerly, at Liverpool.
Daniel Thorold, at Naseby.
Francis Clifton, at Newbury. 1
John Lance, at Islip.
George Cassey, at Hereford.
Langdale, at Greekhovel, in Wales.
Carver, in Monmouthshire.
John Lingen, at Ledbury.
Samways, at Newbury. 2
John Plumton, slain at York.
Peter Forcer, at ———.
Thos. Whittingham, at Newbury.
Winkley, at Liverpool.
Thomas Anderton, at ———.
Richard Walmsley, at Ormschurch.
J. Singlehurst and J. Butler, at Marston Moor.
George Holden, at Usk.
Richard Latham, at Litchfield.
Thomas Charnock, at ———.
Robert Dent, at Newcastle.
T. Heskith and J. Knipe, at Bindle.
Thomas Eccleston. at ———.
J. Hothersal and Nicholas Anderton, at Greenoo Castle.
Anthony Girlington, at Lancaster.
Francis Rous, in Dean Forest.
Randolph Wallinger, at Cover.
Chris. Wray, slain at Bradford.
Robert Rookwood, at Oxford.
William Rookwood, at Alresford.
Richardson, slain before Taunton.
Thomas Madden, slain in Wood-street by the fanatics, January, 1660.

INFERIOR OFFICERS.

Lieuts. W. Butler, slain at Newbury.
Richard Osbalston, at Leeds.
George Hothersal, at Liverpool.
William Girlington, at ——.
John Kulcheth, at Worral.
William Singleton, at Marston.
Peter Boardman, at Bradford.
Short, slain near Gloucester.
Richard Bradford, at Blechington.
James Bradford, at ——.
Thomas Kingsman, at Lincoln.
John Birch, at Birmicham.
Staley, at Rashall-hall.
Cornets—W. Culcheth, at Newbury.

Deinton, at Cardiff.
Robert Lance, in Cheshire.
Edward Walker, at Burton.
Miles Lochard, at Gooderidge.

GENTLEMEN VOLUNTEERS.

Messrs. Edward Talbot, (brother to the now earl of Shrewsbury, slain at Marston-Moor.
C. Townley and C. Sherburn, there also.
Nicholas Thimelby, at Bristow.
Pool, of Worral, at ——.
John Typper, at Newnam.
Chris. Blount, at Edghalston.
Theodore Mouse, at Langport.
Gerard Salvin, at——.
Francis Darcey, at ——.
Wiburn, at Basing.
Robert Bowles, at Basing.
William Stoner, at Basing.
Price, of Washingley, slain at Lincoln, in cold blood.
Cuthbert Ratcliff, slain at Newcastle.
Thomas Latham, at Newark.
Andrew Giffard, at Hampton.
Richard Seborn, at Ragland.
William Alsley, at Wigan.
Lewis Blount, at Manchester.
Carey and Gennings, at Shelford House.
James Anderton, in Wales.
Thomas Roper, at Gootheridge.
Stephen Pudsey, in Holderness.
Francis Pavier, at Marston.
James Banton, at Cover.
Thomas Pendrel, at Stow.
Boniface Kemp and Ildefons Hesket, slain near York, in cold blood.
Michael Wharton, at Scarborough.
Errington, at Chester.
T. Westby, doctor of physic, at Preston.
Peter Davis, at Denbigh.
Edward Davis, at Chester.
Bret, at ——.
Roger Wood, at Chester.
Henry Lawson, at Melton.
T. Craithorn the elder, at Uphaven.
Henry Johnson, at ——.
Three sons of Mr. Kitby, of Rancliff.
John Witham, at Preston.
William Selby, at Preston.
Maj. Gen. Webb, dreadfully wounded at Newbury by case-shot.

The names of such catholics whose estates (both real and personal,) were sold, in pursuance of an act made by the rump, July 16, 1651, for their pretended delinquency; that is, for adhering to their king.

John, lord marquis of Worcester, who so valiantly defended Basing House.
Henry, lord marquis of Worcester, who has been at least 300,000*l.* loser by the war.
Francis, lord Cottington.
Lord John Somerset.
Marmaduke lord Langdale and son.
Sirs J. Winter, who so stoutly defended Lindley House.
T. Tindesly, slain, and estate sold.
H. Singsby, beheaded at Tower-hill and estate sold.
Piercy Herbert, now lord Powis.
Francis Howard.
Henry Bedingfield.
Arthur Aston, governor of Reading.
Thomas Haggarston.
Esqrs. Roger Bodenham.
Charles Townley.
Rowland Eyre.
Peter Pudsey.
John Giffard.

Other catholics, whose estates were sold by an additional rump act, made August 4, 1652.

H. Lord Viscount Dunbar and son.
Sir William Vavasor.
Sir Edward Ratcliff.
Esqrs. Thomas Clifton.
Peter Gifford, of Chillington.
Walter Fowler, of St. Thomas.
Thomas Brook, of Madely.
Francis Biddulph, of Biddulph.
William Middleton, of Stocton.
Nicholas Errington.
Lance Errington.
Henry Errington.
John Jones, of Dingestow.
John Weston.
Philip Hungate.
Gents. Robert Dolman.
Richard Massey.
George Smith.
Ralph Pudsey.

More catholics, whose estates were sold by another rump, made November 18, 1652.

Henry, lord Arundel of Wardor, who raised a regiment of horse for the king, and whose castle of Wardor was so gallantly defended against E. Hungerford.
Henry, lord Morley and Monteagle.
William, lord Ewre.
William, lord Powis, who kept long his castle of Powis against the enemy, and afterwards was taken in it; and thereupon was kept a great while prisoner at Stafford, and died in durance at London.
Charles, lord Somerset.
Sirs, Walter Blount, long a prisoner in the Tower.
Edward Widdrington, who raised a regiment of horse.
Richard Tichburn.
C. Blount, (slain also by one of his own captains.)
J. Clavering, died prisoner at London.
John Cansfield.
John Thimbelby, of Irnham.
Philip Constable.
Edward Plumpton.
N. Thornton, who raised a troop of horse at his own charge.
Esqrs. Hugh Anderton, or Exton.
Thomas Langtree, of Langtree.
William Houghton.
William Hesketh.
William Latham.
Thomas Singleton.
John Westby.
Sir Edward Charlton.
Esqrs. William Sheldon, of Beely.
William Gage, of Demy.
Thomas Clavering.
John Plumpton.
Marmaduke Holby.
Henry Englefield.
Robert Wigmore.
Robert Cramblington.
William Sherburn.
John Constable.
Richard Latham.
William Bawd.
James Anderton, of Birchley.
Thomas Singleton.
John Talbot.
Nicholas Fitzakerley.
John Piercy.
Thomas Acton, of Burton.
Thomas Gillibrand.
Thomas Grimshaw.
Ralph Rishton and William Floyer, gents.
Richard Chorley, of Chorley.
James Anderton, Esq., of Cleyton.
William Anderton, Esq., of Anderton, with many others.

PETER WRIGHT, PRIEST, S. J.—1651.*

Peter Wright was born of poor but virtuous parents, at Slipton in Northamptonshire. His father dying when he was very young, the circumstances of his mother, left with a great family of children, obliged him to seek his bread in service. He had for his master a country lawyer, with whom he lived several years; and being young, and amongst protestants, quickly forget the pious admonitions of his dying parent, and lost his religion. However, he was by degrees reclaimed, after he came to man's estate; and going abroad, was fully reconciled by the English fathers of the society in their college in Liege, to which providence had brought him, whilst he was designing a pilgrimage to Rome. From Liege he was sent to Ghent, recommended by father Rector to the English catholics there, and for two years diligently applied himself to his humanity studies, in the college of the Flemish jesuits; till in the year 1629, he was pitched upon by the English fathers, to be one of the number who were to be sent that year from St. Omer's, to the seminary of Rome. But Mr. Wright petitioned, that he might rather

* From his life printed at Antwerp, the very year he suffered, by an eye-witness of his death.

be admitted into the society; and was accordingly received to the noviceship at Watten; where, in the two years of his stay, he gained that perfect mastery over his passions, that whereas, by nature, he was hasty and passionate, from that time he was remarkably calm and sedate. It was also noted, that he took great pleasure, as well here at Watten, as afterwards during the course of his studies at Liege, in making excursions into the neighbouring villages, and catechising the children.

Having finished his divinity studies, and his third year's noviceship in the Tertian house at Ghent, he was made prefect over the scholars in the college of St. Omer's; though nothing could suit less with his inclinations, than this troublesome office, as he himself acknowledged; but he made a sacrifice of his own will to the will of God, notified to him by his superiors; and that he might the more perfectly overcome this repugnancy of nature, after having prostrated himself to God in prayer, he went to the rector of the college, and generously offered to continue prefect, if his superiors thought proper, during the whole remainder of his life. But not long after, his provincial destined him to an employment, not less laborious, indeed, but much more agreeable to his zeal: viz., to a mission amongst the English soldiers; where he behaved in such manner, as to gain the esteem and affection of all, and to reclaim great numbers of them from their errors and vices. He was particularly dear to Sir Henry Gage, their colonel, who after their first acquaintance, would not part with him, but had him for an inseparable companion for seven years, partly in Flanders, and partly in England; till Sir Henry, who was governor of Oxford for the king, being killed in the civil wars, in 1644, the marquis of Winchester, and his lady, desired to have father Wright in their family, with whom he lived till his apprehension, which was on Candlemas Day, 1650–1.

As the privileges of the peers were not regarded in those times of confusion, the priest-catchers watched their opportunity of rushing into the marquis's house on Candlemas day in the morning at the very time that father Wright was going to mass, and had not the marquis stopped them for awhile upon the stairs, they would have seized the good man in the chapel, if not at the altar itself. But this delay gave him an opportunity of getting out of the window upon the leads; where, nevertheless, he could not be long concealed, for the pursuivants finding, upon their coming into the oratory, the altar dressed, and all things ready laid out for mass, concluded the priest could not be far off; and perceiving the window open, imagined he had gone out that way, and found it to be so, by sending a boy the same way, who discovered the father upon the leads. Thus he fell into their hands, and was carried before the lord chief justice Roules, and by him committed to Newgate, as a suspected priest, where he had for companions, besides two priests that lay under sentence of death, five others, lately apprehended upon the same suspicion; and amongst them, the reverend Mr. Cheney, a priest of the secular clergy, who was his bed-fellow, and has given an edifying account of father Wright's behaviour in prison, extant in his printed life.

In the first session after the apprehension of our confessor, he was not called to the bar: and two of his companions who were tried, viz: Mr. Baker and Mr. Cheney, were brought in not guilty, by their jury,

which gave the catholics great hopes, that father Wright would be set at liberty, without being brought to his trial; and very industrious they were to procure his discharge: but when the following sessions were coming on, they began to apprehend that those who were in power had other designs; for it was then given out, that the lord chief justice had sent into the country, for the aspostate, Thomas Gage, to come up, and appear as witness against father Wright, and father Dade, superior of the dominicans, at that time also prisoner in Newgate. To divert this blow, the reverend Mr. George Gage, an eminent clergyman, used his best endeavours to prevail on the apostate, who was his brother, not to involve himself in any further guilt, by having a hand in the blood of the innocent. He promised he would not, and, as to father Dade, was as good as his word; for though he appeared in court against him, and testified, that he knew him to be superior of the dominicans, yet he qualified his testimony, by adding, that though he was their superior, possibly he might not be a priest; upon which father Dade was acquitted by the jury. But as to father Wright, the wretch notoriously broke his promise, and swore that he knew him to be a priest and a jesuit, and had often seen him say mass; alledging, for the reason of his appearing against him, an old grudge that he had against the father, for having done him an ill office, as he pretended, with his elder brother, Sir Henry Gage.

The good man being asked by the lord chief justice, what he had to reply to this testimony, and those of the other witnesses, Mayo, Wadsworth, &c., would make no other answer than this: My lord, I give Almighty God thanks, from the bottom of my heart, that he has been pleased I should be here arraigned, (to use the words of St. Peter,) not as a murderer, nor as a thief, nor as a reviler, nor as guilty of any other crime, but my religion; even the catholic religion, which was, is, and ever will be illustrious over all the earth; and I have nothing more to say. The judge told him, it was not for religion he was arraigned, but for returning into England after having received the order of priesthood, and seducing the people. Father Wright replied, That the persecutors of old, might, with as good a grace, have objected to the apostles and the primitive priests, their coming into heathen countries, and preaching the faith, contrary to the laws of those countries, and have called it treason, and seducing the people. But they preached the gospel, said the judge, you preach errors, contrary to the gospel. That is the very point in question, said father Wright, adding, at the same time, that all manner of errors and heresies were tolerated in England, and none persecuted, but the catholic religion, which was a sign of its being God's truth.

The jury going out to consult about their verdict, after some deliberation, returned him guilty; upon which, the confessor made a low reverence, with a serene and cheerful countenance, and said aloud, God Almighty's holy name be blessed now, and for evermore. The next day, being Whitsun-eve, he received the sentence of death, to his own great comfort, but to the great affliction of his friends and penitents, who saw themselves now like to be deprived of so zealous and virtuous a pastor. No endeavours were neglected to save his life, or at least, to obtain a

reprieve for him, by the means of the Spanish ambassador, and others; but nothing could be obtained; the less, because it being the Whitsun holidays, neither council nor parliament met. In the mean time, great was the concourse of catholics of all ranks, to the prison, from morning till night, to see the servant of God; many desired to make their confessions to him; others begged some little thing, which they might keep in memory of him; all were edified with his words and comportment, and departed with his blessing, finding a certain spiritual joy in their souls, from having seen and spoken with him. As for his own part, he prepared himself for his exit, by a general confession of all his life, to Mr. Cheney, and waited for death, with so much unconcernedness, that as the same gentleman took notice, the two last nights of his life, he slept far more quietly than ordinary, and so sound, that it was not without difficulty they awaked him at the appointed hour of five o'clock, when he arose, the last morning, to celebrate the sacred mysteries; and he declared, in confidence, to a priest of the society, sent to him by the provincial, that he never, in all his life, had experienced so much joy as he then found in his soul, at the approach of his dissolution.

Whitsun-Monday, in the morning, he celebrated mass, with the assistance of Mr. Cheney, with great devotion. And when the time was drawing near, when he was to go down, in order for execution, hearing the knocking at the iron grate, he took it as a summons from heaven, and cried out, I come, sweet Jesus, I come. Then embracing Mr. Cheney, Farewell, said he, my chamberfellow, and bedfellow, before it is long, we shall see one another again, in heaven. When he was called out to the hurdle, he went with so much alacrity and speed, that the officers could scarce keep pace with him; and here turning to Mr. Cheney, Upon this bed, says he, I shall lie alone, as you also henceforward will have your bed to yourself. Then being placed on the hurdle, he made a short act of contrition; and in the midst of mutual embraces, was absolved by Mr. Cheney, and then drawn away to Tyburn, through the streets, crowded with an innumerable multitude of people. My author writes, that he himself was eye-witness of this last profession of father Wright, who was drawn on the hurdle more like one sitting than lying down! his head was covered, his countenance smiling, a certain air of majesty, and a courage and cheerfulness in his comportment, which was both surprising and edifying, not only to the catholics who crowded to ask his benediction, but to the protestants themselves, as many of them publicly declared. He adds, that when the hurdle came over against the house where the marquis of Winchester, with his lady, children, and other catholics of distinction were waiting to see him from a balcony, he lifted himself up as much as his pinions would permit, and making the sign of the cross, gave them his last blessing, which they all received with their heads bowed down.

The number of people that met at Tyburn, to be spectators of the triumph of this confessor of Christ, was computed to have been no less than twenty thousand, and amongst them near two hundred coaches, and five hundred horsemen. Thirteen malefactors were appointed to die with him, to whom the father endeavoured to give seasonable advice

for the welfare of their souls, but was continually interrupted by the minister, and therefore desisted, betaking himself to silent prayer, in which he employed about an hour, standing with his eyes shut, his hands joined before his breast, his countenance sweet and amiable, and his whole body without motion, as one in deep contemplation. The minister took occasion to tell him, it was not yet too late, that he might save his life if he would renounce the errors of popery; but father Wright generously answered him, If he had a thousand lives, he would most willingly give them all up in defence of the catholic religion.

The hangman having fitted the rope to his neck, the confessor made a short speech to the spectators in these or the like words: 'Gentlemen, this is a short passage to eternity; my time is now short, and I have not much to speak. I was brought hither, charged with no other crime, but being a priest. I willingly confess I am a priest, I confess I am a catholic, I confess I am a religious man of the society of Jesus, or as you call it, a jesuit. This is the cause for which I die; for this alone was I condemned, and for propagating the catholic faith, which is spread through the whole world, taught through all ages from Christ's time, and will be taught for all ages to come. For this cause I most willingly sacrifice my life, and would die a thousand times for the same, if it were necessary; and I look upon it my greatest happiness, that my most good God has chosen me, most unworthy, to this blessed lot, the lot of the saints. This is a grace which so unworthy a sinner could scarce have wished, much less hoped for. And now I beg of the goodness of my God, with all the fervour I am able, and most humbly entreat him, that he would drive from you that are protestants the darkness of error, and enliven your minds with the rays of truth. And as for you, catholics, my fellow-soldiers and comrades, as many of you as are here, I earnestly beseech you to join in prayer for me and with me, till my last moment; and when I shall come to heaven, I will do as much for you. God bless you all; I forgive all men. From my heart I bid you all farewell, till we meet in a happy eternity.' Having spoken to this effect, he again recollected himself awhile in prayer, and then the cart was drawn away, and he was suffered to hang till he quietly expired. His dead body was cut down, headed, bowelled, and quartered. His friends were permitted to carry off his head and quarters, which were translated to Liege, and there honourably deposited in the college of the English jesuits. He suffered the 19th of May, 1651, *ætatis*, 48, *societatis*, 22.

As father Wright's comportment in this last stage of life, was admired by the generality of the protestants that were spectators of his death, so it gave occasion to several conversions, a thing very usual on the like occasions.

1654.—From the year 1651, till the year 1654, I find no mention of any priests put to death for their character and religion; but in the year 1654, being the first of the usurpation of Cromwell, Mr. John Southworth was drawn to Tyburn, to suffer for his conscience, of whom we shall now treat.

JOHN SOUTHWORTH, PRIEST.*

John Southworth was born in Lancashire, in the year 1592, being a younger son of the ancient family of the Southworths, of Salmesbury, formerly possessed of a considerable estate, but which, ever since the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, has been in a declining condition. He was sent for his education to the English college of Douay, and was an alumnus and priest of that house, from whence he was sent upon the English mission the 13th of October, anno 1619. The first seat of his missionary labours was his native country of Lancashire; where, after some years employed in his functions, he was apprehended, brought upon his trial, and condemned, for being a priest, in 1627. However, he did not suffer at this time, but was reprieved, and continued a close prisoner in Lancaster castle, where in the following year, as we have seen elsewhere, he was the man that gave the last absolution to father Arrowsmith, when he was going to martyrdom.

From Lancaster castle he was, I believe, removed to London, and committed to the Clink, for there I find him in April 1630; when, as Mr. Prynne complains, "in his Royal Popish Favourite, page 18, 19," he was, at the instance of the queen, released with fifteen other priests, and delivered to the marquis de Chasteauneuf, the French ambassador, to be transported beyond the seas. If ever he went abroad, as the author above quoted seems to question, he quickly returned again to his master's work, and laboured so diligently therein, that he is complimented by Mr. Prynne, p. 24, with the title of 'A Dangerous Seducer;' who also informs us, 'that he was afterwards committed again to the Clink prison, by the lords of the privy council's warrant; and yet for all that, had liberty to walk abroad at his pleasure (as most priests, says the author, during their imprisonment had, the more safely to seduce, as he calls it, his majesty's good subjects, and open masses in their prisons to boot) whereupon being apprehended, and brought before some of the high commissioners, and refusing to give bond to appear before them, he was sent to the Clink, by their warrant, under the seal of the court, dated June 24, 1640, (to which they found him to be formerly committed by the lords, and to be then a vagrant prisoner,) to be there detained under the keeper's custody, &c. But within a few days after, he was absolutely released by secretary Windebank's warrant.' So Mr. Prynne.

Who goes on in the following page: 'How dangerous a seducer this Southworth, alias, Southwell, was, appears by this petition of Robert White, subcurate of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to the archbishop of Canterbury against him, in the last geat sickness, 1636, which

'Most humbly showeth, that the petitioner, ever since the beginning of this grievous visitation in Westminster, &c., hath observed two popish priests to frequent Westminster, one of which is called Southwell, "Southwork" who is, and long hath been a prisoner in the Gate-

* From Mr. Knaresborough's collections, and other memoirs in my hands, and from a manuscript sent me from the English college of St. Omer's.

house, but lives about Clerkenwell. This man, under pretence of distributing alms, sent from some of the priests in Somerset-house, or other papists, doth take occasion to go into divers visited houses in Westminster; and namely, to the houses of one William Baldwin, and William Stiles, in the Kemp-yard, in Westminster, and there finding Baldwin near the point of death, did set upon him, by all means, to make him change his religion; whereunto, by his subtle persuasions, Baldwin easily consented, and received the sacrament from him according to the church of Rome, and so died a Romish catholic. And in the same manner he also perverted William Stiles, who also died a Romish catholic. And Southwell, to colour and hide these wicked practices, doth fee the watchmen, and other poor people thereabouts, &c. And thus, under a pretence of relieving the bodies of poor people, he poisons their souls.'

The petitioner adds, 'that divers poor people, newly turned Romish catholics, do commonly frequent the mass at Denmark-house; and three of those poor people watched all night with William Stiles, immediately before he died, and the next day went thither to mass. A most wicked course, says he, if it should not be remedied.

'Upon this, Southwell, soon after was apprehended, indicted, arraigned, and the premises fully proved against him by sundry witnesses; and yet, by the queen's and Windebank's powerful means, his final trial was put off, to the great discontent of the people, and he not long after, released.' So far Mr. Prynne, p. 25.

Any other prticulars relating to Mr. Southworth's missionary labours, I have not been able to find, for want of proper memoirs; or any more of him, till his final apprehension, in 1654, when, 'upon information of one Jefferies, a pursuivant, says my St. Omer's MS., whom he had in fee, he was taken out of bed at night, by Colonel Worsley, and upon his own confession of having exercised his functions since his reprieve, he was condemned, and dragged to Tyburn upon a sledge, placed between two coiners,' &c.

As to what passed at his trial, the only account that I have been able to find, is penned by a protestant, (who appears to have been a moderate dissenter) in a pamphlet, entitled, "A Letter from a gentleman in the city to a gentleman in the country, about the odiousness of Persecution," printed in 1687, p. 27. 'The last popish priest, says this author, that was put to death in England, for being a priest of the Romish church, was put to death in the time of Cromwell. I suppose we are not to doubt of the passionate heat which inflamed those who were then in authority against the papists and popery. They looked upon the papists as mortal enemies to their government, and as fast friends and devoted servants to the crown and royal family. Notwithstanding which, when the said priest came upon his trial at the sessions-house, in the Old Bailey, and upon his arraignment pleaded that he was not guilty of treason, but acknowledging himself a priest of the Roman church; it clearly appeared, that those who were his judges, did their utmost to preserve his life, and to prevent the execution against him, of those laws, upon which he stood indicted; for they did for many hours suspend the recording of his confession, making it their endeavour to

prevail with him to plead not guilty to the indictment. They pressed him to this in the public court, assuring him, that if he would so plead, his life should be safe; and that they had no evidence, which could prove him to be a priest. And when the old man "aged about 72," would not be drawn to deny himself to be a priest, taking it to be a denying of his religion, and that the court was compelled to give judgment against him, the magistrate who gave the sentence, "serjeant Steel, recorder of London," was so drowned in tears upon that sad occasion, that it was long before he could pronounce the sentence, which the law compelled, as he professed, to give.' So far this writer of Mr. Southworth's trial and condemnation.

As to his execution, he was drawn to Tyburn on the 28th of June, 1654. What happened upon this occasion, take here from an eye-witness, in a letter dated the thirtieth of the same month.

'As I arrived here I was invited to be a spectator of the martyrdom of Mr. Southworth, an ancient secular priest. He had formerly been condemned and reprieved, in Lancashire, &c. At his execution, though it was a stormy and rainy day, there came thousands of people, with a great number of coaches and horsemen. He made a speech at the gallows, which I send you with these, according to a copy I had from one of the same profession, who stood under the gallows. The large particulars I have not as yet, nor seek to send, on confidence you will have them from better hands. Priests fly hence apace, as presaging a greater storm. There are others in hold, and search made after more. All are in fears and suspense, not knowing where to dispose themselves, the times are so hard. There is now another priest brought from Newcastle, taken at mass, with the man of the house; who may the next session expect their doom. There were five coiners hanged, drawn, and quartered, with Mr. Southworth. He was clothed in a priest's gown, and had a four-cornered cap.' His speech was as follows:

Mr. Southworth's Speech at Tyburn.

'Good people I was born in Lancashire. This is the third time I have been apprehended, and now being to die, I would gladly witness and profess openly my faith, for which I suffer. And though my time be short, yet what I shall be deficient in words, I hope I shall supply with my blood, which I will most willingly spend to the last drop for my faith. Neither my intent in coming into England, nor practice in England, was to act any thing against the secular government. Hither I was sent by my lawful superiors to teach Christ's faith, not to meddle with any temporal affairs. Christ sent his apostles; his apostles their successors; and their successors me. I did what I was commanded by them, who had power to command me, being ever taught that I ought to obey them in matters ecclesiastical, and my temporal governors, in business only temporal. I never acted nor thought any hurt against the present protector. I had only a care to do my own obligation, and discharge my own duty in saving my own and other men's souls. This, and only this, according to my poor abilities, I laboured to perform. I had commission to do it from him, to whom our Saviour, in his prede-

cessor, St. Peter, gave power to send others to propagate his faith. This is that for which I die, O holy cause! and not for any treason against the laws. My faith and obedience to my superiors is all the treason charged against me: nay, I die for Christ's law, which no human law, by whomsoever made, ought to withstand or contradict. This law of Christ commanded me to obey these superiors, and this church, saying, whoever hears them hears himself. This church, these superiors of it, I obeyed, and for obeying, die. I was brought up in the truly ancient Roman catholic apostolic religion, which taught me, that the sum of the only true christian profession is to die. This lesson I have heretofore in my life-time desired to learn; this lesson I come here to put in practice by dying, being taught it by our blessed Saviour, both by precept and example. Himself said, He that will be my disciple, let him take up his cross and follow me. Himself exemplary practised what he had recommended to others. To follow his holy doctrine, and imitate his holy death, I willingly suffer at present; this gallows "looking up" I look on as his cross, which I gladly take to follow my dear Saviour. My faith is my crime, the performance of my duty, the occasion of my condemnation. I confess I am a great sinner; against God I have offended, but am innocent of any sin against man; I mean, the commonwealth and present government. How justly then I die, let them look to who have condemned me. It is sufficient for me that it is God's will: I plead not for myself, (I came hither to suffer,) but for you poor persecuted catholics, whom I leave behind me. Heretofore liberty of conscience was pretended as a cause of war; and it was held a reasonable proposition that all the natives should enjoy it, who should be found to behave themselves as obedient and true subjects. This being so, why should their conscientious acting and governing themselves according to the faith received from their ancestors, involve them more than all the rest in that universal guilt? which conscientiousness is the very reason that clears others, and renders them innocent. It has pleased God to take the sword out of the king's hand, and put it in the protector's. Let him remember that he is to administer justice indifferently, and without exception of persons. For there is no exception of persons with God, whom we ought to resemble. If any catholics work against the present government, let them suffer; but why should all the rest who are guitless, (unless conscience be their guilt,) be made partakers in the promiscuous punishment with the greatest malefactors? The first rebellion was of the angels; the guilty were cast into hell, the innocent remained partakers of the heavenly blessings.

'Here being interrupted by some officers desiring him to make haste, he requested all present, that were catholics, to pray for him and with him. Which done, with hands raised up to heaven, and eyes, (after a short prayer in silence,) gently shut, thus devoutly demeaned, he expected the time of his execution, which immediately followed, and which he suffered with an unmoved quietness, delivering his soul most blessedly into the hands of his most loving God, who died for him, and for whose sake he died.'

The following Latin epigram, was made by a min—r on the death of this gentleman.

'Relligio in varias serpit, (modo mobilis,) hydras,
Dum colit idolum quisque deumque suum.
Nullus ibi Deus est, ubi multitudo deorum;
Relligio varia relligione perit.

'Martyr erat, vindex quia relligionis avitæ,'
Unica quæ nobis ducta per æva fuit.
Huic* Deus afflavit, sonuitque tonitrubus aer,
Fulgure martyrium testificante suum.

In pluviam versus lachrimarum est imber obortus,
Athleta ut maneat fortis agone suo,
Clavigeri† ingressum cœlis dabat almus apertis,
Quippe fide et feriis gestit obisse suis.'

N. B. Mr. Southworth's body was sent over to the English college of Douay, by one of the illustrious family of the Howards of Norfolk; and deposited in the church near St. Augustin's altar. In requital of which, as I find attested in the records of the house, God was pleased, by the prayers and relics of this martyr, in the year 1656, wonderfully to recal from the very gates of death, the honourable Francis Howard of Norfolk, fifth son to Henry, Earl of Arundel, and brother to Thomas and Henry, successively dukes of Norfolk, when absolutely despaired of, by all the physicians, and having all the symptoms of a dying man.

Oates's Plot.

In the year 1660, king Charles the second, was restored, being the twelfth year after the execrable murder of his royal father. Under his government, the catholics had reason to look for better times; considering the services they had done both his father and himself; neither was this prince in his own inclinations, any ways averse from their religion, since it is very well known, he died in the profession of it. Yet such was his indolence, (being attentive to little else but his pleasures,) and such the temper of the parliament and people, worked up at that time, to a vehement hatred both of the religion and the persons of the catholics, (in order to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown,) that this king gave way to one of the most violent persecutions, that ever the catholics of England have undergone, from the beginning of the change of religion to this day.

This persecution was set on foot in the year 1678, (for before that time, the catholics were tolerably easy,) upon occasion of what is commonly called Oates's plot, a pretended conspiracy of catholics, for killing the king, subverting the government, and rooting out the protestant religion; a plot, which though at that time, it gained a general belief throughout the kingdom, is now allowed, by all unprejudiced sober men, to have been as villianous and malicious a forgery as ever was set on foot.

* It thundered, lightened, and rained very much, as the good man was going to Tyburn.

† He suffered death on the eve of St. Peter and Paul.

In proof of which, the reader may consult several tracts of Sir Robert l'Estrange, and some of the best protestant historians, such as Mr. Eachard, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Higgons, the continuator of Sir Rich. Baker's Chronicle, &c. So that catholics have reason to rank those that suffered on this occasion, amongst the martyrs of religion: since in reality, the true cause of their death was not any plot, but their constancy in the profession of their religion, and the public hatred, to which they were exposed on that account.

But this persecution, did not only involve those that were accused of the plot, it took in also, all the catholics in general; the prisons throughout the kingdom, were quickly filled with them; and the sanguinary laws of queen Elizabeth against priests, were put in execution with so much rigour, that I find no less than eight priests put to death merely for their character, in different parts of the country, in less than six weeks time, besides divers others, condemned on the same score.

It was on the 13th of August, 1678, that Dr. Tongue, (who is supposed to have had the chief hand in the contrivance of this pretended plot,) gave in his first information to the king; and not long after, Titus Oates was produced by the Doctor, as his informer: 'a person, says the protestant historian, "continuator of Baker, p. 687," who had been dignified with holy orders, though very unworthy of that sacred function. He was sent for to the council, and there swore to the truth of the papers delivered by Tongue, with a great many other matters, therein contained.—The sum of what he then swore was, that he had been privy to many consultations and discourses of the jesuits, about killing the king. That at one time, they designed to shoot him, which was to be done by two men, whose names were Groves and Pickering. That afterwards, it was thought better to do it by poison; and this was to be done by Sir George Wakeman, a papist, and physician to the queen. He said also, that many jesuits had disguised themselves, and gone into Scotland, among the field conventiclers, to distract the government there. That he himself, was sent, first to St. Omer's, then to Paris, and afterwards into Spain, to negotiate this design. That upon his return, with many letters and directions from beyond the sea to the jesuits here in England, there was a great consult held by them in different rooms in a tavern behind St. Clement's church, in which he was employed to carry the resolution from room to room, and so to hand them round. That at that time a fixed resolution was taken, to kill the king in one or other of the ways above mentioned, &c. These things were sworn by him, the first day he appeared before the council. Upon this, he was sent that very night with a guard, to seize upon the jesuits and their papers. And for two or three days after, he was almost perpetually employed, night and day, either in apprehending persons he had sworn against, or in attending the council. This fatigue he made use of afterwards, for an excuse, to palliate several gross inconsistencies that appeared in the evidence delivered by him, at different times. Upon his oath, there were apprehended, Sir George Wakeman, above mentioned, Mr. Edward Coleman, secretary to the duchess of York, Mr. Richard Langhorn, an eminent counsellor at law, all papists, and laymen;

Thomas Whitebread, John Gavan, Anthony Turner, William Ireland, William Marshall, William Rumley, James Corker, and Thomas Pickering, jesuits and monks, who were accused by him of being actors in, or privy to the plot.

'That this plot, continues the protestant historian, as sworn to by Oates, was a wicked forgery and imposture, is, I believe, little doubted at present by thinking, unprejudiced men. The character of the informer, is no small diminution of its credit; for though he had worn the habit of a clergyman, he was a fellow of a most infamous life. He had been once presented for perjury. He had been made a chaplain in one of the king's ships, but was dismissed, upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not fit to be named. He afterwards procured a qualification to be chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, and that duke being a Roman catholic, Oates expressed soon after, an inclination to the popish religion, not from any motive of conscience, but thinking probably, to reap some small advantage by that vile condescension. But he found himself disappointed; for he quickly perceived he had lost all hopes from the church of England, to starve in that of Rome. At last, he was sent to the English seminary of jesuits, at St. Omer's, where he was treated with great contempt. From St. Omer's, he had been sent through France, into Spain, and from thence, returned to England, where he soon after, broached the plot. Whether in this, he was animated by a spirit of revenge, for the ill usage he had received from the jesuits, or by hopes of reward for the discovery, or whether he was an instrument of others to swear what was prepared for him, has been variously thought, but must remain a doubt till the great day, when all secrets shall be revealed.

'That there has been, continues the historian, p. 688, and ever will be, a popish plot, for the restoring that religion amongst us, will be easily believed by such as know the restless temper of the church and court of Rome. But that they should design to compass this, by killing the king, or by the violent methods sworn to by Oates and his associates, appears incredible, from the palpable falsehoods and inconsistencies in their evidence.'

As to the other chief witnesses of the plot, viz: William Bedloe, the historian, p. 690, gives his character in the following lines. 'Soon after this, Oates's discovery was confirmed by a new evidence, perfectly suited to the old one. His name was William Bedloe, a person who had gone through many various circumstances of life, and had been very infamous in every one of them. He was thoroughly possessed of all those qualifications that go to the completing of an eminent rogue. He was of a base birth, and mean parentage, so that little care being taken of his education, or of any provision for him, he was forced to make his way in the world by himself. He might have done this in an honest way, being not without capacity. But a natural certain bent towards wickedness, which is found in some dispositions, made him choose a contrary course. He was first, a poor foot boy, or runner on errands; and afterwards, got into a livery, in the family of the lord Bellasis. After this, he turned a kind of post or letter carrier beyond sea, in which condition he got acquainted with the names and concerns of

people of fashion. He made use of this to put in practice a hundred rogueries, being of a bold and daring temper, with a good turn of wit and address. Thus he run through all the arts and methods of sharping, going under false names, and borrowing money or other valuable things, by forged recommendations, or by personating men of figure. He travelled over France and Spain, under the character of a person of quality, robbing and cheating wherever he went. In the course of this sort of life, he had been put into several prisons, &c. He was just got out of prison, where he was fed out of the alms-basket, when the reward and encouragement were offered to the discoverers of Godfrey's murder. Upon this, he went from London to Bristol, and in the way thither, sent a letter to secretary Coventry, with a desire that he might be seized at Bristol. This was done accordingly, with great noise, that he might be looked on as a great discoverer. November the 5th, he was sent to London, where he was dubbed a captain, and the king's evidence; and, like Oates before him, had guards, and subsistence at the king's charge, at Whitehall. When he was examined before the secretary of state, in the king's presence, he said he had seen Godfrey's body at Somerset house, and that a servant of lord Bellasis offered him four thousand pounds, to assist in carrying it away. That upon this, he went out of town to Bristol, but that his conscience so haunted him, that it forced him to discover it. Being asked if he knew any thing of the plot, he denied it upon oath. He said, indeed, that he had heard of forty thousand men, to be sent from Spain, who were to meet as pilgrims, at St. Jago's, and to be shipped from thence, to England, which was all he knew. This was a strange story: forty thousand pilgrims was an army in disguise, never heard of, but in Bedloe's evi dence, and the comedy of the Rehearsal. And he could not give any account of the fleet that was to transport such extraordinary invaders. But it plainly appeared he had been better instructed before the next day; for being then brought before the house of Lords, he abounded in discoveries; and accused lord Bellasis, lord Powis, lord Arundel of Wardor, and Coleman, of a design to kill the king; and told the house he had begun to put a narrative of the plot in writing, and desired time to finish it. When he was asked whether he knew Titus Oates, he positively denied it; but afterwards he brought himself off, by saying, he knew him only by the name of Ambrose.

Four days after, his discoveries were much enlarged. He said forty thousand men were to be ready in London. That ten thousand men were to be sent from Flanders, besides the pilgrims of St. Jago's in Spain. That Hull was to be surprised, just at the critical time the plot was discovered. That he was told, that all the Roman catholics of any figure in England, were acquainted with this plot, with many other particulars, too long and trivial to be enumerated. There cannot be a more surprising example of the force of universal prejudice, than that such an evidence should gain attention, much more, belief, among so many wise men that heard it. How could it be thought, that forty thousand effective men should be ready in London, for such a design, when probably, there is not that number of papists to be found throughout the city, though we take in women and children, &c.

'The parliament believed all these strange stories; and the king was forced to drive with the tide, and appear as zealous as they. Through the course of this month, nothing was heard of but addresses and proclamations against papists. And on the 30th of November, the king came and passed the bill for disabling papists from sitting in either house of parliament.' So far the historian, p. 691.

Who adds in the same place, the following account of Mr. Staley, condemned and executed about this time, though not properly for the plot.

'The next remarkable occurrence, says he, was the trial of Mr. William Staley, a popish banker, for treasonable words. One Carstairs, a Scotchman, a man of a very ill character, happened to be in an eating-house, in Covent-Garden, where Staley was at dinner, in the next room to him. Carstairs pretended he heard him say in French, that the king was a rogue, and persecuted the people of God, and that he would stab him, if no body else would. These words he wrote down, and went next morning to Staley, telling him, he would swear these words against him, and demanded a sum of money of him. Staley was much perplexed; he saw the danger of such an accusation, at such a time; but he was under difficulties, and refused to part with the money. So he was apprehended, and five days after tried and cast. The evidence against him was positive; and being strangers he did not know their character. He could only urge how improbable it was, he should say such things in a public room, and that in a part of the town where French was so well understood. He was asked, while under condemnation, whether he knew any thing of the plot? but he denied it, as also the words sworn against him. He was executed at Tyburn, where he behaved himself very decently.' His trial was succeeded by that of Mr. Edward Coleman, of whom we shall now treat.

EDWARD COLEMAN, GENTLEMAN.*

Edward Coleman was a minister's son, born in Suffolk, and educated in the university of Cambridge, who afterwards became a zealous convert to the catholic faith. 'This gentleman, says the continuator of Baker, was secretary to the dutchess of York, a great bigot in his religion, and of a busy head. This engaged him in many projects for the restoring of popery here, or at least procuring a liberty of conscience for those of that profession. He had been engaged in a correspondence with P. Le Chaise, the French king's confessor, since the year 1674; in the course of which, he was continually entertaining him with schemes and projects for advancing the interest of the French king, and the church of Rome.' These letters being seized, were produced at his trial, which came on at the Old Baily, November 28, 1678.

* From his printed trials and letters; the compendium, or short view of the trials relating to the plot; his dying speech; the continuator of Baker's chronicle, p. 691, 692, &c.

'The evidence against him, were Oates and Bedloe, with his own papers. The two first charged him with having been privy to several consults for killing the king, and to another for raising rebellion in Ireland, and that he had received a commission "from the general of the jesuits," to be secretary of state. As to his letters, they showed beyond contradiction, that he had been busy in projects for introducing popery; and some warm expressions which he had let fall, were made use of to represent him as a more dangerous person than he really was. But all this had no manner of relation to the plot, there not appearing throughout all his letters, the least intention of hurting the king, or of using violence of any sort, to compass his undertakings, but much that implied the contrary.

'He pleaded this himself, when he came to make his defence. As to Oates and Bedloe, he observed, (which was very true,) that when he appeared before the council, Oates did not know him. Oates excused himself, by alledging the weakness of his sight, the candle-light, and Coleman's change of wig and habit; but, he said, as soon as he heard him speak he knew him. He observed also, that when Oates first appeared before the council, he charged him only with a letter, and some matters so slight, that the council was ready to let him go at large; whereas, had he known these things he now charged against him, that was the proper time to mention them. Oates answered this, by complaining of the great fatigue he had undergone for two days and nights before, in seizing Jesuits, &c., which, (he said,) had so exhausted his spirits, that he did not know what he said. This was a wretched evasion, but it went down at that time. In the third place, he said, that whereas, Oates had swore he was privy to a consult about the 21st of August, in London, he offered to prove that he was then out of town,' "having left London the 15th of that month, without ever returning till the 31st, late at night."

'As to Bedloe, he could only answer him, by solemnly protesting he had never seen him till then in his life; and concluded his defence with an asseveration, that he had seen Oates but once before, and Bedloe never.' Baker's Chronicle, page 692.

'The chief justice, in summing up the evidence, says Mr. Salmon, in his examination of bishop Burnet's history, p. 792, did not much insist upon the testimony Oates had given of Coleman's design to kill the king; but said, it was plain, that Coleman intended to bring in popery, and subvert the protestant religion, by requiring the assistance of a foreign power; and that he who subverted the protestant religion, by consequence brought in a foreign authority; that this was acting in derogation of the crown, and in diminution of the king's supremacy, and an endeavour to bring the nation under a foreign dominion, namely, the pope's; and though he might hope to bring in popery, by procuring a dissolution of the parliament, and a toleration, it was to be supposed, other methods would have been taken, if these had failed, by his confederates at least, if not by himself; and he who enters upon an unlawful act, is guilty of all the consequences that attend it, though he did not design them; whereupon Coleman was convicted.

'The chief justice having pronounced the sentence, Coleman declared his innocency as to any design against the king's life; and said, he renounced all the mercy that God could show him, if he had not discovered all he knew to the house of commons; or if he ever made, or received, or heard of any proposition towards invading the king's life, his crown or dignity; or to procure any invasion or disturbance, in order to introduce any new form of government, or bring in popery by force; and in this he persisted till he died.' So Mr. Salmon, agreeably to Mr. Coleman's printed trial.

The continuator of Baker's Chronicle adds, 'that before his execution, many were sent to him from both houses, with promise of a pardon, if he would make discoveries; but he either would not, or, which is as probable, could not make any such. So that some time after, "on Tuesday the 3d of December," he was executed, and suffered with great composedness and devotion, denying all that had been sworn against him There went about an idle story, that he refused to confess upon promise of a pardon from the Duke of York; and that when he found his death unavoidable, he cried out in a passion, there is no faith in man! But it was very plain, and he could not be ignorant, that the fury of the times was such, that the king had it not in his power to pardon him, if he had been ever so willing.' So far the protestant historian.

Mr. Coleman's last speech.

'It is now expected I should speak, and make some discovery of a very great plot. I know not whether I shall have the good fortune to be believed better now than formerly; if so, I do solemnly declare, upon the words of a dying man, I know nothing of it. And as for the raising of sedition, subverting the government, stirring up the people to rebellion, altering the known laws, and contriving the death of the king, I am wholly ignorant of it; nor did I ever think to advance that religion, (which people think I am so zealous of,) hereby. I thank God I am of it, and declare I die of it; nor do I think it prejudicial to king or government. But though I am, as I said, a Roman catholic, and have been so for many years, yet I renounce that doctrine, (which some, "wrongfully," say the Romish church doth usher in to promote their interest,) that kings may be murdered, and the like; I say I abominate it.'

Here he was interrupted, and told, if he had any thing to say by way of confession, or sorrow for his guilt, he might proceed; otherwise it was unseasonable to go on. He said he had nothing to confess, that he had never any intention to subvert the government, or to act any thing contrary to law, but what every man of a contrary religion would do in a peaceable manner, if he could. He added, that the witness who swore against him did him wrong, and as for Bedloe, upon the word of a dying man, he never saw his face before his trial. He also declared, upon the word of a dying man, that he knew nothing of the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for that he was a prisoner at that time. 'Then after some private prayers and ejaculations to himself, says the conclusion of his printed trial, the sentence was executed; he was hanged by the neck, cut down alive, his bowels burnt, and himself quartered.'

WILLIAM IRELAND, PRIEST, S. J.—THOMAS PICKERING, LAY-BROTHER, O. S. B.—JOHN GROVE, LAYMAN,—1679.*

WILLIAM IRELAND, alias, Ironmonger, was of a gentleman's family; his uncle was killed in the king's service, and his relations, the Giffards and Pendrells, were instrumental in saving king Charles the second, after the defeat of Worcester. He was born in Lincolnshire, brought up at St. Omer's, entered the society at the age of nineteen, September 7, 1655; in which he had the character of a man of extraordinary piety and regularity, and a wonderful evenness of mind in all events. He was sent upon the English mission, anno 1677, and was apprehended upon the first breaking out of Oates's plot. He suffered much in prison, from the loathsomeness of the place, and the load of his chains, and was at length brought on his trial on the 17th of December, 1678, together with Thomas Pickering, a lay-brother of the order of St. Bennet, professed in the English monastery of Douay; and John Grove, a catholic layman, employed as a servant by the English jesuits in their affairs about town.

'There were arraigned with them, says the continuator of Baker, p. 693, Thomas Whitebread and John Fenwick, both jesuits. Oates and Bedloe swore against Ireland directly, that he had been present at a consult held in August for killing the king: and Oates swore the same positively against Whitebread and Fenwick. But Bedloe charged those two only by hearsay, so, that for want of two positive witnesses, they must have been acquitted by the jury in course. Upon this occasion, the court committed a most enormous and crying act of injustice; for when they saw these two must be cleared, they, by a quirk in law, pretended to discharge the jury of them, and put off their trial to another time, though they had pleaded to the indictment, and the jury was sworn, and the witnesses examined. They pretended, indeed, they had precedents for this; but, as a great man observes, precedents against reason only prove that the like injustice has been committed before. As to Pickering and Grove, Oates and Bedloe swore, that they were appointed to shoot the king, and that the latter being a layman, was to have 1500*l.*, and the former, who was a priest, "a religious man," thirty thousand masses, which, at a shilling a mass, amounts to the same sum; that they used to walk together in St. James's park, with pistols for that purpose; that at one time Pickering had an opportunity to shoot at the king, but that the flint of his pistol was loose; another time there was no powder in the pan; and again, the third time, the gun was charged only with bullets, by which accidents the king's life was saved. These disasters, one upon another, made a very unlikely story; but it was all imputed to special providence, which solved the difficulty at once. The prisoners absolutely denied the whole, and

* From a short view of the trials relating to the plot, p. 9, Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 140; a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's, and the continuator of Baker's Chronicle, p. 693.

Pickering averred, that he had never shot off a pistol in his life. Ireland brought witnesses to prove, that he was in Staffordshire at the time Oates swore he was in London. But Oates producing a woman, who said, she saw him in London about the middle of August, which was the time he swore to, this defence was overruled. So that they were found guilty, condemned, and executed; but denied steadfastly to the last moment, all that was sworn against them.' So far the historian.

Mr. Ireland, after his condemnation, being carried back to Newgate, wrote there a journal, which showed where he was every day, and who saw him from the 3d of August to the 14th of September, being the time of his absence from London. The chief places were Tixhal, Holywell, Wolverhampton, and Boscobel; the persons that saw him were of great quality, as my lord Ashton and his family; Sir John Southcot and his family; Madam Harwel, and hers; several of the Giffords, of Chillington; several of Sir John Windford's relations; Madam Crompton, and Mr. Bidolph, of Bidolph; Sir Thomas Whitgreave, Mr. Chetwin, Mr. Gerard and his family; Mr. Heningham and his; the Pendrels, of Boscobel, and above forty more; nor is there one day during the whole time, in which there are not produced above a dozen of these witnesses.

On Friday, the 24th of January, after two reprieves, father Ireland and Mr. Grove were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, abused all the way, and pelted by the mob, whose insults they endured with a christian and cheerful patience. At the place of execution, Mr. Ireland spoke as follows:—

'We are come hither, as on the last theatre of the world, and do therefore conceive we are obliged to speak. First then, we do confess, that we pardon all and every one whatsoever, that have any interest, concern, or hand in this our death. Secondly, we do publicly profess and acknowledge, that we are here obliged, if we were guilty ourselves of any treason, to declare it, and that if we knew any person faulty therein, (although he were our father) we would detect and discover him; and as for ourselves, we would beg a thousand and a thousand pardons both of God and man; but seeing we cannot be believed, we must beg leave to commit ourselves to the mercy of Almighty God, and hope to find pardon of him through Christ.

'As for my own part, having been twenty years in the low countries, and then coming over in June, was twelvemonth, I had returned again, had I not been hindered by a fit of sickness. On the third of August last, I took a journey into Staffordshire, and did not come back to town till the 14th of September, as many can witness, for a hundred and more saw me in Staffordshire, and thereabouts; therefore, how I should, in this time, be acting here treasonable stratagems, I do not well know or understand.'

Here one of the sheriffs told him, he would do well to make better use of his time, than to spend it in such like expressions, for nobody would believe him; not, said he, that we think much of our time, for we will stay, but such kind of words arraign the proceedings of the court by which you were tried.

Then Mr. Ireland proceeded, 'I beg of God Almighty to shower

down a thousand and a thousand blessings upon his majesty, on her sacred majesty, on the duke of York, and all the royal family, and also on the whole kingdom. As for the catholics that are here, we desire their prayers for a happy passage into a better world, and that God would be merciful to all christian souls. And as for all our enemies, we earnestly desire that God would pardon them again and again; for we pardon them, heartily, from the bottom of our hearts; and so I beseech all good people to pray for us, and with us.'

Then Mr. Groves said, 'we are innocent, we lose our lives wrongfully, we pray God to forgive them that are the causers of it.'

Then having commended their departing souls into the hands of their Creator, they were executed according to sentence; father Ireland being then in the 43d year of his age, and the 24th of his entering into religion.

Mr. Pickering was reprieved till the 9th of May, either in hopes of his making discoveries, or because the king was very unwilling to consent to his death. But on the day aforesaid he was drawn to Tyburn, and there executed. He expressed a very great joy that he was so happy as to yield up his life to God, in a case where his conscience assured him his religion was his only guilt; and he took it upon his salvation, that he was innocent in thought, word, and deed, of all that was laid to his charge. Being taxed for a priest, he replied with a smile, No, I am but a lay-brother. He prayed for his accusers and enemies; and when he was just upon the point of being turned off, being called upon by some to confess his guilt, pulling up his cap, and looking towards them with an innocent smiling countenance, Is this, said he, the countenance of a man that dies under so gross a guilt? And so he ended a pious, religious life, with a holy death, *ætatis anno* 58, and went smiling off the stage; regretted by many, who esteemed him a very harmless man, and of all men living the most unlikely, and the most unfit for that desperate undertaking of which he was accused. He was of a loyal stock, his father having lost his life in the king's quarrel, during the civil wars.

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Next comes on the trial and execution of the pretended murderers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. This knight was the justice of peace to whom Oates had brought three copies of his narrative of the plot, and had made oath before him to the truth of it, on the 27th of September, 1678; and on the 12th of October, being Saturday, he was missed, and seen no more, till his body was found in a ditch on Primrose Hill, with his sword thrust through him, on the Thursday following. The people, upon this, concluded that he was murdered by the catholics, because he had taken Oates's depositions; and nothing more contributed to confirm them in the belief of the plot, than this unhappy incident. It will, I believe, remain a secret to the day of judgment, who they were that really commited this murder; though the arguments of Sir Roger L'Estrange, in the history of the times, have made it highly probable, that it was the justice himself; for as to the particular persons against whom it was sworn by Prance, there are all the reasons in the world to believe them innocent; and as to any other catholics, as the continuator

THOMAS WHITEBREAD, WILLIAM HARCOURT, JOHN FENWICK, JOHN GAVAN, ANTHONY TURNER, PRIESTS, S. J.*

THOMAS WHITEBREAD, alias Harcot, was born in Essex, of a gentleman's family, and after a pious education at home was sent to the seminary of St. Omer's, where he studied his humanity under the fathers of the society; and then at the age of seventeen, entered upon his noviceship at Watten, September the 7th, 1635. After having made his first vows, and finished his course of philosophy and divinity, being now priest, he was sent upon the English mission, in which he laboured with great fruit, and a remarkable zeal for the conversion of souls, for above thirty years; sparing no pains in bringing back the strayed sheep to the fold of Christ, for which end also he composed and published some controversial tracts yet extant in print.

At length he was made provincial or chief superior of his order in England. At which time going over to make his visitation amongst his brethren in their college at Liege, and preaching to them, as the custom is, at the renovation of their vows, on St. James's day, July 25, 1678, (that is, about two months before the persecution began,) upon that text of the gospel of the day, *Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum? Dicunt ei, possumus.* Can you drink the chalice which I am to drink? they say to him we can. St. Matth. xx. 22. He not obscurely discovered the foresight he had of that storm, which afterwards arose, and of his own and his brethren's sufferings on that occasion. For after having told them, the times were now indeed quiet, but God only knew how long they would be so, he most remarkably thus repeated his text, says F. Joseph Wakeman, one of those that were then present, "in a manuscript in my hands," '*potestis bibere calicem, &c.* Can you undergo a hard persecution? Are you contented to be falsely betrayed and injured, and hurried away to prison? *Possumus.* We can, blessed be God! *Potestis bibere, &c.* Can you suffer the hardships of a jail? Can you sleep on straw, and live on hard diet? Can you lie in chains and fetters? Can you endure the rack? *Possumus.* We can, blessed be God! *Potestis bibere calicem, &c.*? Can you be brought to the bar, and hear yourselves falsely sworn against? Can you patiently receive the sentence of an unjust judge, condemning you to a painful and ignominious death, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered? *Possumus.* We can. Which Clausula, as I take it, he always uttered, with his hands joined before his breast, and his eyes up to heaven, in manner of prayer.' So far F. Wakeman in his testimony, given the 28th of May, 1681, and confirmed by the subscription of F. John Warner, then rector of Liege, afterwards provincial, who was also present at that exhortation.

Soon after his return to England, this storm broke out; and he was

* From their printed trials and speeches, and the compendium or short view of the trials in Oates's Plot, printed in 1679. Item, from Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 151, 162, &c. And other monuments in my hands.

apprehended by Oates, at a time that he was labouring under a grievous illness; and being committed to prison, and loaded with chains, suffered much in his body, whilst his soul received a continual support from God, by the means of mental prayer, to which he was always much addicted. After many months imprisonment, his trial came on, at the Old-Bailey, on the 13th of June, 1679, where four of his companions were arraigned with him, who also afterwards suffered with him. These were,

1. Father William Harcourt, alias, Waring, whose true name was Barrow, a native of Lancashire, who entered into the society at the age of twenty-three, October the 12th, 1632; was sent upon the mission, in 1646; where he laboured for five and thirty years, and deservedly gained the love and esteem of all that knew him. He was rector of London at the time of his apprehension, and venerable for his grey hairs, being seventy years of age; having been reserved till this time, to meet with that death which he had every day prayed for, for twenty years.

2. Father John Fenwick, whose true name was Caldwell, a native of the bishopric of Durham; born of protestant parents who turned him off, upon his conversion to the catholic faith. He was educated in the seminary of St. Omer's, entered into the society, at the age of twenty-eight, anno 1656, was sent upon the English mission anno 1675, and being procurator for his brethren, and a diligent labourer in the vineyard of his master, was apprehended soon after the breaking out of the plot. He suffered much in prison, from his chains and bolts, so that it was once under deliberation, whether his leg must not be cut off. He was in the fifty-first year of his age, and the twenty-third of his religious profession.

3. Father John Gavan, or Gawen, a native of London, educated in the seminary of St. Omer's, where, for his candour and innocence, he was called the Angel. He entered into the society at the age of twenty years, anno 1660, performed his higher studies, partly at Liege, and partly at Rome; then being sent into England, in 1671, he was, for eight years, a diligent preacher and zealous labourer in the vineyard, and brought over many converts to the church. He was thirty-nine years of age, and had been nineteen years in the society. And

4. Father Anthony Turner, a native of Leicestershire, and a minister's son, was brought up in the university of Cambridge, and there made bachelor of arts, who being converted to the catholic religion, went over to Rome, where he passed through the course of his philosophy, in the English college; and then was sent to Watten, to the noviciate of the society of Jesus, anno 1653, being then twenty-four years of age. He learned his divinity at Liege, and being made priest, was sent upon the mission, where he laboured for about eighteen years; his residence being chiefly at Worcester. He had a great talent for preaching and controversy; and an ardent desire of suffering for his faith. At the breaking out of the persecution, he went up to London, and delivered himself up to a justice of peace, acknowledging that he was a priest and a jesuit. He was fifty years of age, and had been in the society twenty-two years.

These five, were all brought to the bar June the 13th. 'At this trial, says the continuator of Baker's chronicle, p. 699, appeared a new evidence, Stephen Dugdale, who had been bailiff to lord Aston; his carriage and behaviour gave more credit to the plot, than that of Oates and Bedloe. But in some time, this new witness proved as bad as the rest. Oates and Bedloe repeated the evidence they had given before; excepting that Bedloe charged them, (now,) upon his own knowledge, with what he had before only spoken of by hearsay. And the reason he gave was, that the practices of Reading, "accused of tampering with Bedloe," had engaged him to soften his evidence—This was open confession of perjury, which ought to have set him aside for a witness, ever after. And judge Wylde, a worthy and ancient judge, told him, when he said this, he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into courts, but go home and repent. But people were not yet cool enough for reflection, so that not only this passed over, but the judge was turned out for his freedom. Dugdale confirmed Oate's and Bedloe's evidence, by accounts of the consultations of the jesuits in Staffordshire, about the same time. Prance too, added his part towards the charge against Harcourt; and said, moreover, that he told him of fifty thousand men, that were to be in readiness to establish popery.

On the other hand, F. Whitebread objected to Oates's evidence, says Mr. Salmon, in his examination of Burnet, p. 803, 'that he was not a credible witness, having taken contradictory oaths; and that it was not probable he should trust a man in a conspiracy against the king's life, whom, by his own confession, he had never seen, and whom they had dismissed from St. Omer's, for his irregular life. The prisoners also produced fifteen young gentlemen, students of St. Omer's, who deposed, that Oates was at St. Omer's at the time he swore he was at the consult at London: they deposed also, that several of the persons, whom Oates swore came over with him, were in Flanders at that time. Other witnesses deposed, that Gavan was in Staffordshire, at the time Oates swore he was in London. They urged farther, that the witnesses who swore against them were vicious, profligate persons, of desperate fortunes, and who made a livelihood of swearing; and desired that the court would permit them to show what Oates had deposed in Ireland's trial. Whereupon Sir John Southcote and the lady Southcote, and several other persons deposed, that Ireland was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in town. Whitebread also observed, that at his first trial, when Oates was pressed to declare who had seen him in town, he could not name one; but he said he had not seen much company, and staid but six days; and now he swore he came over the 17th of April, and his witnesses deposed, they saw him here the beginning of May, which must be a great deal more than six days; and consequently his oath, either at this or the former trial, is false. They said, it is probable also that Oates was disgusted at his being turned out of the college of St. Omer's, and this might be the ground of his malice against them. As to Dugdale, that he run away from the lord Ashton, having lost 300*l.* of his lordship's money. That it was strange there should be a plot, wherein so many persons of honour and quality were said to be concerned, and no footsteps of it should appear,

no arms bought, no men enlisted, or any provision made to put it in execution; and in short, that there was no manner of reason to induce the jury's belief, but downright swearing. And as to the prisoners themselves, they appealed to the world for the innocence and unblameableness of their lives hitherto; whereas it was evident how viciously and scandalously their accusers had lived.' So far Mr. Salmon.

However, lord chief justice Scroggs, who behaved himself very partially in this whole trial, directed the jury to find them guilty, and according to his direction the jury brought in their verdict. The comportment of the prisoners was all the while very edifying, not the least passion or alteration appearing in them, either at the invectives of the judge, or the clamours of the people (for never was any bear-baiting more rude and boisterous than this trial,) but they made a clear and candid defence, with a cheerful and unconcerned countenance, says a priest, an eyewitness; so that a stander by said, if there had been a jury of Turks they had been acquitted. The next day they all received the sentence of death, according to the usual form, as in cases of high treason.

After sentence received, they were sent back to Newgate, there to prepare themselves for their exit. Where, the day before the execution, my lord Shaftsbury was with F. Gavan and F. Turner, promising the king's pardon, if they would acknowledge the conspiracy. F. Gavan answered, 'he would not murder his soul to save his body; for that to acknowledge the plot would be acknowledging what he knew not, and what he did believe was not.' On Friday therefore, being the 20th of June, they were all laid on sledges, and drawn from Newgate to Tyburn. F. Whitebread and F. Harcourt were on one sledge, F. Turner and F. Gavan on another, and F. Fenwick on a third by himself. Their comportment was modestly cheerful and religious, which served not a little to allay the fury of the people. They prayed devoutly at the place of execution, and each of them made a speech, which we must not here omit.

Father Whitebread's Speech.

I suppose it is expected I should speak something to the matter I am condemned for, and brought hither to suffer; it is no less than the contriving and plotting his majesty's death, and the alteration of the government of the church and state. You all either know, or ought to know, I am to make my appearance before the face of Almighty God, and with all imaginable certainty and evidence to receive a final judgment, for all the thoughts, words, and actions of my whole life. So that I am not now upon terms to speak other than the truth; and therefore in his most holy presence, and as I hope for mercy from his Divine Majesty, I do declare to you here present, and to the whole world, that I go out of the world as innocent, and as free from any guilt of these things laid to my charge in this matter, as I came into the world from my mother's womb; and that I do renounce from my heart all manner of pardons, absolutions, dispensations for swearing, as occasion or interest may seem to require, which some have been pleased to lay to our charge, as matters of our practice and doctrine, but is a thing so unjustifiable and unlawful, that I believe, and ever did, that no power on earth can au-

thorise me, or any body so to do. As for those who have most falsely accused me, (as time, either in this world, or in the next, will make appear,) I do heartily forgive them, and beg of God to grant them his holy grace, that they may repent of their unjust proceedings against me, otherwise they will in conclusion find they have done themselves more wrong than I have suffered from them, though that has been a great deal. I pray God bless his majesty both temporally and eternally, which has been my daily prayer for him, and is all the harm that I ever intended or imagined against him. And I do with this, my last breath, in the sight of God, declare, that I never did learn, or teach, or believe, nor can, as a catholic, believe, that it is lawful upon any occasion or pretence whatsoever, to design or contrive the death of his majesty, or any hurt to his person; but on the contrary, all are bound to obey, defend, and preserve his sacred person, to the utmost of their power. And I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain sense of my soul, in the sight of him who knows the secrets of my heart, and as I hope to see his blessed face, without any equivocation or mental reservation. This is all I have to say concerning the matter of my condemnation; that which remains for me now to do, is to recommend my soul into the hands of my blessed Redeemer, by whose only merits and passion I hope for salvation.

Father Harcourt's Speech.

The words of dying persons have been always esteemed as of greatest authority, because uttered then, when shortly after they are to be cited before the high tribunal of Almighty God. This gives me hopes that mine may be looked upon as such; therefore, I do here declare in the presence of Almighty God, the whole court of heaven, and this numerous assembly, that as I hope by the merits and passion of my Lord and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for eternal bliss, I am as innocent as the child unborn of any thing laid to my charge, and for which I am here to die.

Sheriff How. Or Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death.

Harcourt. Or Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death.

Sher. How. Did not you write that letter concerning the despatch of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?

Harcourt. No sir; these are the words of a dying man, I would not do it for a thousand worlds.

Sher. How. How have you lived? Harcourt. I have lived like a man of repute all my life, and never was before the face of a judge till my trial; no man can accuse me. I have from my youth been bred up in the education of my duty towards God and man.

Harcourt. And I do utterly abhor and detest that abominable false doctrine laid to our charge, that we can have licenses to commit perjury, or any sin to advantage our cause, being expressly against the doctrine of St. Paul saying, *non sunt facienda mala, ut eveniant bona;* evil is not to be done, that good may come thereof. And, therefore, we hold it in all cases unlawful to kill or murder any person whatsoever, much more our lawful king now reigning; whose person and temporal dominions we are ready to defend with our lives and fortunes, against

any opponent whatsoever, none excepted. I forgive all that have contrived my death, and humbly beg pardon of Almighty God for them. And I ask pardon of all the world. I pray God bless his majesty, and grant him a prosperous reign. The like I wish to his royal consort, the best of queens. I humbly beg the prayers of all those who are in the communion of the Roman church, if any such be present.

Mr. Turner's Speech.

Being now, good people, very near my end, and summoned by a violent death to appear before God's tribunal, there to render an account of all my thoughts, words, and actions, before a just judge, I conceive I am bound in conscience to do myself that justice, as to declare, upon oath, my innocence from the horrid crime of treason, with which I am falsely accused; and I esteem it a duty I owe to christian charity, to publish to the world before my death, all that I know in this point, concerning those catholics I have conversed with since the first noise of the plot, desiring, from the bottom of my heart, that the whole truth may appear, that innocence may be cleared, to the greater glory of God, and the peace and welfare of the king and country. As to myself, I call God to witness, that I was never, in my whole life, present at any consult or meeting of the jesuits, where any oath of secrecy was taken, or the sacrament, as a bond of secrecy, either by me, or any one of them, to conceal any plot against his sacred majesty; nor was I ever present at any meeting or consult of theirs, where any proposal was made, or resolve taken or signed, either by me or any of them, for taking away the life of our dread sovereign; an impiety of such a nature, that had I been present at such a meeting, I should have been bound by the laws of God, and by the principles of my religion (and by God's grace would have acted accordingly,) to have discovered such a devilish treason to the civil magistrate, to the end they might have been brought to condign punishment. I was so far, good people, from being, in September last, at a consult of the Jesuits, at Tixall, in Mr. Ewer's chamber, that I vow to God, as I hope for salvation, I never was so much as once, that year, at Tixall, my lord Aston's house. It is true, I was at the congregation of Jesuits, held on the 24th of April, was twelvemonth; but in that meeting, as I hope to be saved, we meddled not with state affairs, but only treated about the concerns of our province, which is usually done by us, without offence to temporal princes, every third year, all the world over. Sheriff How. You do only justify yourselves here. We will not believe a word that you say. Spend your time in prayer, and we will not think our time too long.

I am, good people, as free from the treason I am accused of, as the child that is unborn, and being innocent, I never accused myself in confession of any thing that I am charged with. Certainly, if I had been conscious to myself of any guilt in this kind, I should not so frankly and freely, as I did, of my own accord, have presented myself before the king's most honourable privy council. As for those catholics which I have conversed with since the noise of the plot, I protest before God, in the words of a dying man, that I never heard any one of them, either priest or layman, express to me the least knowledge of any plot, that

was then on foot amongst the catholics, against the king's most excellent majesty, for the advancing the catholic religion. I die a Roman catholic, and humbly beg the prayers of such, for my happy passage into a better life. I have been of that religion above thirty years, and now give God Almighty infinite thanks for calling me, by his holy grace, to the knowledge of this truth, notwithstanding the prejudice of my former education. God, of his infinite goodness, bless the king, and all the royal family; and grant his majesty a prosperous reign here, and a crown of glory hereafter. God in his mercy forgive all those which have falsely accused me, or have had any hand in my death: I forgive them from the bottom of my heart: as I hope myself for forgiveness at the hands of God.

Mr. Turner's Prayer.

O God, who hast created me to a supernatual end, to serve thee in this life by grace, and enjoy thee in the next by glory; be pleased to grant, by the merits of thy bitter death and passion, that after this wretched life shall be ended, I may not fail of a full enjoyment of thee, my last end and sovereign good. I humbly beg pardon for the sins which I have committed against thy divine majesty, since the first instant I came to the use of reason, to this very time. I am heartily sorry from the very bottom of my heart, for having offended thee, so good, so powerful, so wise, and so just a God, and purpose, by the help of thy grace, never more to offend thee my good God, whom I love above all things.

O sweet Jesus, who hast suffered a most painful and ignominious death upon the cross for our salvation, apply, I beseech thee, unto me the merits of thy sacred passion, and sanctify unto me these sufferings of mine, which I humbly accept of, for thy sake, in union of the sufferings of thy sacred majesty, and in punishment and satisfaction of my sins.

O my dear Saviour and Redeemer, I return thee immortal thanks for all thou hast pleased to do for me in the whole course of my life; and now, in the hour of my death, with a firm belief of all things thou hast revealed, and a steadfast hope of obtaining everlasting bliss, I cheerfully cast myself into the arms of thy mercy, whose arms were stretched upon the cross for my redemption. Sweet Jesus receive my spirit.

Mr. Gavan's Speech.

Dearly beloved countrymen, I am come to the last scene of mortality, to the hour of my death; an hour which is the horizon between time and eternity; an hour which must either make me a star to shine for ever in heaven above, or a fire-brand to burn everlastingly amongst the damned souls in hell below; an hour in which, if I deal sincerely, and with a hearty sorrow acknowledge my crimes, I may hope for mercy; but if I falsely deny them, I must expect nothing but eternal damnation; and therefore, what I shall say in this great hour, I hope you will believe. And now in this hour I do solemnly swear, protest, and vow, by all that is sacred in heaven, and on earth, and as I hope to see the face of God in glory, that I am as innocent as the child un-

born, of those treasonable crimes which Mr. Oates and Mr. Dugdale have sworn against me in my trial; and for which, sentence of death was pronounced against me the day after my trial. And that you may be assured that what I say is true, I do in like manner, protest, vow, and swear, as I hope to see the face of God in glory, that I do not, in what I say unto you, make use of any equivocation, or mental reservation, or material prolation, or any such like way to palliate truth. Neither do I make use of any dispensations from the pope, or any body else: or of any oath of secrecy, or any absolutions in confession, or out of confession, to deny the truth; but I speak in the plain sense which the words bear, and if I do speak in any other sense, to palliate or hide the truth, I wish with all my soul that God may exclude me from his heavenly glory, and condemn me to the lowest place of hell fire; and so much to that point.

And now, dear countrymen, in the second place, I do confess and own to the whole world, that I am a Roman catholic, and a priest, and one of that sort of priests called jesuits. And now, because they are so falsely charged for holding king-killing doctrine, I think it my duty to protest to you, with my last dying words, that neither I in particular, nor the jesuits in general, hold any such opinion, but utterly abhor and detest it; and I assure you, that amongst the vast numbers of authors, which among the jesuits have printed philosophy, divinity, cases, or sermons, there is not one, to the best of my knowledge, that allows of king-killing doctrine, or holds this position, that it is lawful for a private person to kill a king, although an heretic, although a pagan, although a tyrant: there is, I say, not one jesuit that holds this, except Mariana, the Spanish jesuit, and he defends it not absolutely, but only problematically, for which his book was called in, and that opinion expunged and censured. And is it not a sad thing, that for the rashness of one single man, whilst the rest cry out against him, and hold the contrary, that a whole religious order should be sentenced? But I have not time to discuss this point at large, and therefore I refer you all to a royal author, I mean the wise and victorious king Henry the fourth, of France, the royal grandfather of our present gracious king, in a public oration which he pronounced, in defence of the jesuits, amongst other things, declaring, that he was very well satisfied with the jesuits' doctrine concerning kings, as being conformable to the best doctors in the church. But why do I relate the testimony of one single prince, when the whole catholic world is the jesuits' advocate therein? Does not Germany, France, Italy, Spain, and Flanders, trust the education of their youth to them in a very great measure? Do not they trust their own souls to be governed by them, in the administration of the sacraments? and can you imagine so many great kings and princes, and so many wise states should do, or permit this to be done in their kingdoms, if the jesuits were men of such damnable principles as they are now taken for in England?

In the third place, dear countrymen, I do protest, that as I never in my life did machine, or contrive either the deposition or death of the king, so now at my death, I do heartily desire of God to grant him a quiet and happy reign upon earth, and an everlasting crown in heaven.

For the judges also, and the jury, and all those that were any ways concerned, either in my trial, accusation, or condemnation, I do humbly beg of God, to grant them both temporal and eternal happiness. And as for Mr. Oates and Mr. Dugdale, I call God to witness, they, by false oaths, have brought me to this untimely end. I heartily forgive them, because God commands me so to do: and I beg God for his infinite mercy, to grant them true sorrow and repentance in this world, that they may be capable of eternal happiness in the next. And having discharged my duty towards myself, and my own innocence; towards my order, and its doctrine; to my neighbour and the world, I have nothing else to do now, my great God, but cast myself into the arms of your mercy. I believe you are one divine essence and three divine persons; I believe that you in the second person of the trinity became man to redeem me; and I believe you are an eternal rewarder of the good, and an eternal chastiser of the bad. In fine, I believe all you have revealed for your infinite veracity; I hope in you above all things, for your infinite fidelity; and I love you above all things, for your infinite beauty and goodness: and I am heartily sorry that ever I offended so great a God, with my whole heart; I am contented to undergo an ignominious death for the love of you, my dear Jesu, seeing you have been pleased to undergo an ignominious death for the love of me.

Mr. Fenwick's Speech.

Good people, I suppose you expect I should say something as to the crime I am condemned for, and either acknowledge my guilt, or assert my innocency. I do therefore declare before God and the whole world, and call God to witness that what I say is true, that I am innocent of what is laid to my charge, of plotting the king's death, and endeavouring to subvert the government, and bring in a foreign power, as the child unborn; and that I know nothing of it, but what I have learned from Mr. Oates and his companions, and what comes originally from them.

Sheriff How. If you can make a good conclusion to your own life, it will do well; consider if your letters did not agree with the evidence, that's another matter. Fenwick. I assure you, I do renounce all treason from my very heart. I have always, and ever shall disown the opinion of such devilish practices as these are of king-killing. If I speak not the whole frame of my heart, I wish God may exclude me from his glory. Sheriff How. Those that murdered Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, said as you do. Fenwick. As for Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, I protest before God, I know nothing of it; I never saw the man in my life. Sheriff How. For my part, I am of opinion you had a hand in it. Fenwick. Now that I am a dying man, do you think I would go and damn my soul? Sher. How. I wish you all the good I can, but I'll assure you, believe never a word you say. Fenwick. I pray for his majesty every day, and wish him all happiness, with all my heart. Also I do with all my soul pardon all my accusers. If the judge or jury did any thing amiss, I pardon them with all my soul, and all persons directly or indirectly. I am very willing and ready to suffer this death. I pray God pardon me my sins, and save my soul.

And as to what is said and commonly believed of Roman catholics,

that they are not to be believed or trusted, because they can have dispensations for lying, perjury, killing kings, and other the most enormous crimes, I do utterly renounce all such pardons, dispensations, and withal declare, that it is a most wicked and malicious calumny cast upon catholics, who do all, with all their hearts and souls, hate and detest all such wicked and damnable practices; and in the words of a dying man, and as I hope for mercy at the hands of God, before whom I must shortly appear and give an account of all my actions, I do declare, that what I have said is true; and I hope christian charity will not let you think, that by the last act of my life, I would cast away my soul, by sealing up my last breath with a damnable lie.

Then they were at their private devotions for about an hour.

When they had ended their prayers, and the ropes were about their necks, there came a horseman in full speed from Whitehall, crying as he rode a pardon, a pardon, and with difficulty he made through the press to the sheriff, who was under the gallows to see execution performed. This pardon expressed, How the king most graciously, and out of his inclination to clemency, had granted them their lives, which by treason they had forfeited, upon condition they would acknowledge the conspiracy, and lay open what they knew thereof. They all thanked his majesty for his inclination of mercy towards them; but as to any conspiracy, they knew of none, much less were guilty of any; and therefore could not accept of any pardon upon those conditions.

In fine, after a short recollection, the cart was drawn away, and they were permitted to hang till they were dead; and then were cut down and quartered. Their quarters were given to their friends, by whom they were interred in the church-yard of St. Giles in the Fields. Divers catholics dipped their handkerchiefs in their blood, which, as we are credibly informed, have been instruments of great cures. It was very observable, that Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was present at the execution, and expressed a more than ordinary joy on that occasion, was himself five years after, on the self same day, brought to suffer the same death, in the same place. F. Whitebread suffered in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his religious profession.

Two other priests of the same society died in prison not long after the beginning of this persecution, viz: father Edward Mico, socius to the provincial, accused and apprehended by Oates, and hurried away to prison, whilst he was labouring under a violent fever. He perished in Newgate, December the 3d, 1678, being found dead on his knees, says a manuscript in my hands, oppressed with the weight of his irons. And father Thomas Momford, alias Bedingfield, who in like manner perished in the Gatehouse, December 21, the same year. And in the February following, father Francis Nevill, an ancient missioner of the same society, being now eighty-four years of age, and having spent forty-eight of them in the English mission, was apprehended in the house of a catholic gentleman, and flung down stairs by the pursuivants; and so brought to his end. Also F. Thomas Jenison,

of the same society, accused by Oates of the plot, after enduring for a twelvemonth the incommodities of his prison, died on the 27th of September, 1679.

RICHARD LANGHORNE, ESQ.*

Richard Langhorne was an eminent councellor at law, an upright and religious man; who being a zealous catholic, was pitched upon by Oates and his associates as a proper person to impeach as a ring-leader in their pretended plot. He was therefore apprehended among the first that fell into the hands of those miscreants; and committed to Newgate, October the 7th, 1678, and after above eight months close imprisonment, was tried at the old Bailey on Saturday the 14th of June, 1679. Here Oates swore, 'That he, "Mr. Langhorne," was acquainted with the consultations for killing the king, and was consenting to them; and that he had in his custody the patents for the lords in the Tower, "Powis, Stafford, Petre, Arundel and Bellasis," and one for himself to be advocate of the army. And Bedloe swore that he had seen him register treasonable letters relating to the plot. In answer to this evidence he called the same witnesses that had been brought the day before "by the five jesuits" to prove Oates perjured. And whereas Oates had named Mrs. Grove's house, in which he said he lay during the time of the consult, he produced Mrs. Grove to testify he never was there about that time, which was confirmed by her maid. He argued also many things relating to the improbability of the evidence, but the times were not yet cool enough to bear reason: so that he was brought in guilty, and condemned with the five jesuits, who were tried the day before him. He was reprieved for some time in hopes that he would make discoveries; but he persisted to the last in affirming that he could make none, and that all that was sworn against him was false. He spent the time allowed him in writing some devout and well-composed meditations.' So far the continuator of Baker's Chronicle.

Mr. Langhorne was drawn to Tyburn on the 14th day of July, 1679, where he delivered to Mr. How the sheriff, the speech which he had prepared, desiring it might be published. 'Tis extant in print (published with Mr. Langhorne's memoirs and devotions,) and contains, 1. An ample declaration of his allegiance to the king. 2. A solemn profession of his innocency, as to all the matters of which he was accused by Oates and Bedloe. 3. A declaration, that he believed it would be a damnable sin in him, to conceal any treason or treasonable design whatsoever against his majesty's person and government, and that no power in earth or even in heaven could dispense with him to tell a lie, or to commit any sin, or do any evil that good might come of it. All which, as he solemnly professed in the presence of God, and as he hoped for any benefit from the passion of Christ, was understood by him in the plain and ordinary sense and acceptation of the words,

* From his printed trial, and dying speech; and from Baker's Chronicle, p. 700.

without any evasion, or equivocation, or mental reservation. After which he goes on as follows:—

'Having made this declaration and protestation in the most plain terms that I can possibly imagine to express my sincere loyalty and innocency, and the clear intention of my soul, I leave it to the judgment of all good and charitable persons whether they will believe what is here in this manner affirmed and sworn by me in my present circumstances, or what is sworn by my accusers.

'I do now farther declare, that I die a member (though an unworthy one) of that holy catholic and apostolic church of Christ, mentioned in the three holy and public creeds, of which church, our Lord Jesus Christ is the invisible head of influence, to illuminate, guide, protect, and govern it by his holy spirit and grace, and of which church the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, is the visible head of government and unity.

'I take it to be clear, that my religion is the sole cause which moved my accusers to charge me with the crime, for which upon their evidence I am adjudged to die, and that my being of that religion which I here profess, was the only ground which could give them any hope to be believed, or which could move my jury to believe the evidence of such men.

'I have had not only a pardon, but also great advantages, as to preferments and estates offered unto me, since this judgment was against me, in case I would have forsaken my religion, and owned myself guilty of the crime charged against me, and charged the same crimes upon others: but blessed be my God, who by his grace hath preserved me from yielding to those temptations, and strengthened me rather to choose this death, than to stain my soul with sin, and to charge others, against truth, with crimes of which I do not know that any person is guilty.

'Having said what concerns me to say as to myself, I now humbly beseech God to bless the king's majesty with all temporal and eternal blessings, and to preserve him and his government from all treasons and traitors whatsoever, and that his majesty may never fall into such hands, as his royal father of glorious memory, fell into.

'I also humbly beseech thee, O God, to give true repentance and pardon to all my enemies, and more particularly to the said Mr. Oates and Mr. Bodloe, and to all who have been any ways accessory to the taking away of my life, and the shedding of my innocent blood, or to the preventing the king's mercy from being extended unto me; and likewise to all those who rejoiced at the judgment given against me, or at the execution of the said judgment; and to all those who are or shall be so unchristianly uncharitable, as to disbelieve, and refuse to give credit unto my now protestations.

'And I beseech thee, O my God, to bless this whole nation, and not to lay the guilt of my blood unto the charge of this nation, or of any other particular person or persons of this nation. Unite all, O my God, unto thee and thy church, by truth, faith, hope, and charity, for thy mercies' sake.

'And for all those who have showed charity to me, I humbly beg,

O my Jesus, that thou wilt reward them with all blessings, both temporal and eternal.'

So far his printed speech, of which he could speak but a small part at the place of his execution.

When the hangman was putting the rope over his head, he took it into his hands and kissed it. Then after having spoken something to the sheriff, he asked the executioner whether the rope was right or no? He said, yes; and asked him whether he did forgive him? to which Mr. Langhorne replied, I freely do. Then he betook himself to his prayers, recommending himself to God in silence. The writer said to him, The Lord have mercy on your soul. Mr. Langhorne answered, The Lord in heaven reward your charity. Then crossing himself, he prayed again. Blessed Jesus, into thy hands I recommend my soul and spirit; now at this instant take me into paradise. I am desirous to be with my Jesus. I am ready, and you need stay no longer for me. So the cart was drawn away, and he was executed.

After these trials and executions, and the dying protestations of so many men, to whose lives and morals nothing could be objected, the people began by degrees to open their eyes, and not to give such full credit to the oaths of those profligate wretches, Oates and Bedloe. So that when Sir George Wakeman, and the three monks, Mr. Corker, Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Rumley were brought upon their trial at the Old Bailey, July the 16th, both judge and jury plainly discovered that no regard was to be had to the swearing of those miscreants; and the prisoners were all brought in not guilty. And from this time the credit of the plot very much declined. However, the persecution against catholics still continued, by which many priests were condemned to die for their character, of whom we shall now treat, according to the order of time in which they suffered.

WILLIAM PLESSINGTON,*

William, or as others call him, John Plessington, was born at the Dimples near Carstang, in Lancashire. He was descended of the ancient family of the Plessingtons, of Plessington, near Blackburn, being a younger son of Mr. Robert Plessington, who in the time of the civil wars was governor for the king of Greenow castle, and suffered imprisonment and loss of his estate for his loyalty. The son, after having made some proficiency in grammar learning (whether at home or abroad I have not found) was sent to the English college of St. Alban the martyr in Valladolid, where he finished his higher studies, and was made priest. What time he came upon the mission into England, I have not yet learnt, nor the particulars of his missionary labours; only that his residence was chiefly with Mr. Massey of Puddington, in Cheshire; and that his zeal in his function, (joined to a certain candour and agreeableness in conversation,) as it made him esteemed and loved

* From a short manuscript account of him, and from his printed speech.

by the good, so it raised him enemies amongst those that were not good, who caused him to be apprehended, and prosecuted on the score of his priestly character.

He was brought upon his trial at Chester, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in this kingdom, contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth. The witnesses that appeared against him, were Margaret Plat, George Massey, and Robert Wood. These swore they had seen him exercise his priestly functions; and upon their testimony, he was brought in guilty, and received sentence of death as in cases of high treason. One of these witnesses was crushed to death by an accident not long after. Another died in a hog-stie; and the third lingered away in anguish and misery.

As to Mr. Plessington, he was kept in prison nine weeks after his condemnation; and then, on July the 19th, 1679, was drawn to the place of execution, at West Chester, and there spoke to the people as follows:

'*Dear Countrymen*,

'I am here to be executed, neither for theft, murder, nor any thing against the law of God, nor any fact or doctrine inconsistent with monarchy or civil government. I suppose several now present, heard my trial at last assizes, and can testify that nothing was laid to my charge, but priesthood; and I am sure that you will find, that priesthood is neither against the law of God nor monarchy, nor civil government, if you will consult either the Old or New Testament, (for it is the basis of religion;) for no priest, no religion, St. Paul tell us, in Hebrews, the 7th, and 12th. The priesthood being changed, there is made also of necessity, a change of the law, and consequently, the priesthood being abolished, the law and religion is quite gone.

'But I know it will be said, that a priest ordained by authority derived from the see of Rome, is by the law of the nation, to die as a traitor; but if that be so, what must become of all the clergymen of the church of England? for the first protestant bishops had their ordination from those of the church of Rome, or none at all; as appears by their own writers; so that ordination comes thence derivatively to those now living.

'As in the primitive times, christians were esteemed traitors, and suffered as such by national laws, so are the priests of the Roman church here esteemed, and suffer as such. But as christianity then was not against the law of God, monarchy, or civil policy; so now there is not any one point of the Roman catholic faith; (of which faith I am,) that is inconsistent therewith, as is evident by induction in each several point.

'That the pope hath power to depose or give license to murder princes, is no point of our belief. And I protest, in the sight of God and the court of heaven, that I am absolutely innocent of the plot so much discoursed of, and abhor such bloody and damnable designs; and although it be nine weeks since I was sentenced to die, there is not any thing of that laid to my charge, so that I may well take comfort in St.

Peter's words, 1 Pet. iv. 15, 16. Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy body in other men's matters; yet if any man suffer as a christian let him not be ashamed, or sorry. I have deserved a worse death, for though I have been a faithful and true subject to my king, I have been a grievous sinner against God. Thieves and robbers that rob on highways, would have served in a greater perfection than I have done, had they received so many favours and graces from him as I have.

'But as there was never sinner who truly repented and heartily called to Jesus for merey, to whom he did not show mercy; so I hope, by the merits of his passion, he will have mercy on me, who am heartily sorry that ever I offended him.

'Bear witness good hearers, that I profess, that I undoubtedly and firmly believe all the articles of the Roman catholic faith, and for the truth of any of them, (by the assistance of God,) I am willing to die; and I had rather die, than doubt of any point of faith taught by our holy mother, the Roman catholic church.

'In what condition Margaret Plat, one of the chiefest witnesses against me, was before and after she was with me, let her nearest relations declare.

'George Massey, another witness, swore falsely, when he swore I gave him the sacrament, and said mass at the time and place he mentioned; and I verily think, that he never spoke to me, or I to him, or saw each other but at the assizes week; the third witness, Robert Wood, was suddenly killed, but of the dead, why should I speak; These were all the witnesses against me, unless those that only declared what they heard from others. I heartily and freely forgive all that have been, or are any way instrumental to my death, and heartily desire that those that are living, my heartily repent.

'God bless the king, and the royal family, and grant his majesty a prosperous reign here, and a crown of glory hereafter: God grant peace to the subjects, and that they live and die in true faith, hope, and charity. That which remains, is that I recommend myself to the mercy of my Jesus, by whose merits I hope for mercy. O Jesu, be to me a Jesus.' Which having said, and recommended his departing soul to God, he was turned off and executed.

PHILIP EVANS, PRIEST, S. J.—JOHN LLOYD, PRIEST.*

Philip Evans was born in Monmouthshire, in 1645, was educated at St. Omer's, and entered into the society, the 7th of September, 1655, being then twenty years old. After having finished his noviceship and his higher studies, with great satisfaction to his superiors, he was made priest, and sent upon the English mission in 1675. South Wales was the province assigned him, which he diligently cultivated for near four years, having the character of an unwearied labourer in the vineyard,

* From Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 178. Short memorandums upon their death, published in print, &c.

zealous in gaining souls to Christ, and fearing no dangers, where the glory of his Lord, and his neighbour's salvation called him forth. When the persecution broke out, on account of Oates's plot, he was advised by some friends to withdraw himself, his zeal having made him so well known in that country, and withal so obnoxious to the persecutors; but he would not hear of any such counsel, but chose rather to risk his life, like a good shepherd, with and for his sheep, than run away like the hireling, and leave them to the mercy of the wolves. He was apprehended not long after by justice Logher; and upon his refusing the oaths, was committed to Cardiff jail, where for above three weeks he was kept alone in a dungeon or cellar under ground, no one being suffered to come near him, or speak to him; till at length Mr. John Lloyd, a virtuous priest of the secular clergy, was committed to the same prison, and from that time till death, was his constant companion. Five months passed before any could be induced to appear as witnesses against these confessors of Christ, till at length two poor wretches, a mother and her daughter, appeared against father Evans, and some others against Mr. Lloyd; and they were both found guilty by their jury of the high treason of priesthood.

When the sentence was pronounced, F. Evans, with a cheerful countenance bowing himself down, returned thanks to the judge, and so with great joy went back with his companion to his lodging in the jail. However, their execution was deferred for some time; yea, so long, that it was thought they would not suffer; and they had even liberty something to go out of prison, and to recreate themselves; when behold on a sudden, orders came for their being executed the next day. My author "Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 179," tell us, that when these orders came, M. Evans was actually abroad, engaged in an innocent recreation; and that when the jailor called upon him to acquaint him with the news, and to bring him back to prison; he unconcernedly replied, What haste is there? let me first play out my game; and so he did, and then returned to the prison. Here he could scarce contain himself for joy; which he expressed as well by taking up his harp, (for he was a musician,) and playing upon it, as by several other tokens of a soul perfectly transported with the thoughts of the happiness now so near at hand, of dying for his faith and character. And now the irons were put upon his feet, which he joyfully kissed; and many catholics flocking to the prison, he took that opportunity of making them a short exhortation to constancy in their faith and patience in their sufferings.

'On the next day, being the 22d of July, 1679, about nine of the clock in the morning, the under sheriff, Mr. Charles Evans came to the cellar in the jail, were the confessors were kept, and immediately a smith was sent for to take off their irons, which were so hard set on, that the smith was above an hour in taking off Mr. Evan's alone, which was not done without great pain to him; notwithstanding which he never gave the least sign of impatience or trouble, but encouraged the man to go on with his work, without fear of hurting him. When they were brought out of the cellar, they desired to walk on foot to the place of execution, but were refused,

and put both upon one cart; their arms pinioned; all the way reading their books. When they arrived at the place of execution, they followed St. Andrew's example, saying, welcome good cross, and falling upon their knees, kissed the post of the gallows, and remained praying there a good while: when they had done, they asked which was to die first? the sheriff answered, Mr. Evans; he bowing, spake these few words:

'I need not tell you why we are brought here to suffer; our sentence of condemnation is a sufficient witness, that it was not for a plot, or any other crime, but for being priests; consequently I do die for religion and conscience sake: I shall not speak much of the goodness of my cause, because I think it will be needless; but it is so good, that I would not give the happiness of dying for it, for all the crowns of the world. Sure if a man ever speaks truth, it must be at the hour of death, therefore, I hope nobody will doubt of what I say. If I have or had any enemies in the world, which I do not know that ever I had any in my life, I do heartily forgive them for any thing done or said against me; and if I have offended any body, I am heartily sorry for it, and ask them forgiveness. I pray God bless and prosper the king. I beg the prayers of all, and in particular of the catholics here present. That done, he kneeled down again with some friends about him, and having said some prayers, he took his leave of them, and went up the ladder, upon which he spoke again these words: Sure this is the best pulpit a man can have to preach in, therefore I cannot forbear to tell you again, that I die for God and religion's sake; and I think myself so happy, that if I had never so many lives, I would willingly give them all for so good a cause. If I could live, it would be but for a little time, though I am but young; happy am I that can purchase with a short pain an everlasting life. I do forgive all those that have had any hand in my death, accusation, or condemnation; I ask again forgiveness of every body, I give thanks to all those that have been kind to me, and to you Mr. Sheriff. Adieu Mr. Lloyd, though for a little time, for we shall shortly meet again. Pray for me all, and I shall return it, when it pleaseth God that I shall enjoy the beatifical vision. If any of you that see me die thus willingly for my religion, have any good thought upon it, I shall think myself happy. Then he made a stop, and after a little while, said with a clear and cheerful voice, *In manus tuas, Domine commendo spiritum meum;* and so giving the sign, the executioner turned him over, and the ladder being very short, it stirred with him; then Mr. Richard Jones, one of the sheriff's bailiffs, took his legs from it, and turned them after his body. All that were present can justify, that he never looked better, nor more cheerful than he did then; all this will be testified, (if need be,) by credible persons, as well protestants as catholics,' says the printed account of his death.

'During the time of Mr. Evans's execution, Mr. Lloyd stood by with as much constancy and cheerfulness as any man could have; and before he went up the ladder, he said these words following, more distinctly and heartily than ever he did in his life, by the report of those that have known him these many years.

'My fellow sufferer has declared the cause of our death, therefore I need not repeat it; and besides I never was a good speaker in my life. I shall only say, that I die in the true catholic and apostolic faith, according to these words in the creed, I believe the holy catholic church; and with those three virtues, faith, hope, and charity. I forgive all those that have offended me; and if I have offended any body, I am heartily sorry for it, and ask them forgiveness. I beg the prayers of all, and in particular of the catholics here present, desiring them to bear their crosses patiently, and to remember that passage of holy scripture, Happy are they that suffer persecution for justice, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Then he went up the ladder, and there gave thanks to all those that had been kind to him, and in particular to the sheriff; then he made a little stop; after which he said, Mr. Carne, you have been always my benefactor, pray for me now; then he knocked his breast three times, and said in Latin, Lord have mercy upon me a sinner, and into thy hands, Lord, I recommend my spirit; so gave the sign and was turned over.' They suffered at Cardiff, in Glamorganshire, July 22. Father Evans was thirty-four years old when he suffered, of which he had spent fourteen in the society.

NICHOLAS POSTGATE, VULGO, POSKET, PRIEST.*

Nicholas Postgate was born at Kirkdale house, in the parish of Eyton, in Yorkshire, about the end of the sixteenth century. His parents were catholics, and great sufferers for their religion. He performed all his studies in the English college of Douay, where he was admitted convictor, (being already grown up to man's estate,) in 1621; took the college oath the 12th of March, 1623; was promoted to minor orders December, 28, 1624: to the order of sub-deacon December 18, 1627; to the order of deacon, March 18, 1628, and made priest the 20th of March the same year. He has a very fair character in the diary, or journal of the college; from whence he was sent, with proper faculties, upon the English mission, the 29th of June, 1630. His missionary labours were employed in his native country of Yorkshire, for about fifty years, with great benefit to innumerable souls; many hundreds, some say a thousand, having been reclaimed from their errors or vices by his ministry. His residence, at least for the latter part of his life, was, as we learn from Mr. Ward, (Canto IV. of the reformation,) who says, he knew him well, upon a lingy moor, called Blackamoor, about two miles from Mulgrave castle, and five miles from Whitby. This author writes of him as follows:

'Nor spar'd they father Posket's blood,
A rev'rend priest, devout and good,
Whose spotless life in length was spun
To eighty years, and three times one.
Sweet his behaviour, grave his speech,
He did by good example teach.

* From the Douay diary, and other monuments.

His love right bent, his will resign'd,
Serene his look, and calm his mind.
His sanctity to that degree
As angels lived, so lived he.
'A thatched cottage was the cell
Where this contemplative did dwell;
Two miles from Mulgrave castle 't stood,
Shelter'd by snow-drifts, not by wood.
Tho' there he liv'd to that great age,
It was a dismal hermitage.
But God plac'd there the saint's abode,
For Blackamoor's greater good.

The holy man was apprehended by one Reeves, an exciseman, an implacable enemy of catholics, at the house of Matthew Lythis at Little-Beck, near Whitby, and was with his harbourer committed to York jail. When his trial came on, he was indicted for high treason, not as a plotter, but as a priest. The witnesses that appeared against him were Elizabeth Wood, Elizabeth Baxter, and Richard Morrice. These deposed, that they had seen him baptize, and exercise other priestly functions; and upon their evidence he was found guilty by his jury, and condemned to die, which sentence was no ways unwelcome to him, who had been learning to die all his life time.

The day allotted for his triumphant exit, was the 7th of August, 1679; on which day in the morning, amongst other visiters, went to see him, Mrs. Fairfax, wife to Mr. Charles Fairfax, of York, and Mrs. Meynel of Kilvington. These ladies having done their devotions, went together to his room, to take their last leave of him, and to crave his blessing. The confessor seing them in great concern, whereas he was cheerful, came up to them, and laying his right hand upon the one, and his left upon the other, they being both at that time big with child, he spoke these words to them: Be of good heart, children, you shall both be delivered of sons, and they will be both saved. Immediately after, he was laid upon a sledge, and drawn through the streets to the place of execution, where he suffered with great constancy. The two ladies were soon after brought to bed of sons, who were both baptized, and both died in their infancy. This, says the reverend Mr. Knaresborough, in a paper which I have now before me, was told me by Mrs. Fairfax, one of the parties, the 5th of October, 1705.

At the gallows he spoke little; the substance of his words was, I die in the catholic religion, out of which there is no salvation; Mr. Sheriff, you know I die not for the plot, but for my religion. I pray God bless the king and the royal family. Be pleased, Mr. Sheriff, to acquaint his majesty, that I never offended him in any manner of way. I pray God give him his grace, and the light of truth. I forgive all that have wronged me, and brought me to this death, and I desire forgiveness of all people.' He was executed according to sentence; his quartered body was given to his friends, and interred. One of his hands is preserved in Douay college. The following inscription was put upon a copper plate, and thrown into his coffin.

"Here lies that reverend and pious divine, Dr. Nicholas Postgate,

who was educated in the English college, at Douay. And after he had laboured fifty years, (to the admirable benefit and conversion of hundreds of souls) was at last advanced to a glorious crown of martyrdom at the city of York, on the 7th of August, 1679, having been priest fifty-one years, aged 82.'

The unhappy Reeves, who apprehended him, never had the twenty pounds reward which he looked for; but after having suffered for some time an extreme torture in body and mind, was found drowned in a small brook.

CHARLES MAHONY, PRIEST, O. S. F.*

He was born in Ireland, and entering amongst the religious of the holy order of St. Francis, made his solemn profession, and was advanced to the sacred dignity of priesthood. Other particulars relating to his life and conversation, I have not found; only, that as he was returning from abroad to his native country, he was drove upon the coast of England; and travelling through Wales in the heat of the persecution, and being found out to be a priest, was committed to prison, and brought upon his trial at Denbigh, upon an indictment of high treason, for taking orders in the church of Rome, and being found in this kingdom. At his trial he confessed himself to be a priest, and was thereupon condemned, and sent to Ruthin to suffer. On the 12th of August, 1679, hs was drawn, in his habit, to the place of execution, where he spoke as follows:—

'Now God Almighty is pleased I should suffer martyrdom, his holy name be praised, since I die for my religion. But you have no right to put me to death, in this country, though I confessed myself to be a priest, for you seized me as I was going to my native country, Ireland, being driven at sea on this coast; for I never used my function in England before I was taken: however, God forgive you, for I do, and shall always pray for you, especially for those that were so good to me in my distress. I pray God bless our king, and defend him from his enemies, and convert him to the holy catholic faith. Amen.'

He suffered with great constancy, being cut down alive and butchered, according to sentence, as I remember to have read in a manuscript, which I could not since recover. His age was under forty.

JOHN WALL, ALIAS, FRANCIS JOHNSON, PRIEST. O.S.F.†

John Wall, called, in religion, father Joachim of St. Ann, and executed under the name of Francis Johnson, was born in Lancashire,

* From a short manuscript printed after his death.

† From the records of the English Franciscans at Douay; a narrative written by himself of his apprehension and trial, afterwards published in print, and from his printed speech.

anno 1620, of a gentleman's family, possessed at that time of about five hundred pounds a year, which he and his elder brother William, (afterwards condemned at London, under the name of Marsh or Marshal,) entering into religion, was devolved to the third brother, and by him enjoyed at the time of the execution of our confessor. Mr. John was sent over young to the English college of Douay, where he performed all his studies, and was made priest. And being now thirty-two years of age, he took the habit of St. Francis, in the English convent of Douay, on new-year's-day, 1651, and on the same day in the following year made his solemn vows of religion. Such was his comportment during his noviceship, and such the esteem his superiors had of his prudence and zeal for regular discipline, that within half a year after his profession he was made vicar of the convent, and shortly after master of the novices.

He was sent into England upon the mission in the year 1656. His residence was in Worcestershire, where he was some time known by the name of Webb, and was esteemed a laborious missioner, who, both by word and example, gained many souls to God. He was apprehended at a friend's house, not long after the first breaking out of Oates's plot, by the sheriff's deputy, and others who were making search for another man; and being carried before Sir John Packington and another justice of peace, and refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, was committed to Worcester jail, in the beginning of December, 1678. What he suffered here, and with what disposition of soul, may be gathered from his own words, in his narrative, p. 3. 'Imprisonment, says he, in these times especially, when none can send to their friends, nor friends come to them, is the best means to teach us how to put our confidence in God alone in all things; and then he will make his promise good, That all things shall be added to us, Luke xii., which chapter, if every one would read and make good use of, a prison would be better than a palace; and a confinement, for religion and a good conscience sake, more pleasant than all the liberties the world could afford. As for my own part, God gave me his grace, and all faithful christians their prayers; I am happy enough.——We all ought to follow the narrów way, though there be many difficulties in it. It is an easy thing to run the blind way of liberty, but God deliver us from all broad sweet ways, &c.'

After five months imprisonment, he was brought upon his trial at Worcester, April 25, 1679, before judge Atkins, upon an indictment of high treason, for being a priest and remaining in this realm contrary te the statute of Elizabeth 27. He would neither confess nor deny his priesthood, but defended himself very prudently. There was only one witness that voluntarily appeared against him, and three others that came by compulsion; however the jury found him guilty of the indictment, and the judge pronounced sentence against him in the usual form, as in cases of high treason. Upon which the confessor made a bow, and said aloud, Thanks be to God; God save the king; and I beseech God to bless your lordship, and all this honourable bench. The judge replied, you have spoken very well, I do not intend you

shall die, at least not for the present, until I know the king's further pleasure.

'I was not, I thank God for it, says father Wall in his narrative, p. 12, troubled with any disturbing thoughts, either against the judge for his sentence, or the jury that gave in such a verdict, or against any of the witnesses; for I was then of the same mind as by God's grace I ever shall be, esteeming them all the best friends to me, in all they did or said, that ever I had in my life. And I was, I thank God, so present with myself, whilst the judge pronounced the sentence, that without any concern for any thing in this world, I did actually at the same time offer myself and the world to God.'

The holy man goes on in his narrative, 'After the judge was gone from the bench, several protestant gentlemen and others, who had heard my trial, came to me, though strangers, and told me how sorry they were for me. To whom with thanks I replied, that I was troubled they should grieve for me or my condition, who was joyful for it myself: for I told them, I had professed this faith and religion all my life-time, which I was as sure to be true, as I was sure of the truth of God's word, on which it was grounded; and therefore in it I deposed my soul, and eternal life and happiness; and therefore should I fear to lose my temporal life for this faith, whereon my eternal life depends, I should be worse than an infidel; and whosoever should prefer the life of their bodies before their faith, their religion or conscience, they were worse than heathens. For my own part, I told them, I was as ready, by God's grace, to die to-morrow, as I had been to receive the sentence of death to-day, and as willingly, as if I had a grant of the greatest duke-dom.'

Father Wall was returned to prison, and after some time was sent for up to London, as were also several other priests, who were under condemnation for their character. What passed here, we learn from the following letter which he wrote after his return to the country, July 18, to Mr. Charles Trinder, counsellor, afterwards serjeant at law.

'Sir,

'With my service I return you thanks for the twenty shillings. I am safe returned from London, whither I was sent to be examined by Mr. Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, and Prance, to see if any of them had any thing against me, as guilty of, concerning these great disturbances of the times. I was very strictly examined by all four, several times over, in that month I stayed at London; and thanks be to God, I was, after the last examination, publicly declared inhocent and free of all plots whatever, by Mr. Bedloe, who examined me last; and he was so kind to me, that he told me publicly, that if I would but comply in matter of religion, that he would pawn his life for me, that for all I was condemned, yet I should not die. I was also offered the same after my first examination, though I should have been never so guilty, if I would have done what was against my conscience. But I told them, I would not buy my life at so dear a rate, as to wrong my conscience. How God will please to dispose of all us that are condemned, none know. Some think it is concluded we must all die; and yet because it will not appear grate-

ful in the eyes of rational and moral men, to see us die merely for conscience sake, I have been several times informed from London, since I came down, that, if possible, some will do their best to bring some of us, one way or other into a plot, though we have all at London been declared innocent after strict examination. God's will be done. The greater the injury and injustice done against us by men to take away our lives, the greater our glory in eternal life before God. This is the last persecution that will be in England; therefore I hope God will give all his holy grace to make the best use of it. All these things have been sufficiently prophecied long since; and I do no way question the truth; though it is like some will suffer first, of whom I have a strong imagination I shall be one. God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven, and in mercy bring me happy thither.' I subscribe, Sir, your faithful servant,

FRANCIS WEBB.

At the bottom of this letter Serjeant Trinder has added what follows: 'This holy priest, sometimes called Mr. Johnson, whose true name was Wall, was martyred at Worcester, &c. He was equally courageous and cheerful at his apprehension, during his imprisonment, at his trial, and to his very death. A true account of all which, might deservedly fill a volume, &c.' So he.

At length, after four months had passed from his condemnation, the confessor was ordered to be executed. Father William Levison, who visited him in prison, has given the following account of him, in a letter preserved by the English Franciscans, of which I have a copy; 'Of late, says he, I was desired, and willingly went, to visit our friend, Mr. Webb, "father Wall," prisoner at Worcester, whose execution drew near at hand. I came to him two days before it, and found him a cheerful sufferer of his present imprisonment, and ravished, as it were, with joy, with the future hopes of dying for so good a cause. I found, contrary to both his and my expectation, the favour of being with him alone; and the day before his execution, I enjoyed that privilege for the space of four or five hours together; during which time I heard his confession, and communicated him to his great joy and satisfaction. I ventured likewise, through his desire, to be present at his execution, and placed myself boldly next to the under-sheriff, near the gallows, where I had the opportunity of giving him the last absolution, just as he was turned off the ladder. During his imprisonment, he carried himself like a true servant and disciple of his crucified master, thirsting after nothing more than the shedding of his blood for the love of his God; which he performed with a courage and cheerfulness becoming a valiant soldier of Christ, to the great edification of all catholics, and admiration of all protestants, the rational and moderate part especially, who showed a great sense of sorrow for his death; decrying the cruelty of putting men to death for priesthood and religion. He is the first that ever suffered at Worcester since the catholic religion entered into this nation, which he seemed with joy to tell me before his execution. He was quartered, and his head separated from his body, according to his sentence. His body was permitted to be buried, and was accompanied by the catholics

of the town, to St. Oswald's church-yard, where he lies interred. His head I got privately, and conveyed it to Mr. Randolph, who will be careful to keep it till opportunity serves to transport it to Douay, &c. The miseries we here lie under, are great, and I hope our brothers in safety will be mindful of our condition, in their best thoughts, and beg of God we may cheerfully bear our crosses, and if it be his holy will, courageously sacrifice our lives in defence of our religion, which is the earnest desire of, &c., William Levison, August 25, 1679.'

Father Wall suffered at Worcester, August the 22d, being the Octave day of the assumption of the blessed virgin. His head is kept in the cloister of the English friars at Douay; and it was remarked, for some time after, that his grave, where his body lies at Worcester, appeared green, whereas the rest of the church-yard was all bare, it being a constant thoroughfare.

The confessor, before his death, composed a long speech, which he delivered to a friend to be printed; in which he declares his faith, hope, and charity, and strongly recommends these divine virtues; he professes his abhorrence, and that of the catholic church, of all plots and conspiracies, or the concealing any such conspiracies, &c., he implores God's mercy for himself, for the whole church, for the king and kingdom, and for his persecutors, whom he forgives from his heart, and asks pardon of all whom he had any way offended: and finally offers up his death to God, and commends his soul into his hands.

Father Levison, or Lewson, in his letter above quoted, makes mention also of the sufferings of his brother, Francis Levison, a priest of the same order, called in religion, father *Ignatius a S. Clara*. 'My poor brother, says he, continues still a close prisoner, and complains much of want. The justice who committed him, has endeavoured to bribe witnesses to swear against him, but as yet, cannot prevail with any; what will be the event of these proceedings only God knows,' &c. After fourteen months close confinement, he died in prison, a confessor of Christ, February 11, 1679–80. *Ætatis* 34, *religionis* 16.

JOHN KEMBLE, OR KIMBLE, PRIEST.*

On the same day as father Wall was executed at Worcester for his priestly character and his religion, Mr. Kemble, a priest of the secular clergy, suffered at Hereford, for the same cause. He was eighty years old, according to a short printed account I have of him, and had been a priest and a missioner, in a great variety of times, four and fifty years. I find in the diary of Douay college, anno 1625, John Kimble, of the diocese of Hereford, ordained priest the 23d of February, singing his first mass, the 2d of March, and sent upon the English mission, the 4th of June, where his residence was in his native country of Herefordshire. In the mission, he was always esteemed a very pious and zealous labourer. The following account of him, was sent me from a

* From Mr. Kemble's printed speech; the Douay diary; and the testimonies of those that knew him.

worthy prelate in that part of the kingdom, taken from the informations of those that had known him.

'I have made all the inquiry I could about Mr. Kemble; what I could learn from those who particularly knew him, is as follows:—He was taken at Pembridge castle, in the parish of Welsh-Newton, in Herefordshire, by captain Scudamore, of Kentchurch: he was apprized of some being coming to take him; but replied, that according to the course of nature, he had but few years to live; and that it would be an advantage to him to suffer for his religion; and therefore, he would not abscond. He was committed to Hereford jail; whence, after some time, he was ordered up to London, and thence remitted back again, to take his trial at Hereford. In that journey, he suffered more than a martyrdom, on account of a great indisposition he had, which would not permit him to ride, but sidewards; and it was on horseback, he was compelled to perform the journey, at least great part of the way. After his return to Hereford jail, he was frequently visited by captain Scudamore's children, whom he treated with whatever he had that was good, sent him by his friends; and being asked, why he gave all that to them? he made answer, because their father was the best friend he had in the world.

'He was executed on Wigmarsh, by Hereford. His head was cut off, his body was begged by his nephew, captain Richard Kemble, who put it into a coffin, carried it to Welsh-Newton, buried it in the church-yard there, and erected a tomb over it. Some time after, it happened that captain Scudamore's daughter had a violent sore throat, which was apprehended dangerous, and being advised by a devout catholic, who had preserved the cord in which Mr. Kemble was hanged, to put that cord to her neck, upon the application of it she was immediately cured. Some neighbouring catholics resort to his tomb, on the 22d of August, the day on which he suffered, to pay their devotions: once I myself being present, with three or four of the family of P———, and some others, Mrs. Catharine Scudamore, who for some time, had been extraordinary deaf, and at that time, was involved in some difficulties, of which she could not be made sensible, by reason of her deafness, stayed at her prayers by the tomb, after the rest of the company were retired for their refreshment to an inn, not far from the church-yard; and when she came to them, she cried out, Lord! I have recovered my hearing; and effectually, she heard as well as any one in the company. These are all the particulars I could learn, more than that he was always a pious and zealous good missioner.' So far my right reverend correspondent. The following speech was published in print, not long after Mr. Kemble's execution.

The last speech of Mr. John Kemble, a clergyman, which he spoke in the cart, upon Wigmarsh, by Hereford, August 22, 1679.

'It will be expected I should say something; but as I am an old man, it cannot be much; not having any concern in the plot, neither indeed believing there is any. Oates and Bedloe not being able to charge me with any thing when I was brought up to London, though they were with me, makes it evident that I die only for professing the

old Roman catholic religion, which was the religion that first made this kingdom christian; and whoever intends to be saved must die in that religion. I beg of all whom I have offended, either by thought, word, or deed, to forgive me; for I do heartily forgive all those that have been instrumental or desirous of my death.'

Then turning to the executioner, he took him by the hand, and calling him by his name, Honest Anthony, said he, my friend Anthony, be not afraid; do thy office, I forgive thee with all my heart, thou wilt do me a greater kindness than discourtesy. Then he drew his cap over his eyes, and after a little meditation upon his knees, and offering himself up to Almighty God, he told them, they might do their office when they pleased. In conclusion, after he had thrice repeated, with great fervour, those words, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; the cart was drawn away, and he hanged at least half an hour before he was quite dead, the knot of the rope not being rightly applied; though this, as it is believed, happened rather by accident than design. The protestants that were spectators of the exit, acknowledged, that they never saw one die so like a gentleman, and so like a christian.

CHARLES BAKER, ALIAS, DAVID LEWIS, PRIEST, S. J.*

Charles Baker, commonly known upon the mission by the name of David Lewis, was born in Monmouthshire, in 1617, and brought up in the protestant religion till he was about nineteen years of age: when being a student of the law, he was reconciled to the catholic church, and after two years sent by his uncle, a priest of the society, to the English college of Rome, where he was received a convictor, November 6, 1638. Here he went through the course of his studies, having the character in the college diary of prudent and pious; and being made priest July 20, 1642, at the end of his divinity he entered into the society, anno 1645, and made his noviceship amongst the Italian jesuits, in their noviciate of St. Andrew's.

He was sent upon the English mission, anno 1648, where he officiated in South Wales for one and thirty years, being a zealous seeker after the lost sheep, fearless in dangers, patient in labours and sufferings, and so charitable to his indigent neighbours, as to be commonly called the father of the poor. He was apprehended on the 17th of November, 1678, being Sunday morning, a little before day, by six armed men, (sent by two neighbouring justices of peace,) in a little house in the parish of St. Michael Lantarnam, in Monmouthshire, and carried that day to Abergavenny, and the next day committed to Monmouth jail, where he was kept close confined in a room by himself, (for which he was obliged to pay 14*s.* a week,) locked up at night, and barred up by day.

* From a printed relation of his imprisonment and trial, penned by himself; his printed speech; Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 181; and the records of the noviciate of St. Andrew's, at Rome.

On the 13th of January, 1678–9, he was removed from Monmouth to Usk. It snowing hard that day, the deputy-sheriff, and the chief jailor, who accompanied him, made a halt at Ragland, to warm and refresh themselves; whilst they were here, the confessor was informed that father Ignatius, alias, Walter Price, lay a dying about a mile off, having undergone much hardship both of hunger and cold, by flying from barn to barn, from cottage to cottage, being violently persecuted, and strictly searched after as a popish priest, and that by his own kinsman. Father Baker, being able to do no more, sent him his best wishes for his soul's happy passage out of this turbulent world to an eternity of rest; and so went forward with his keepers to his new prison of Usk, where three days after he received the news of his blessed death. In this prison the confessor found several catholics confined for their conscience, with whom he remained till his trial in the Lenten assizes.

On the 28th of March, 1679, the assizes began at Monmouth, and on the following day father Baker was brought to the bar, to be tried upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. He pleaded not guilty. Five or six witnesses deposed against him, that they had seen him say mass, and perform the rest of the priestly functions. Father Baker made a handsome defence, and had very material exceptions against the principal witnesses; but, nevertheless, was brought in guilty by the jury, and received sentence of death the same day, in the usual form, from Sir Robert Atkins the judge; upon which he made a low bow, and was returned to prison.

After this he was sent up to London, and there, in Newgate, strictly examined concerning the pretended plot: Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, and Prance, being brought to confront him, but they could not charge him with any guilt in that kind. My lord Shaftsbury suggested to him, that he might both save his life, and improve his fortune, if he would make some discovery of the plot, or conform in matters of religion: but, discover plot, says he, in his dying speech, I could not, for I knew of none, and conform I would not, for it was against my conscience; wherefore he was sent back to the country, where he remained three months longer in prison, and then was ordered for execution.

It was on the 27th of August, 1679, he was drawn to the gallows at Usk, in Monmouthshire, where he made a long speech to a numerous auditory, assembled on that occasion. 'Here is,' said he, 'a numerous assembly,—the great Saviour of the world save every soul of you all: I believe you are here met, not only to see a fellow-native die, but also with expectation to hear a dying fellow-native speak. Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, but if as a christian, let him not be ashamed, 1 St. Peter, iv. I suffer not as a murderer, thief, or such like malefactor, but as a christain, and therefore am not ashamed.'

He proceeds to let his auditors know, how unjustly he had been charged, in a vile pamphlet, of having cheated a poor woman of 30*l*., under a pretence of delivering her father's soul out of purgatory, which, as he declares, was no better than mere fiction and malice, without the least appearance of truth. And as to the plot, he calls God to witness, that he never heard or knew any thing of it, till public fame had spread

it over the country. And that, for his part, none of the king's witnesses, when confronted with him in Newgate, could pretend to charge him with any such guilt: that he ever detested king-killing doctrine, as opposite to the principles of the catholic religon, and condemned by the council of Constance; and in testimony of his loyalty, he heartily prayed for the king; adding, that his religion alone was the cause for which he was to die.

'My religion,' says he, 'is the Roman catholic; in it, I have lived above these forty years; in it I now die, and so fixedly die, that if all the good things in this world were offered me to renounce it, all should not remove me one hair's breadth from my Roman catholic faith. A Roman catholic I am; a Roman catholic priest I am; a Roman catholic priest of that religious order, called the Society of Jesus, I am; and I bless God who first called me, and I bless the hour in which I was first called both unto faith and function. Please now to observe, I was condemned for reading mass, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, &c. As for reading the mass, it was the old, and still is the accustomed and laudable liturgy of the holy church; and all the other acts, are acts of religion, tending to the worship of God, and therefore dying for this, I die for religion—and dying upon so good a score, as far as human frailty permits, I die with alacrity, interior and exterior: from the abundance of the heart let not only mouths but faces also speak.

'Here, methinks, I feel flesh and blood ready to burst into loud cries;—blood for blood, life for life. No, crieth holy gospel, forgive, and you shall be forgiven; pray for those that persecute you; love your enemies; and I profess myself as a child of the gospel, and the gospel, I obey. Whomsoever present or absent, I have ever offended, I humbly desire them to forgive me. As for my enemies, I freely forgive them all; my neighbours that betrayed me, the justices that committed me, &c., but singularly and especially, I forgive my capital persecutor, who hath been so long thirsting after my blood; from my soul I forgive him, and wish his soul so well, that were it in my power, I would seat him a seraphim in heaven.—Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.

'And with reason I love them also, "my persecutors," for though they have done themselves a vast soul-prejudice, yet they have done me an incomparable favour, which I shall eternally acknowledge. But chiefly I love them for his sake, who said, Love your enemies; and in testimony of my love, I wish them (and it is the best of wishes) from the centre of my soul, I wish them a good eternity. O eternity! eternity! how momentaneous are the glories, riches, and pleasures of this world? and how desirable art thou, O endless eternity? And for my said enemies attaining thereunto, I humbly beseech God to give them the grace of a true repentance, before they and this world part.'

Then addressing himself to the catholics, 'Friends,' said he, 'fear God, honour your king: be firm in your faith; avoid mortal sin, by frequenting the sacraments of holy church; patiently bear your persecutions and afflictions; forgive your enemies; your sufferings are great; I say, be firm in your faith to the end, yea, even to death; then shall you heap unto yourselves celestial treasures in the heavenly Jeru-

salem, where no thief robbeth, no moth eateth, and no rust consumeth; and have that blessed saying of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, always in your memory, which I heartily recommend to you, viz., let none of you suffer as a murderer or a thief; but if as a christian, let him not be ashamed, but glorify God in his name.' Having finished his speech to men, he applied himself to God in the following prayers and ejaculations, which he pronounced aloud.

'Sovereign Lord God, eternal Father of heaven, creator of all, conserver of all, sole author of grace and glory, with prostrate heart, I adore thee; and thee only I adore as God. The giving of divine honour to any creature of highest degree, I abhor and detest as damnable idolatry.—Incarnate Son of God, true God, thou hast purchased a church here upon earth, with thy sacred blood, and planted it with thy sacred labours; a church, one, holy, catholic, and apostolic; a church to continue to the consummation of the world: whatever that church of thine hath by revelation from thee; whatever that church of thine hath taught me, and commanded me to believe, I believe it to an iota.—God Holy Ghost, who maketh thy sun to shine on good and bad, thy rain to fall on the just and the unjust, I praise thy holy name, and thank thee for the innumerable benefits thou hast been pleased to bestow and confer upon me, thy unworthy servant, the sixty-three years I now have lived on earth.—O holy trinity, three persons, and one God, from the bottom of my heart I am sorry that ever I have offended thee, my good God, even to an idle word; yet through thy mercy, my God, and the merits of my Redeemer, I strongly hope for an eternal salvation. Sweet Jesus, receive my soul. And so he was executed.'

Father Anthony Hunter, a priest of the same society, who also was under sentence of death for his character, relates in a manuscript which I have before me, that the bowels of father Baker, though they were cast into a greater fire than ordinary, and several faggots flung upon them, were not consumed, nor so much as altered by the flames; so that they were taken up and buried with his body.

WILLIAM LLOYD, PRIEST AND CONFESSOR.*

William Lloyd, the son of Walter Lloyd, Esq., was born in Carmarthenshire of Wales, about the year 1610. He seems to have been a convert to the catholic religion, and not to have gone abroad till he was come to man's estate. He was received a convictor in the college of Lisbon, October 1, 1635, with this character in the register of the house, that he was a very hopeful young man, but labouring under a continual indisposition, or pain in the stomach. However, he applied himself to his studies, and went through the usual course of philosophy and divinity, and publicly maintained, at sundry times, theses in both these faculties, with very great applause. He was ordained priest the 26th of April, 1639, but remained in the college till the 29th of June, 1642; at which time he went to Paris. I have not found when he en-

* From the diary or register of the English college of Lisbon, and from his speech.

tered upon the English mission, nor the particulars of his missionary labours.

Soon after the breaking out of Oates's plot, he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was brought to his trial at Brecknock, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders in the Roman church, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. The witnesses that appeared against him made oath, that he had administered the sacraments according to the order and manner of the catholic church; upon which he was found guilty by his jury, and sentenced to die as in cases of high treason. The day was appointed for his execution, but he died in bonds six days before, leaving behind him the following speech, which he designed to have delivered at the gallows.

The last speech of Mr. William Lloyd, a clergyman, who was tried and condemned at Brecknock, in South Wales, anno domini, 1679, and died in prison there a week before he was to be executed, and left this speech in writing.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Dearly beloved Countrymen.—It is, even by God's holy providence, that now I am come to the last hour of my mortal life in this miserable world, and therefore am desirous to give an account to all the world, in what faith and religion I lived while I was in this world, and in which I am resolved to depart out of this world, which is the only holy catholic and apostolic faith and religion, (that is,) the very same in all points as the apostles themselves lived and died in, after they received the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour promised to send them, to guide them into all truth, and to remain with his church for ever; and I do renounce all errors and mistakes contrary to the same faith and religion, holding all the holy word of God, written or unwritten, to be true, and revealed to the patriarchs and prophets in the time of the old testament, as also revealed by our Saviour Jesus Christ to his apostles and disciples in the new testament, and by their successors declared to the rest of the world in the same right sense, as the Holy Ghost, according to our Saviour's promise, directed them to teach all truth, which is the only faith in which a man can be saved, and no other; for it is said in the holy scripture, that there is but one faith, one God, and one baptism; and St. Paul in another place expressly saith, that without faith it is impossible to please God; and every man by natural reason, may easily know, that without pleasing God no man can be saved; for no man can possibly be saved, in spite of God Almighty, (that is,) whether he will or no. Therefore, seeing none can be saved without pleasing God, and that none can please God without faith, and seeing there is no faith but one, and that one is that which our Saviour Christ taught to his apostles, it behoveth every man to find it out, and live and die in it, although they lose all that they have in the world, and their lives to boot, seeing that it is of no small importance to be saved or damned for ever. And to find out that apostolic faith, without which no man can please God, nor consequently be saved, we must find out the eldest faith amongst christians, which was planted by our Saviour himself amongst his apostles, which doth still last, and will last for ever; for our Saviour pro-

mised to be with his church till the world's end, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And this is the reason why I made choice to embrace it, and all others ought to make choice of and embrace the same, to live and die in, to the intent we may be saved souls for ever; detesting, (as I said before,) all mistakes and errors contrary to the said one holy catholic apostolic christian faith, and Roman religion. Nothing can be held to be a true article of faith, but what is firmly grounded upon the holy word of God, taken in the right sense, by the guidance of the Holy Ghost; the rest of controversies may be disputed, but not believed, by divine faith.

Now do I further declare, that I being of this holy faith and religion, living peaceably in the commonwealth all the days of my life, have been taken, suspected to be a popish priest, and have been committed to prison, and sentenced to die upon that account, for serving God and administering the holy sacraments according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman church, and for nothing else proved against me; and submitting myself to God's holy will, and all the penalties of the present laws of the kingdom relating thereto, I am heartily willing, by God's holy grace, to suffer death upon that account, hoping to be a saved soul by the goodness and mercy of God, and the merits and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the intent that I may depart out of this world in love and charity, I do heartily forgive all that have in any wise offended me, and beg pardon and forgiveness of all those that I have any wise offended, and especially, I beg pardon of God Almighty, for all my heinous offences committed against his Divine Majesty in thought, word, and deed, for which I am heartily sorry, and with the help of his grace, if they were yet undone, I would do my best never to do them; and this not only for fear of being punished for my sins, but out of the hearty love I bear to my dear God, who hath created me, and redeemed me with his most bitter passion, in the person of our Saviour true God and man, (and hath sanctified me with the grace of the Holy Ghost in soul and body.) As for the subversion of government, or conspiring against his majesty's life, I do sincerely protest, in the presence of Almighty God, as I hope to be a saved soul, that I had not the least knowledge of it till it was noised abroad amongst the common people, nor did I at any time after know any thing of it, otherwise than by common report after discovery, but was daily wont to pray for his majesty, and his loyal consort; and so, (God willing,) intend to continue as long as I have breath, begging of God Almighty to send his majesty a prosperous reign whilst he lives in this world, and after this miserable life, to grant them both eternal crowns in everlasting bliss; and the same everlasting happiness I wish to my own soul, I wish also to my enemies, to all that are here present, and the rest of the world. Amen. He was aged about seventy years.

There were many other priests, who, in the heat of this persecution, especially during the years 1679 and 1680, were arraigned and condemned, merely for their priestly character. Those whose names I have been able to recover, were,

1. Placidus Adelham, or Adland, who from a protestant minister

became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, and was professed in the monastery of Paris. He was a great reader and admirer of the works of St. Augustin; was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey, merely as a priest, January 17, 1678–9, but was reprieved, and died in prison.

2. Andrew Brommich, priest, of the college of Lisbon. He was tried and condemned at Stafford, August 13, 1679, but was reprieved, and survived the storm.

3. William Atkins, was tried and condemned at the same time and place. His printed trial, calls him a seminary priest, but he was indeed, of the society of Jesus. He died in prison, March 7, 1680–1, being eighty years of age, only regretting, that he was not so happy as to shed his blood in his Master's cause, which he very much desired.

4. Richard Birket, priest of the secular clergy, but of what college, I have not found. He was tried and condemned at Lancaster, and died in prison, a confessor of Christ.

5. Richard Fletcher, alias, Barton, a priest of Douay college. He was also tried and condemned at the same time, at Lancaster, but outlived the persecution.

6. John Penketh, priest, S. J. was also tried and condemned at the same time and place, but lived to see better times. He was some time alumnus of the college of Rome.

7. George Busby, priest, S. J. He was tried and condemned at Derby, but pardoned by the king.

8. James Corker, priest, and monk of the abbey of Lambspring.—He was first tried for the plot, of which he was accused by Oates and Bedloe, but acquitted by the jury; then was tried as a priest, and condemned January 17, 1679–80. He was reprieved, and continued prisoner till king James's accession to the throne, and in prison, reconciled great numbers to the catholic church. He was afterwards made abbot, first of Cismer, then of Lambspring, which dignity he resigned, and ended his days at Paddington, near London, much esteemed by all that knew him, for his virtue and sanctity.

9. William Nappier, alias, Russel, called in religion, father Marianus, a native of Oxford, and a father of the holy order of St. Francis. He was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey, at the same time with Mr. Corker, but reprieved, and after a long imprisonment, sent abroad; where he died in the Franciscan convent at Douay, in 1693, aged, seventy-eight.

10. Charles Parry, priest, as I take it, of the secular clergy. He was tried and condemned at the same time and place. When he heard the sentence, he cried out, *Te Deum Laudamus, &c.* Whether he died in prison, or survived the storm, I have not learnt.

11. Henry Starkey. He was younger brother to John Starkey, of Darley, in Cheshire, Esq. was one of the first that appeared in arms for the king, in the civil wars, in whose service, he lost four thousand pounds, and one of his legs, which was taken off by a cannon ball. Being sent into banishment, he resumed his studies, and by dispensation, was made priest. He was tried and condemned, for his charac-

ter, at the same time and place with Mr. Corker, &c., but was reprieved.

12. Lionel Anderson, alias, Munson. He was a gentleman's son of Lincolnshire, of a good estate, but becoming a catholic, relinquished all his worldly pretensions, and entered into the holy order of St. Dominick, and was ordained priest. He was tried and condemned at the same time and place with Mr. Corker, &c. but was pardoned by the king.

13. William Wall, alias, Marsh and Marshall. He was brother to father John Wall, who suffered at Worcester; was born in Lancashire, studied his humanity at St. Omer's, his philosophy at Rome, his divinity, partly at Rome, and partly at Douay. From Douay, he went upon the mission in 1652; but afterwards, going over again, he became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, in the abbey of Lambspring. He was arraigned upon the testimony of Oates and Bedloe, for the plot, with father Corker, made a brave defence, and was found *not guilty;* but afterwards, was tried and condemned for a priest, in the company of the same father Corker, but was reprieved, and survived the persecution.

With these six last named, was arraigned also, Mr. David Joseph Kemish, priest, but his trial was put off, by reason of his sickness. Whether he died in prison, or survived, I cannot learn. Also Mr. Alexander Lumsden, was tried on the same day, with the six, abovementioned. He was a native of Aberdeen, in Scotland, and a Dominican friar; was found to be a priest, but being a Scotchman, the jury brought in their verdict *special*, and he was not sentenced to die. Besides these, I have met with the names of some others, that felt in like manner the fury of this persecution: as James Baker, alias, Hesketh, priest, condemned at the Old Bailey, February 27, 1679-80. Richard Lacy, priest, of the society of Jesus, who died also in prison, at London, March 11, the same year. Edward Turner, priest, of the same society, who died also in prison at London, in 1681. William Allison, priest, who died prisoner in York castle. William Bennet, priest, S. J., who was also condemned in this persecution, but lived to be condemned a second time, under king William, and died a prisoner at Liecester in 1691. Bennet Constable, priest, O. S. B. who died in Durham jail, 1683. Not to speak of divers of the catholic laity, who expired in like manner, in prison, confined for their conscience.

THOMAS THWING, PRIEST.*

Thomas Thwing, son of George Thwing, Esq., of an ancient Yorkshire family, was born at Heworth, near York, in the year 1635. He performed his studies abroad, in the English college of Douay, where also, he received all his orders, and from thence, was sent priest upon the English mission, in 1665, where he laboured in the vineyard of his Lord, for fifteen years. He was apprehended in the time of Oates's plot, and was accused by two knights of the post, Bolron and Mobray, or Maybury, of having been at several meetings or consults, at Barnborough-hall, the seat of his uncle, sir Thomas Gascoigne; and there conspiring with the said Sir Thomas, Sir Miles Stapylton, the lady Tempest, and

* From his printed trial and speech.

others, to kill the king, and extirpate the protestant religion. Bolron had formerly been in the service of Sir Thomas, as steward of his coal-pits, and having cheated him of great sums of money was thereupon discharged; and being also sued by him, vowed revenge, left his religion, and accused his master, and all his relations of the plot. Maybury had also been a servant to Sir Thomas, and had been guilty of divers villanies. But now, as Mr. Salmon takes notice, in his examination of bishop Burnet's history, p. 880, the great encouragement and caresses Oates and Bedloe met with, occasioned others of the like stamp to spring up in all parts of the kingdom, pretending to make discoveries of plots, many of whom, says he, were so plainly detected; that they could obtain no credit even in those believing times, which was indeed the case of these two wretches; for their story was altogether incredible; and Sir Thomas Gascoigne and the others by them accused, were acquitted. Only Mr. Thwing, being a priest, did not meet with the same justice. He was brought to his trial at York, July 29, 1680, and upon the testimony of the miscreants above mentioned, was found guilty by the jury; and on the 2d of August following, received sentence of death. To which he calmly replied, *innocens ego sum*, I am innocent. He was reprieved for a while, viz; till the 23d of October; and then, by an order of the council, was executed according to sentence. He was drawn, hanged, and quartered at York, having first protested his innocency of all that was sworn against him, and spoke as follows:

This sudden news of my execution, (after my reprieve,) coming so unexpectedly, made me fear I should have more severity showed me than has been to others; and, consequently, that I should not have full liberty to declare my mind at the place of my execution; therefore I have briefly expressed myself in writing, as follows: First, as I hope for salvation of my soul by the benefit of the blood and passion of my blessed Saviour, I most sincerely protest that what Robert Bolron and Laurence Mowbray swore against me, was absolutely false; for here, in the presence of the eternal God, I declare I never knew of any consult at Barnbow, the least prejudicial to the king or kingdom; nor was I ever at any such consult or meeting with Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Mr. Gascoigne, his son, Sir Miles Stapylton, the lady Tempest, Mr. Ingleby, or any other, where any thing was ever treated, spoken, or written, about killing the king, or alteration of the government; nor did I ever see or know of any list of such names of persons mentioned and sworn by them against me.

Secondly, upon my salvation I declare, I never have been in my whole life-time guilty, even so much as in thought, of any treason against his majesty or the kingdom, it being directly contrary to the principles of our faith. Thirdly, that though I have, and do declare against the oath of allegiance, as it is worded, yet it is only by reason of some clauses therein contained, not pertaining to allegiance; and therefore, if an oath, containing nothing but allegiance, had been legally tendered me, I should have thought it a sin to have refused it. Lastly, I acknowledge myself a priest, and to have about fifteen years performed a priest's function; which I am so far from denying, that I think it the greatest honour imaginable.

And now, dear countrymen, having made this protestation in the most plain terms I could, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, I appeal to the eternal Judge, whether good christians ought not to believe what is here in this manner sworn by me in my present circumstance, rather than what was sworn by my accusers: whom, notwithstanding, I beg of Almighty God to forgive: as also the jury, and all others who have been in any kind concurring to my death.

Having full time allowed him, he spoke much more to the same effect, with a clear voice, and a countenance remarkably cheerful; declaring his innocence as to any plot, his loyalty to the king, his charity to his neighbours; and expressing his love and piety to God in fervent prayers and ejaculations. He concluded with these prophetic words: 'though I know the affairs of the kingdom are in a bad posture, yet I hope they will be cleared ere long, and then the actors thereof will be more fully known.' Just as he went off the ladder, he was distinctly heard to say these words, sweet Jesus receive my soul.

He suffered at York, October 23, 1680, in the 46th year of his age. His quartered body was interred by his friends, and a copper plate buried with him, with the following Latin inscription. R. D. Thomas Thwing de Heworth, coll. Anglo-Duaceni sacerdos, post annos 15 in missione Anglicana transactos, eboraci condemnatus et martyrio affectus est Octob. 23, 1680. A duobus falsis testibus, ob crimen conspirationis tunc temporis catholicis malitiose impositum.

WILLIAM VISCOUNT STAFFORD.*

William Howard Viscount Stafford, was second son to Thomas Earl of Arundel, and uncle to Thomas and Henry, Dukes of Norfolk. In his youth he was educated with all care and industry imaginable, to improve in him the endowments of nature and grace. He was ever held to be of a generous disposition, very charitable, devout, sober, inoffensive in words, and a lover of justice. When he arrived to years of maturity, he married Mary, descended from the ancient dukes of Buckingham; grand-daughter to Edward, sister and sole heiress to Henry Lord Stafford, to whose title he succeeded, being created baron by king Charles I. anno 1640, and soon after Viscount Stafford. During the time of the civil wars he suffered much for his loyalty to the king, always behaving himself with that courage and constancy, as became a nobleman, a good christian and a faithful subject. After king Charles II. restoration, he lived in peace, plenty, and happiness; being blessed with a most virtuous lady to his wife, and many pious and dutiful children; in which state he remained till the 66th year of his age, when about Michaelmas, anno 1678, he was accused by Titus Oates of the plot, together with the Lords Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis.

'My Lord Stafford, though he immediately heard of the accusation, relying on his own innocence, never left his family, nor withdrew himself from his ordinary known acquaintance and affairs, till on the 25th of October, he was sent prisoner to the King's Bench, and from

* From Stafford's Memoirs, published 1681; his printed trial and speech, &c.

thence soon after to the Tower where he remained above two years, and then was brought to his trial, before the house of peers, Nov. 30, 1680, upon an impeachment in the name of the commons of England.'

The first day was spent in allegations, to prove a plot in general, by the depositions of Oates, Dugdale, Smith, Jennison, &c. But as these did not touch my lord Stafford in particular, the next day the managers for the house of commons, (who were of the most eloquent, and the most able lawyers in the nation,) began to attack my lord more directly by the testimonies of Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville, having first taken care that none of his council should stand near to prompt or advise him what to answer, or what exceptions to make to their depositions. These managers with all imaginable art and malice, baited the good old gentleman for four whole days; who, though otherwise not the best qualified, as it was thought, for such a task, and upon that account pitched upon, rather than any of the other lords then prisoners, to be first brought to his trial; yet, such was the force of truth and innocence, made so good a defence, (notwithstanding the great fatigue of so many days pleading, and all the eloquence employed against him) and brought such and so just exceptions against the witnesses, and such proofs of their being perjured villains, that every unprejudiced man that will but read the memoirs of his trial, must agree that he was very unjustly condemned. However, such was the iniquity of the times, and the aversion to his religion, he was found guilty by fifty-five lords, and acquitted only by thirty-one: so that sentence was passed upon him by the lord high steward. 'His behaviour throughout,' says the continuator of Baker, p. 705, 'was very composed and affecting; denying in the most solemn manner, and with all the marks of sincerity, every thing that had been sworn against him.' So this protestant historian, who adds, in the following page, that at his death, he behaved himself in a manner becoming a good man and a good christian, and still denied to the last, the treason which he had been charged with.

'When the votes were passed, the lord high steward declared to the prisoner, He was found guilty of the high treason whereof he was impeached. To which my lord Stafford replied, God's holy name be praised for it. I confess I am surprised at it, for I did not expect it. But God's will be done, and your lordships'; I will not murmur at it. God forgive those who have falsely sworn against me.' Sentence was pronounced according to the usual form as in cases of treason: which my lord received with a meek and resigned countenance, and then declared in the presence of Almighty God, he had no manner of malice in his heart to them that had condemned him, but freely forgave them all.

After his return to the Tower, he employed the greatest part of his time, till his end, in recollection and devotion, by which means he seemed to receive a daily increase both of courage and comfort. The hours he spared from prayer or necessary repose, he bestowed, in part, in the entertainment of his friends, amongst whom he demeaned himself with exceeding sweetness, candour, and alacrity, which was always natural to him; but was more especially remarkable after he had an assurance of his death; insomuch that he could not endure to see any in grief or dejection on his account.

On Sunday, the 19th of December, the lieutenant of the Tower came to my lord and told him he was sorry he must bring him the ill news that he must die on the 29th of this month. To which message, he courageously replied, I must obey. Adding those words of the psalmist, This is the day which our Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it. Then turning to his disconsolate lady, come, said he, let us go to our prayers. 'And it was truly a matter of wonder, says my author, to those who lived and were conversant with him during this short remnant of his life, to see with what constancy and equal temper of mind he comported himself; what interior quiet and serenity he seemed to enjoy; what confidence he expressed in God; what charity to all, even to the worst of his enemies.

'When the hour appointed for his death drew near, he expected with some impatience the arrival of Mr. lieutenant, telling his friends that were about him, he ought not to hasten his own death, yet he thought the time long till they came to him. A gentleman, then with him, in his chamber, put him in mind that it was a cold day, and that his lordship would do well to put on a cloak, or coat, to keep him warm; he answered, he would; for, said he, I may perhaps shake for cold, but I trust in God never for fear. After some time spent in spiritual discourses, at length, about ten o'clock, word was brought him that Mr. lieutenant waited for him below; upon which he sweetly saluted his friends, bidding them not grieve for him, for this was the happiest day of all his life. Then he immediately went down and walked along by the lieutenant's chair (who had the gout) through a lane of soldiers, to the bars without the Tower. There the lieutenant delivered him to the sheriffs, and they, from thence, guarded him to the scaffold erected on Tower-hill. Several thousands of people crowded to see him, many civilly saluted him as he passed, and few there were that seemed not to have a compassion for him.

'Having mounted the scaffold, there appeared in his countenance such an unusual vivacity, such a cheerfulness, such a confidence, such a candour, as if the innocence of his soul had shined through his body. And he looked death in the face with so undaunted a resolution, as gave occasion to many to say, grace had left in him no resentments of nature. After a short pause, viewing the people, and finding them attentive to what he should say, he stepped to one side of the scaffold, and with a graceful air, and intelligible voice, pronounced his last speech. In which,

First, he protested in the presence of the eternal God, and upon his salvation, that he was entirely innocent of the treason laid to his charge: then giving thanks to the divine Majesty, for the long time he had given him to prepare for death, he declared, that having well considered what could be the original cause of his having been so unjustly accused and condemned to death, he was convinced that it was no other than his religion; of which, he said, he had no reason to be ashamed; for that it taught nothing but the right worship of God, and due subordination to the king and the temporal laws of the kingdom. That he most firmly believed all the articles that the catholic church believes and teaches, as most consonant to the word of God; and that with the same catholic church, from his heart, he detested all king-killing doctrine, that his prin-

ciples were entirely loyal: and as for indulgences, dispensations, or pardons, pretended by the adversaries of the church to be given to murder, rebel, lie, forswear, or commit any other crime whatsoever; he professed in the presence of God, and that without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsover, that he was never taught any such thing, nor believed or practised any such thing. That if he had been really guilty of any of those crimes of which he was accused, he should have been worse than a fool, and his own self-murderer into the bargain, if he had not acknowledged his guilt; since by so doing he might have saved his life: 'but had I a thousand lives, said he, I would lose them all rather than falsely accuse either myself or any other whatsoever.'

Then again declaring his abhorrence of all treason and murder, and that to his knowledge he had never spoke to, or seen Oates, or Turberville till his trial, or ever spoke with Dugdale about any treasonable matters, (whom nevertheless he heartily forgave, and all others that had any hand in his death,) he concluded his speech as follows,

'I shall end with my hearty prayers for the happiness of his majesty, that he may enjoy all happiness in this world, and in the world to come, and govern his people according to the laws of God; and that the people may be sensible what a blessing God hath so miraculously given them, and obey him as they ought. I ask pardon with a prostrate heart of Almighty God, for all the great offences I have committed against the divine Majesty; and hope, through the merits and passion of Christ Jesus, to obtain everlasting happiness: into whose hands I commit my spirit, asking pardon of any person that I have done any wrong to, &c.

'I beseech God not to revenge my innocent blood upon the nation, or on those that were the cause of it, with my last breath; I do with my last breath truly assert my innocency, and hope the omnipotent, all seeing, just God, will deal with me accordingly.

'His speech being ended, he delivered several written copies of it to the sheriffs, &c. Then he returned to the middle of the scaffold; where, encompassed by his catholic friends, he kneeled down, and reverently making the sign of the cross, pronounced aloud, with exceeding devotion, an excellent prayer, adapted to his present circumstances, to which he joined several pious ejaculations, wherein with singular compunction and abundance of tears, he implored the divine mercy and pardon for his sins past: he recommended his soul to his dear Redeemer Jesus Christ; he blessed his holy name, and offered his life to him a willing sacrifice of gratitude, piety, and love.

'Remaining still on his knees, he again protested his innocence with all the asseverations a dying christian is capable of making. Than rising up he a second time saluted the people, telling them they had as good and gracious a king as ever reigned; and earnestly exhorting them to be faithful and constant in their allegiance to him; praying to God heartily to bless his majesty, and preserve him from his enemies; to bless the nation, to bless and be with all them there present, especially all loyal subjects; declaring again his own innocence: desiring the prayers of all good christians; begging God's mercy and pardon for his sins; asking forgiveness of all, and beseeching the divine goodness not to revenge his innocent blood upon the whole kingdom; no not upon those

by whose perjuries he was brought thither; to whom he wished from his heart no other hurt, than that they should repent and tell truth.

'Most of the auditors seemed to be touched with a sensible compassion for him; some, as he spoke, put off their hats and bowed to him, in sign that they agreed to what he said; others by distinct acclamations answered, we believe you my Lord, God bless you my Lord, &c.' Afterwards he applied himself to his friends about him, whom he lovingly embraced, and with a pleasant voice and cheerful aspect took his last leave of them for this world. Then being made ready, he knelt down before the block, and making the sign of the cross, recommended himself with great devotion to the divine mercy: he kissed the block and used several devout ejaculations, such as sweet Jesu receive my soul: into thy hands O Lord I commend my spirit, &c. Then laid his head down upon the block, continuing still in prayer, and expecting the stroke of death, with wonderful courage and constancy, not showing the least sign of fear, or seeming the least to quake or tremble. After he had laid thus a good space, finding that the headsman delayed the execution of his office, he once more raised himself up upon his knees, and with a grave and serene aspect asked, Why they stayed? It was answered, for a sign. What sign will you give sir? He replied, none at all; take your own time, God's will be done, I am ready. The headsman said, I hope you forgive me, he answered, I do. Then blessing himself again with the sign of the cross, he reposed his head upon the block; which with one blow was severed from his body. He was interred privately in the Tower. He lived 68 years, and suffered on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, December 29, 1680.

DR. OLIVER PLUNKET, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, PRIMATE OF IRELAND. 1681.*

This apostolic man was descended of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Ireland; he was educated in the catholic religion; and finding himself called to the ecclesiastical state, went abroad into Italy, and there spent almost twenty years at Rome, partly in studying and partly in teaching divinity, where also he received the degree of doctor in that faculty: and having acquired a general esteem by his virtue and learning, the See of Armagh falling vacant, he was chosen and consecrated to it, about the year 1669, and sent over to Ireland to govern the flock committed to his charge, which he did in such manner as to give great edification to the catholics, and to be much esteemed by the very protestants: in proof of which we shall here put down what some protestant historians have written of him, upon occasion of his trial and condemnation.

And first Dr. Burnet, who was never suspected of telling a lie in favour of a papist, in his history of his own times, p. 502, acquaints us from the testimony of the Earl of Essex, that Plunket was a wise and

* From his printed trial and speech, father Corker's letters, and the historians of those times.

sober man, who was for living quietly and in due submission to the government, without engaging in intrigues of state; and that he was condemned only upon the testimony of some lewd priests, whom he had censured, and other evidence, brutal profligate men, who found how good a trade swearing was in England, and thereupon came over and gave evidence of a plot also in Ireland. With Dr. Burnet Mr. Eachard also agrees in his history of England, 3d vol. p. 631, where he tells us, that Mr. Plunket had an attestation of his good behaviour in Ireland, under the hands of the earl of Essex and the lord Berkley, when they were lords lieutenants of that kingdom. That the accusation against him looked very romantic, not to say malicious; yet the witnesses were so perfect and so positive in their oaths, that the jury found him guilty of high treason, and sentence passed upon him accordingly. 'That he has been assured by an unquestionable hand, that the earl of Essex himself was so sensible of this man's hardship, that he generously applied to the king for a pardon, and told his majesty the witnesses must needs be perjured; for these things sworn against him could not possibly be true. Upon which, the king in a passion said, Why did not you attest this at his trial? It would have done him good then. I dare not pardon any one. And so concluded with the same kind of answer he had given another person formerly; His blood be upon your head, and not upon mine.'

But the continuator of Baker's Chronicle is still more particular in his account of this catholic prelate, p. 710. 'In the mean time, says he, came on the trial of Dr. Oliver Plunket, a popish titular archbishop of Armagh, who called himself primate of all Ireland. He was a worthy and good man, who, notwithstanding the high title given him, was in a very mean state of life, as having nothing to subsist on, but the contributions of a few poor clergy of his own religion in the province of Ulster, who having but little themselves could not spare much to him. In these low circumstances he lived, though meanly, quietly and contentedly, meddling with nothing but the concerns of his function, and dissuading all about him from entering into any turbulent or factious intrigues. But while the popish plot was warm, some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, hearing that England was disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves qualified for the employment. So they came over with an account of a plot in Ireland, and were well received by lord Shaftsbury. They were also examined by the parliament, and what they said was believed. They were very profligate wretches, and some of the priests among them had been censured by Plunket, for their lewdness; so partly out of revenge, and partly to keep themselves in business, they charged a plot upon that innocent quiet man; so that he was sent for over and brought to trial. The evidences swore, that upon his being made primate of Ireland, he engaged to raise sixty or seventy thousand Irish, to be ready to join with the French to destroy the protestant religion, and to get Dublin, Londonderry, and all the sea-ports into their hands: and that besides the French army, there was a Spanish army to join with them, and that the Irish clergy were to contribute to this design. Plunket in his defence alledged the improbability of all that was sworn against him, which was apparent enough. He alledged that the Irish clergy were

so poor, that he himself, who was the head of a whole province, lived in a litle thatched house, with only one servant, having never above sixty pounds a year income; so that neither he nor they could be thought very likely to carry on a design of this nature. But the fact being positively sworn against him, and the jury unacquainted with the witnesses characters, and the scene of action, he was brought in guilty, and condemned. It is said, that the earl of Essex was so sensible of the injustice done him, &c., as above.' So far this protestant historian.

But now let us hear what a catholic, and one who was intimately acquainted with him, in the last scene of his life, viz: the learned and truly religious father, J. Corker, writes of him, in a letter penned after his death. 'I cannot as yet,' says he, 'pretend to give you, (as you desire,) a description of the virtues of the glorious archbishop and martyr, Dr. Oliver Plunket; I am promised the particulars of his life and actions, both at Rome, where he studied and taught, almost twenty years; and in Ireland, where he exercised his episcopal, or rather apostolical functions, till he became a champion of faith: but these particulars are not, as yet, arrived at my hands. After his transportation hither, he was, as you know, close confined, and secluded from all conversation, save that of his keepers, until his arraignment: so that here also, I am much in the dark, and can only inform you of what I learned, as it were, by chance, from the mouths of the said keepers, viz: that he spent his time in almost continual prayer; that he fasted usually three or four days a week, with nothing but bread; that he appeared to them always modestly cheerful, without any anguish or concern at his danger, or straight confinement; that by his sweet and pious demeanour, he attracted an esteem and reverence from those few that came near him. When he was arraigned, it is true, I could write to him, and he to me; but our letters were read, transcribed, and examined by the officers, before they were delivered to either of us. For which cause, we had litle other communication, than what was necessary in order to his trial. But the trial being ended, and he condemned, his man had leave to wait on him alone, in his chamber, by whose means, we had free intercourse by letters to each other. And now it was I clearly perceived the spirit of God in him, and those lovely fruits of the Holy Ghost, charity, joy, peace, &c., transparent in his soul. And not only I, but many other catholics, who came to receive his benediction, and were eye-witnesses, (a favour not denied to us,) can testify, there appeared in his words, in his actions, in his countenance, something so divinely elevated, such a composed mixture of cheerfulness, constancy, love, sweetness, and candour, as manifestly denoted the divine goodness had made him fit for a victim, and destined him for heaven. None saw or came near him, but received new comfort, new fervour, new desires to please, serve, and suffer, for Christ Jesus, by his very presence. Concerning the manner and state of his prayer, he seemed most devoted to catholic sentences taken out of scripture, the divine office, and missal, which he made me procure for him, three months before he died: upon these sentences, he let his soul dilate itself in love, following herein the sweet impulse and dictates of the Holy Ghost, and reading his prayers, writ rather in his heart, than in his book, according to that—*unctio ejus docet vos de*

omnibus, St. John ii. 27. For this reason, I suppose it was, that when with great humility he sent me his last speech to correct, he also writ me word, he would not at the place of execution make use of any other set form or method of prayer, than the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, *Miserere*, *In manus tuas Domine*, &c., and for the rest, he would breathe forth his soul in such prayers and ejaculations as God Almighty should then inspire him withal. He continually endeavoured to improve and advance himself in the purity of divine love, and by consequence also in contrition for his sins past, of his deficiency in both which, this humble soul complained to me as the only thing that troubled him. This love had extinguished in him all fear of death, *perfecta charitas*, *foras mittit timorem*. A lover feareth not, but rejoiceth at the approach of the beloved. Hence the joy of our holy martyr seemed still to increase with his danger, and was fully accomplished by an assurance of death. The very night before he died, being now, as it were, at heart's ease, he went to bed at eleven o'clock, and slept quietly and soundly till four in the morning; at which time his man, who lay in the room with him, awaked him; so little concern had he upon his spirit, or rather so much had the loveliness of the end beautified the horror of the passage to it. After he certainly knew God Almighty had chosen him to the crown and dignity of martyrdom, he continually studied how to divest himself of himself, and become more and more an entire pleasing and perfect holocaust: to which end, as he gave up his soul with all its faculties to the conduct of God; so, for God's sake, he resigned the care and disposal of his body to unworthy me, &c. But I neither can nor dare undertake to describe unto you, the signal virtues of this blessed martyr. There appeared in him something beyond expression, something more than human: the most savage and hard-hearted people were mollified and attendered at his sight; many protestants, in my hearing, wished their souls in the same state with his: all believed him innocent, and he made catholics, even the most timorous, in love with death. When he was carried out of the press-yard to execution, he turned him about to our chamber windows, and with a pleasant aspect and elevated hands, gave us his benediction. How he composed himself, after he was taken from hence, you yourself can give a more exact account than I, &c.' So far father Corker, to whom the holy prelate applied himself for the affairs of his conscience whilst he was preparing for his exit, and who was consequently the best acquainted with his interior.

Archbishop Plunket was arraigned at the King's Bench-bar, May the 3d, 1681, but not brought to his trial till the 8th of June. He had been then a year and a half in prison: he was found guilty by the jury, upon the testimony of those perjured wretches that appeared against him; when he heard the verdict, he cried out *Deo Gratias*, God be thanked. The lord chief justice before he pronounced sentence, wished him to renounce his false religion, as he called it, against which he most bitterly inveighed, as ten times worse than paganism: but the prisoner knew better what his religion was than the judge; and gave his lordship to understand that he was not disposed to alter it upon any considerations. He added, 'If I were a man that had no care of my

conscience, I might have saved my life; for I was offered it by divers people here, if I would but confess my own guilt and accuse others: but, my lord, I had rather die ten thousand deaths than wrongfully accuse any body. And the time will come when your lordship will see what these witnesses are, that have come in against me. I do assure your lordship, if I were a man that had not good principles, I might easily have saved my own life; but I had rather die ten thousand deaths, than wrongfully to take away one farthing of an man's goods, one day of his liberty, or one minute of his life.' After he had said this, sentence was pronounced against him in the usual form, on the 15th of June.—After condemnation he writ the following letter to father Corker.

'Dear Sir,

'I am obliged to you for the favour and charity of the 20th, and for all your former benevolences: and whereas I cannot in this country remunerate you, with God's grace, I hope to be grateful in that kingdom, which is properly our country. And truly God gave me (though unworthy of it) that grace to have *fortem animum mortis terrore carentem* "a courage fearless of death." I have many sins to answer for before the Supreme Judge of the high bench, where no false witnesses can have audience. But as for the bench yesterday, I am not guilty of any crime there objected to me; I would I could be so clear at the bench of the All-powerful. *Ut ut sit*, there is one comfort, that he cannot be deceived, because he is omniscious, and knows all secrets, even of hearts; and cannot deceive, because all goodness; so that I may be sure of a fair trial, and will get time sufficient to call witnesses; nay, the judge will bring them in a moment, if there will be need of any. You and your comrade's prayers will be powerful advocates at that bench.' Here none are admitted for

Your affectionate friend, OLIVER PLUNKET.

On the first day of July, 1681, he was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn: on which occasion, the serenity of his countenance, the courage, cheerfulness, and piety with which he went to meet death, gave great edification to the spectators. At the place of execution he spoke as follows:—

I have some few days past abided my trial at the King's Bench, and now, very soon, I must hold up my hand at the King of King's Bench, and appear before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses, nor corrupted allegations, for he knoweth the secrets of hearts; Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjust sentence, or be misled by respect of persons. He being all goodness and a most just Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgressions against his commandments: which being a most certain and undoubted truth, it would be a wicked act, and contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now, by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which, within a very short time, I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation; after which, there is no reprieve or hope of pardon. I will therefore confess the truth, without any equivocation, and make use of the words according to their accustomed signification; as-

suring you moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation; and I protest upon the word of a dying man, and as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme judge, that I will declare the naked truth with all candour and sincerity, and that my affairs may be better known to all the world.

'Tis to be observed, that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and præmunire; and that there I was arraigned and brought to my trial; but the prosecutors, (men of flagitious and infamous lives,) perceiving that I had records and witnesses, who would evidently convince them, and clearly show my innocency and their wickedness, they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this city to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial, (where the crimes objected were not committed,) where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers, and were not informed of several other circumstances conducing to a fair trial. Here, after six months' close imprisonment, or thereabouts, I was brought to the bar the 3d of May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland; a strange resolution, a rare fact, of which you will hardly find a precedent these five hundred years past: but whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the lord chief justice gave me five weeks time to get them brought hither; but by reason of the uncertainty of the seas, of wind, and weather, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments, (of which affidavit was made,) I could not at the end of five weeks get the records and witnesses brought hither: I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in readiness for my trial, which the lord chief justice denied; and so I was brought to my trial, and exposed, as it were with my hands tied, to these merciless perjurors, &c.

Then having numbered up the heads of the accusation against him, and refuted them by the most solemn protestations of his innocency, and by showing not only the improbability, but even the impossibility of his being guilty of what was laid to his charge, he goes on:—

You see, therefore, what condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of innocency, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man. And that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you, that a great peer sent me notice, that he would save my life, if I would accuse others; but I answered, that I never knew of any conspiracies in Ireland, but such as were publicly known out-laws, and that to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul. *Quid prodest homini, &c.* To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully, ill becometh any christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the catholic church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I do openly confess; neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland the functions of a catholic prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration; and by preaching, and teaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the clergy, (of which I had a care,) to a due comportment, according to their calling; and though thereby I did but my duty, yet some, who would not amend,

had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good, I mean the clergymen, (as for the four laymen, who appeared against me, I was never acquainted with them.) But you see how I am rewarded, and how, by false oaths, they have brought me to this untimely death; which wicked act being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman catholic clergy, it being well known that there was a Judas amongst the twelve apostles, and a wicked man called Nicholas amongst the seven deacons: and even as one of the said deacons, viz. holy Stephen, did pray for those who stoned him to death, so do I for those who with perjuries spill my innocent blood, saying, as St. Stephen did, O Lord, lay not this sin to them. I do heartily forgive them, and also the judges, who (by denying me sufficient time to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland,) did expose my life to evident danger. I do also forgive all those who had a hand in bringing me from Ireland to be tried here, where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur directly or indirectly to take away my life; and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended by thought, word, or deed. I beseech the all-powerful, that his Divine Majesty grant our king, queen, the duke of York, and all the royal family, health, long life, and all prosperity in this world, and in the next, everlasting felicity.

Now that I have showed sufficiently, (as I think,) how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy; I would I were able, with the like truth, to clear myself of high crimes committed against the Divine Majesty's commandments, (often transgressed by me,) for which I am sorry with all my heart, and if I could or should live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beseech your Divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of his blessed mother, and all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest.

After he had ended his speech, he recited the psalm, *miserere mei Deus*, and other devout aspirations; and his cap being drawn over his eyes, he continued recommending his happy soul into the hands of his Saviour, till the cart was drawn away. He was suffered to hang till he expired, and then was cut down, and bowelled; his heart and bowels were thrown into the fire, his body was begged of the king, and was interred, (all but the head, and arms to the elbows, which were disposed of elsewhere,) in the church-yard of St. Giles, in the Fields, with a copper-plate on his breast, with the following inscription:

In this tomb resteth the body of the right reverend Oliver Plunket, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who in hatred of religion was accused of high treason by false witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn, his heart and bowels being taken out, and cast into the fire. He suffered martyrdom with constancy, the 1st of July, 1681, in the reign of king Charles the second.

Four years after his body was taken up and found entire. It was sent abroad to Lambspring; where Abbot Corker, 1693, erected over it a handsome monument, with this Latin inscription.

Reliquiæ sanctæ memoriæ Oliveri Plunket, archiepiscopi Armachani, Hiberniæ primatis, qui in odium catholicæ fidei laqueo suspensus, extractis visceribus et in ignem projectis, celebris martyr occubuit Londini, primo die Julij, (stylo veteri,) anno salutis, 1681.

I find no more catholic blood spilt in England for religion, during the three remaining years of king Charles's reign. For now the pretended popish plot was clearly discovered to be a mere sham, and to have been imposed upon the nation, in order to usher in a real conspiracy of some that called themselves true protestants; concerning which, the reader may consult the history of the Rye-House Plot, written by a protestant prelate, Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester. However, the prisons still were crowded with catholics, as well priests as laity, till the latter end of this reign; even the lords that were kept prisoners in the tower, could not obtain to be bailed out, till 1683: in the mean time, the Lord Petre died prisoner in the tower, protesting to the last his innocency of all that had been laid to his charge.

As to the rest, we have not been able to give an account in these memoirs, of all the sufferings of catholics, either in this or the former persecutions: nor so much as to set down the names either of the priests, or laymen or women, that have endured imprisonment, banishment, loss of goods, and innumerable other vexations for their conscience: the number of such sufferers has been so great, that it would be an impossible task to record so much as their names: it may suffice to say, that few of that profession escaped feeling, (more or less,) the rage of the persecutors; and that their constancy and patience in their sufferings, was little inferior to that of the most heroic sufferers of the primitive ages.

Since the foregoing sheets were printed, we have been informed of one priest more, sentenced to death for his character, in this latter part of king Charles the second's reign: and this was the reverend father Atwood, of the holy order of St. Dominick. He was reprieved, and as some say, taken off the hurdle, to his great grief. He died in peace, in 1704.

Since the accession of king James II. to the throne, though from time to time the catholics have been exposed to some passing storms, yet by God's mercy the persecution has never raged so far as to come to blood. The most remarkable sufferer, on account of his priestly character, was the reverend father Paul, of St. Francis, alias Matthew Atkinson, O. S. F. He was a native of Yorkshire, and entered into the order of St. Francis, in the English convent at Douay, the 27th of December, 1673, being then seventeen years of age: he was sent upon the English mission, in 1687, where he was noted for his zeal of souls, and diligence in his pastoral functions, and brought many strayed sheep back to the fold of Christ, till being accused by a false convert, of being a priest, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and sent to Hurst castle, where he remained a constant and pious confessor of Christ for thirty years, till his dying day, which was the 15th of October, 1729. He departed this life aged 74, in the 56th year of his religious profession; and lies interred at St. James's, near Winchester.

APPENDIX.

OF TWO PRIESTS S. J. WHO SUFFERED, ANNO 1606, WRONGFULLY ACCUSED OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

HENRY GARNET, PRIEST, S. J.*

HENRY GARNET was born in the year 1554, as some say, in Derbyshire, or as others will have it, at Nottingham, where his father Mr. Brian Garnet was a schoolmaster. He had his first education in the college of William of Wickham, in Winchester, where he was looked upon as the most hopeful youth in the house; and was to have been sent from thence to New College, Oxon; but disliking the protestant religion, he chose rather to be reconciled to the catholic church, and travelled abroad, first into Spain, and from thence to Rome: he there entered into the society of Jesus, anno 1571. After he had finished his noviceship, he applied himself close to his studies, and having the advantage of the best masters, both in divine and human sciences, such as Bellarmine, Suarez, Pererius, Clavius, &c., he became a great proficient in all kind of learning, yet so as not to neglect the better part, by a serious attention to the science of the saints, the study of christian and religious perfection. He was for some time, professor of the Hebrew language, in the Roman college of the society, and then publicly taught metaphysics; he also supplied for a while the place of the celebrated Clavius, in the school of mathematics: till the year 1586, having long aspired after the English mission, he was sent with father Robert Southwel to labour in this vineyard.

Two years after his arrival in England, father William Weston, the superior of the English jesuits, falling into the hands of the persecutors, and being committed to prison, father Garnet was pitched upon as the most proper to succeed in that superiority. And from that time till the breaking out of the gunpowder plot, so behaved himself in that post, as to be very much esteemed and loved by all those whom he had to deal with.

In the year 1603, queen Elizabeth being called out of this world, king James the first succeeded in the kingdom. This prince had given great hopes, and even promises to the catholics before his coming to the crown, that he would put a stop to their sufferings, and grant them some toleration at least of their religion: but they quickly found

* From father More's history of the English province, l. iv. n. 15. and l. vii. n. 20, &c. Father Bartoli's Inghilterra, l. iv. c. 12. l. vi. c. 5, &c. Father Joseph Jouvancy historia societatis, part V. l. xiii., and a manuscript relation of his death by an eye-witness.

he was not disposed to make good these promises; and that instead of repealing or qualifying any of the penal statutes of queen Elizabeth, he gave way to new laws and additional severities, enacted against all professors of the ancient religion. The generality of the catholics of the nation, though much disappointed in their hopes, submitted their shoulders to this new cross after so many others they had endured, and disposed themselves to bear it with christian patience. But some few there were, (and indeed very few, for I can find but thirteen or fourteen in all, including such as were any ways conscious) men unworthy of the name of catholics, who being exasperated by their disappointment, were by degrees entangled by the artifices of satan, and a Machiavellian politician, his instrument, (designing thereby the ruin of the catholic religion in England) in a most detestable conspiracy to blow up the parliament house; which design was to have been executed at the first meeting of the parliament, on the 5th of November, 1605; but was discovered by a letter sent ten days before to lord Mounteagle, a catholic peer, and by him communicated to the king and council.

As to the religion of the conspirators, if they had any, they are generally supposed to have been catholics: though the author of the Protestants' Plea, published in 1621, p. 56, says 'they were a few wicked and desperately minded men, whom many protestants termed papists; although the true priests and catholics of England knew them not to be such; nor can any protestant, says he, truly say that any one of them was such a one, as their laws and proceedings against us name papists, popish recusants, or the like:' and p. 58, he adds, 'all these were young, except Piercy ——, and if any of them were catholics, or so died, they were known protestants not long before, and never frequenters of catholic sacraments with any priest, as I could learn.' So far this author.

Catesby, the chief of the conspirators, whether of his own accord or at the instigation of a certain minister of state (supposed to have had a great hand in the whole contrivance of this plot, and to have been particularly solicitous to draw the jesuits into some share in the odium of it) laid open the design in confession to father Greenway, or Greenwell, alias Tesmond, a jesuit. The confessor represented to him the wickedness of the project, but could not prevail upon him to desist: however, Catesby consented that father Greenway should communicate the case under the seal of confession to father Garnet; and if the matter should otherwise come to light, he gave leave that both the one and the other might then make use of the knowledge which he thus imparted to them, and not else. Father Garnet was struck with horror at the proposal, and as he could not discover it, laboured at least to divert the design; and he so far prevailed, that Catesby promised he would attempt nothing without the knowledge and consent of the holy see, which father Garnet knew he would never obtain: but the wretch still went on in his design, till the plot was discovered; and then taking arms with Piercy and the two Wrights, attended with some servants and a few others, being pursued by the high sheriff of Warwickshire, he took shelter in the house of Mr. Humphrey Littleton near Stourbridge, and being there attacked by the sheriff of Worcestershire, he was there slain with the other three in the conflict; the rest of the conspirators were

taken, and were all executed, excepting Mr. Tresham, who died in the tower.

Amongst those who were engaged in this plot was one Bates a servant of Catesby: this man in hopes of saving his own life, insinuated (probably at the instigation of a certain great man) that the jesuits, and in particular father Greenway and father Garnet, had some knowledge of the conspiracy; of which unjust insinuation he afterwards repented himself. Upon this a proclamation was issued out, (two months after the discovery of the plot) for the apprehending of those two fathers, together with father Gerard, of whom also they had conceived some suspicion. Greenway and Gerard fled beyond the seas: father Garnet who was then with father Oldcorne at Henlip, the seat of Mr. Abington in Worcestershire, was soon after betrayed by Mr. Littleton, who being then a prisoner for having harboured some of the conspirators, in hopes of saving his own life, discovered where the father was hid. Upon which, after many days search, both father Garnet and father Oldcorne were apprehended, with their servants, John Owen and Ralph Ashley, and were carried to Worcester, and from thence by an order of the council sent for up to London, and there committed first to the Gatehouse and then to the tower.

Father Garnet was examined no less than twenty-three different times, so intent some people were to bring him in, if possible, guilty of some share in the plot: yet with all these examinations no sufficient matter could be discovered to condemn him, nor any witnesses could be found to appear against him. At length Cecil earl of Salisbury, who knew more of the whole affair perhaps than any man living, contrived to lodge father Oldcorne in a chamber adjoining to father Garnet, where they might through a chink converse together, and be overheard by two men, whom he had placed in ambuscade for that purpose. This stratagem succeeded according to his wish. Father Garnet was privately informed by his keeper (under pretence of kindness) that father Oldcorne might be spoke with, through that chink; and he gladly embraced that opportunity of making his confession, and conversing with his friend, little suspecting the snare that was laid for him; upon this occasion, being asked by father Oldcorne whether he was still examined about the plot? He answered, they have no proof that I ever had any knowledge at all of the matter; and there is but one man upon earth (meaning father Greenway) who can prove that I had. These words were heard by the two spies, and were immediately carried to the council. Upon this father Garnet was again examined and put upon the rack; where, when the whole story was related to him, and what he had been heard to say, he acknowledged he had been told of the plot by F. Greenway, but it was under the inviolable seal of confession; and that he had both recommended to father Greenway, and had used himself his best endeavours to divert the design. Upon this his confession, as they called it, Sir Edward Coke the attorney-general, was ordered to draw up an indictment of high treason against him; and he was brought to his trial at Guildhall, March the 28th, before the king's delegates; his majesty himself and many of the nobility being present. His enemies to disgrace him, had published many falsehoods of him; and amongst the

rest, that having been kept watching for six whole days and nights (a new kind of torment!) he had lost his senses: but this and other calumnies were dissipated by his public appearance and comportment at his trial. The attorney-general held forth for several hours in his accusation, bringing in all the odious topics he could against the jesuits in general, to prejudice the jury against the prisoner, and laying to their charge all the plots and conspiracies of queen Elizabeth's reign, but in particular charging home upon father Garnet the guilt of the late conspiracy. The father made a regular and excellent defence, both of his own innocence and of his society, with that presence of mind, and that graceful modesty, that many of the auditors who came thither violently prepossessed against him, were now convinced of his innocence, his very countenance, which was particularly venerable, pleading strongly in his behalf: however, the protestant jury, either not believing his plea that he had no knowledge of the plot, but by confession, or rather not regarding that inviolable secrecy which the catholic church enjoins to confessors, brought in their verdict guilty; and he received sentence of death in the usual form as in cases of high treason.

He remained prisoner in the Tower after sentence for about five weeks, and then was ordered for execution on the 3d of May, 1606. He was drawn on a sledge from the Tower to St. Paul's church-yard, where a scaffold and gibbet were erected for the purpose, and an innumerable multitude of people was assembled. As he was drawn through the streets, his hands and eyes were lifted up towards heaven, where his heart was fixed. After he was taken off the sledge, and had recovered himself of the dizziness caused by the jogging of that incommodious vehicle, he ascended the scaffold, and saluted the crowd with a smiling countenance. It was observed that the mob, which had uttered many reviling speeches against him, calling him by a thousand opprobrious names before he came to the place, was now struck dumb at his venerable aspect, which both spoke his innocence, and commanded reverence. Some of the ministers that were there, offered to persuade him to conform in matters of religion, (as, amongst other calumnies, it had been given out that he would) but he declared he would die in the catholic faith, out of which there was no salvation.

It being the day of the invention, or finding of the cross, father Garnet took occasion, from thence, to speak to the people concerning this cross which he was to take up that day; declaring withal his innocence as to the conspiracy, and his having no knowledge of it but by confession; that as to his part, he had always detested such treasonable practices, and that he knew them to be contrary to the sentiments of the bishop of Rome; and he begged of all catholics never to think of any such attempts, which were entirely inconsistent with their religion, to fly the conversation of uneasy and turbulent spirits, and to possess their souls in patience. Here, Sir Henry Montague, the recorder of London, told him he was certainly privy to the design, out of confession. 'Mr. Catesby,' said he, 'told you of it in private, we have it under your hand.' 'Whatever is under my hand, said father Garnet, I will not deny; but, indeed, you have not this under my hand. Mr. Catesby only acquainted me in general terms that something might be done, or was adoing for the benefit of the catholic cause, without specifying

what it was; and this is all I had from him, as I hope for salvation. Then, said the recorder, do you ask the king's pardon for concealing the treason? I do, said father Garnet, thus far, and no more, in that I did not reveal the suspicions I had of Mr. Catesby's behaviour; though at the same time, I dissuaded him from all treasonable attempts. And I do solemnly assure you, had that wicked stratagem succeeded, I should always have detested both the fact, and the persons engaged in it.'

After this, he was brought to the foot of the ladder, where the recorder attacked him again upon the score of Mr. Catesby, pretending that they had it under his hand, that he had discoursed with him in particular concerning the gunpowder design; which father Garnet denying, a gentleman there pretended to call for the paper, but it could not be found; at which the father smiling said, I believe it never will be found. Then being stripped to his shirt, he kneeled down and prayed a while in silence at the foot of the ladder; then going up some steps, he prayed aloud for the king, the queen, the prince, and all the council, and begged the blessing of God for all the spectators, that God might make them all Roman catholics, as the only way to secure their eternal welfare; declaring that, for his own part, he died a catholic, and desired all such to pray for him, and with him. Then making the sign of the cross, he said, *Adoramus te Christe, &c.* We adore thee, O Christ, and we bless thee, because by thy cross, thou hast redeemed the world. This sign of the cross shall be seen in heaven, when the Lord shall come to judgment. Allelujah. Then saluting the blessed virgin with a short hymn, crossing his hands before his breast and recommending his departing soul into the hands of his Creator, he was flung off the ladder. The executioner, three several times, attempted to cut the rope before he was dead, that he might be butchered alive according to sentence. But the people as often cried out, Hold, hold, hold: so much were they moved by his behaviour, to judge more favourably of him than they had done, and to compassionate his case. And when his head was shown by the executioner, instead of huzzas, usual on the like occasions, the people went off in silence.

Father Garnet suffered in the 51st year of his age, and the 30th after his entering into the society. His head was fixed on London bridge, and it was much remarked, that his countenance, which was always venerable, retained, for above twenty days, the same lively colour which it had during life, which drew all London to the spectacle, and was interpreted as a testimony of his innocence; as was also an image of him wonderfully formed on the ear of a straw, on which a drop of his blood had fallen. His servant Owen, a lay-brother of the society (commonly called Little John) was so cruelly racked in prison, that he died soon after he was taken off the torture.

EDWARD OLDCORNE, PRIEST, S. J.*

Edward Oldcorne, known upon the mission by the name of Hall, was born in Yorkshire; he performed his studies abroad, partly in the

* From father More's history, l. vii. num. 36, &c., father Bartoli, l. vi. c. 8, &c.

college then residing at Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome, where he remained above six years, and then was made priest, and sent upon the mission. Before he left Rome he obtained of father Claudius Aquaviva, general of the jesuits, to be admitted into their society; who being fully satisfied with the testimonials of his virtuous life and conversation in the college, was willing to dispense with the usual probation, and instead of a regular noviceship, to appoint him this laborious and dangerous mission. He came over into England in the company of father John Gerard, lately admitted in like manner into the society, in the year 1588, and was sent by father Garnet, his superior, into Worcestershire, where he laboured for about seventeen years with admirable zeal and success in the conversion of souls. The place of his residence was Henlip, the seat of Mr. Abington. This gentleman's sister, Mrs. Dorothy Abington, having been brought up in queen Elizabeth's court, was an earnest protestant, and violently prejudiced against catholics, and especially against priests. Father Oldcorne endeavoured to reclaim her from her errors, and reconcile her to the catholic religion, but in vain, his arguments from scripture and tradition, however strong in themselves, did not remove her prejudices, and she seemed obstinately resolved not to give ear to his remonstrances. He was determined therefore to try another expedient to cast out this deaf and dumb devil, which was fasting and prayer, and this quickly succeeded; the protestant lady flung herself at his feet, bathed in her tears, and desired to be received into the catholic church, which was done accordingly, to her great satisfaction.

Great were the labours of this zealous missioner in Worcestershire, and the neighbouring counties, and many the dangers he was exposed to, from which sometimes he was delivered by a very extraordinary, not to say miraculous providence. His labours, added to his other mortifications and austerities, impaired his health so far, that a vein breaking in his breast, he had like to have died through loss of blood; and though he escaped death, such a weakness was left with him, especially at the return of the season of the year, that he was scarce able to stand; he was also afflicted with a cancerous ulcer in his mouth, for which he could find no cure. Upon this he resolved on a pilgrimage to St. Winefride's Well, to obtain of God the recovery of his health and strength, by the intercession of that holy virgin and martyr; when behold, in his way thither, lodging at a catholic house, he was told by the priest of the family, of a stone which had been taken out of the aforesaid well, and kept in that house. Father Oldcorne, after mass, applied this stone to his mouth, devoutly recommending himself to the prayers of St. Winefride, and in half an hour was perfectly cured of his canker, and proceeding on his journey, and bathing himself in the well, recovered also his health and strength. These particulars father John Gerard declared he had both from father Oldcorne himself, and from the priest of the family where he was cured of the canker.

After the discovery of the powder plot, father Garnet, as we have seen already, being sought after, and found at Henlip, in the same hole with father Oldcorne, the latter was also apprehended and carried first to Worcester, and then to London, where he was five several times

racked in the Tower, and once with the utmost severity for five or six hours together, and yet, neither by his own confession, nor by any other sufficient testimony, could it appear, that he had any manner of knowledge of the conspiracy. He was sent down again to Worcester, to be there tried in the Lenten assizes. The things alledged against him, besides his being a priest and a jesuit, were, first, that he had invited to Henlip, and there harboured and concealed his superior, father Garnet, who had been proclaimed a traitor. Secondly, that he had approved of the gunpowder-treason, at least after its discovery, and had defended the contrivers of that villainy. To the first he answered, That he had indeed invited father Garnet to Henlip, but it was a month or six weeks before the proclamation was issued out against him, and if he did not afterwards discover and betray him, he did not conceive any crime in that. To the second he replied, That he had no manner of knowledge of the plot, till it was made public to all the world, and that he had neither approved nor defended it. However, he was brought in guilty by the jury, and received sentence of death as in cases of high treason, and was accordingly executed at Worcester, April 7, 1606, being Monday in Passion-week. He had the comfort of reconciling to God and his church, one of the felons that were executed with him, who died with great marks of faith and repentance. Littleton also was executed at the same time, and in the hearing of thousands of people, publicly asked pardon of God, and father Oldcorne, for having wrongfully accused him of the conspiracy.

Father Oldcorne at his death recommended himself in his private devotions to Almighty God, begging the intercession of the holy virgin, and the saints, his patrons; prayed aloud for the king and all the royal family; for his accuser, (whom he said he heartily pardoned,) for the judge, jury, and all any way concerned in his death; protesting to the last his innocence as to the plot, and so was turned off the ladder, but quickly cut down and butchered alive, anno ætatis, 45, societatis, 18. His head and quarters were set up on poles in different parts of that city, his heart and bowels were cast into the fire, which continued sending forth a lively flame for sixteen days, notwithstanding the rains that fell during that time, which was looked upon as a prodigy, and a testimony of his innocence.

Ralph Ashley was executed at the same time for no other crime but being servant to father Oldcorne, and therefore, as it was supposed, an abettor of his pretended treasons.

SUPPLEMENT.

An Extract of the Reverend Mr. Christopher Robinson's Relation of the Trial and Death of Mr. John Boast, or Bost, M. A., who suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594, *Mr. Robinson being an eye-witness.*

When I came to the bar, the jury was giving in their verdict; four were found guilty for felony, and three for treason, (as they spoke) but indeed for religion. Judge Beamont stood up and made a speech, &c. The cruel judgment was no sooner pronounced, than Mr. Boast sung with a joyful heart and cheerful countenance *te Deum laudamus, &c.* and Mr. Ingram answered, *te æternum Patrem, &c.* Then Mr. Boast said, *qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam custodit eam, &c.*

'Besides these two, there was a layman condemned who had some time been a minister. This man laying aside his ministry became a catholic, and persuaded divers, as it is reported, to become catholics, whereof one caused him to be apprehended, &c. Mr. Boast and Mr. Ingram seeing him to fail, spoke unto him; their words did so work in the good man's heart, that not long after, in the presence of the president, of the judges, and of the whole consistory, he cried out, *I am resolved, I am resolved.* The judge said, *wherein art thou resolved?* In matters of faith, said he. And *by whom?* said the judge. Even by these two, said he (pointing to Mr. Boast and Mr. Ingram) martyrs before God; martyrs, I say, before God; for though you make as if they died for treason, yet in very truth they die for religion; and if it were a thousand deaths, I am very well content with them to suffer. You would have laughed (continues my author) to hear the mutterings of our enemies at the poor condemned prisoners. Mr. Boast, Mr. Ingram, and Swallowel were commanded presently to be carried away, and truly they went away rejoicing that they were to receive such a severe judgment for God's cause, as might very well be gathered by their cheerful countenances, which did joy my heart not a little, in seeing them take such joy in bearing up their irons.

'At four of the clock (Wednesday the 24th of July) the under-sheriff fetched the prisoners forth, and laid Mr. Boast in a cart, and a little new-pulled line being laid under him, he laid along upon his back, holding his hands up towards the heavens, and so he was carried toward the tree, speaking nothing, but having his mind occupied in meditation; except only that he gave his blessing to two or three women, which fell down upon their knees in the street, as I heard, whom the sheriff commanded to be apprehended. I heard this, I say, for I left my guide to

mark the things that happened in the way, between the prison and the trees, and I went myself to provide a place at the trees before the sheriff came, where I might both hear and see whatever did happen. Now when the martyr was brought unto the trees, he raised up his body, for he had all this time laid upon his back, took off his night-cap, and gave them thanks for the pains they had taken in bringing him to that place. A minister standing by, and seeing him to take all things in good part, and to behave himself so patiently, accused him (as if he had been guilty) of ill-behaviour. A gentleman (whom I take to be Edward Musgrave, of Allston-moor,) hearing, said to the minister, my friend, say not so, for Mr. Boast has behaved himself very well; he has behaved himself marvellously well. Then they bid him come forth of the cart, which he did, and having stood a little while on his feet, they bid him step up the ladder: he paused a little (at the first step) and made the sign of the cross, and said, *Angelus Domini, &c.* with an *Ave Maria.* At the next step he paused again, and said, *ecce ancilla Domini, &c.* with another *Ave;* and at the third step he said, *et verbum caro factum est, &c.* with a third *Ave Maria.* Then being come almost to the top of the ladder, he turned himself towards the people, made the sign of the cross, and offered to make a speech to the people; but he had no sooner begun to speak, but the sheriff staid him, and commanded the hangman to do his office, and to put the rope about his neck: which being done, the hangman would have immediately turned the ladder, but the sheriff staid him, and told the martyr, that now he should speak; but the martyr offering again to make the speech (which he had designed) because the people did expect somewhat of him, was staid again, and bidden to make him fit for God, and say his prayers. Then the blessed martyr said, I hope in God that if you will not suffer me to speak unto you in this world, this my death will speak in your hearts, that which I would have spoken.'

'At last said he, seeing you will not suffer me to speak to you, suffer me to speak to my soul in the psalms of the prophet David. You may, said the sheriff. Then said the martyr, holding up his hands towards the heavens, fixing his heart upon God, and lifting up his eyes:—*Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus beneficit tibi. Return, O my soul, into thy rest, because God hath done well unto thee.* And why hath God done well unto thee? It followeth; *quia eripuit animam meam a morte, oculos meos a lacrymis, pedes meos a lapsu. Because he hath delivered my soul from death. From death,* what is that? From the sting of heresy, wherewith our country, alas! is infected, plagued and pestered. So, said the sheriff, keep your peace, speak no more. Alas! said he, this is but the psalm of the prophet, and therefore cannot be hurtful. Yea, said the sheriff, but you make a commentary upon it; say it in Latin as oft as you will. Then the martyr seeing it was not allowed to speak English, repeated the words of the prophet in Latin until he came to the end of the psalm. Then said one, let him be sorry for his offences towards his prince: I, said the martyr, I never offended her; and when they urged he had offended her, he said, I take it upon my death, I never went about to hurt her: yea, I wish to God that my blood may be in satisfaction for her sins. Despatch,

despatch, said the sheriff to the hangman. Then the hangman turned the ladder, and the martyr went down, saying *in manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.* The hangman having a knife in readiness to cut the rope, offered presently to cut it as soon as the ladder was turned, but the sheriff staid him till he had hung the space of a *Pater Noster*, and then commanded the rope to be cut. Then one taking him by the feet, two or three keeping his body as it did fall, ran with it till they came at the fire, which was made a good space from the trees. But by the time they had carried him to the fire, he was well near revived, came unto himself and spoke; and prayed that God would forgive his bloody butcher when he was ripping up his belly.—To be short, (for I see that I blot the paper with tears) they cut off his members and hurled them into the fire, even in his own sight, as judgment was given; they pulled out his bowels in a most butcherly manner, cut off his head, and mangled his sacred body, in quartering, most pitifully.—This is that cruel tragedy which I both heard and saw.' So far Mr. Robinson, who afterwards glorified God by the like death, for the same cause of his religion and priesthood, at Carlisle, August 19, 1596. P. S. Mr. Ingram suffered at Gateside head, by Newcastle, and Mr. Swallowel at Darlington.

Mr. Boast was taken at the Water-houses, within three or four miles of Durham, at the house of one Mr. Claxton, whose wife received sentence of death for harbouring him, (her husband being at that time abroad:) however, she was reprieved by the means of friends, and afterwards pardoned.

Mr. John Yaxley, a reverend priest, in a letter dated July 17, 1707, which I have now before me, relates, that when the hangman, pulling out Mr. Boast's heart, showed it to the crowd, with a behold the heart of a traitor, a voice was heard to this effect: no, the heart of a servant of God; at which Mr. Roger Widdrington of Carlington, (father to that very virtuous gentleman Sir Edward Widdrington,) who heard the voice, was so struck, that he was thereupon reconciled to the church. Which account says he, I received from Widdrington castle, and from a brother in the county of Durham.

He adds, in the same letter, that when Mr. Hill, Mr. Hogge, Mr. Holliday, and Mr. Duke, were put to death at Durham, "1590," 'a brook near the common gallows, "other relations call it a well," at the time of their execution ceased to flow, and has remained dry ever since, and is thence called Dryburn to this day. Above twenty years ago, says he, I have been shown the hole from whence it issued, and the marks of its former channel. This is a constant tradition here. I have also received the following relation of a conversion wrought then. Mr. Robert Maire, of Hardwick, great grandfather to the present Mr. Thomas Maire, of Larkington, married Mrs. Grace Smith, only child to an eminent lawyer of that name, at Durham. Both husband and wife, who were then protestants, were present at the execution of the priests above named, and being much moved at their courage and constancy, were thereupon converted. The gentlewoman's father who was very rich, and a puritan, was so exasperated at this, that he made his last testament, (which is yet kept in the archives of Durham,) and gave his

remaining substance to the public uses and pretended charities of that city, unless his graceless daughter Grace, as he calls her in his will, should conform; and if so, for every Sunday she went to church, he ordered 100*l.* for her, till the whole was paid. The sum which he thus gave away, and which she, rather than perform that condition chose to forego, was about 2500*l.*' So far Mr. Yaxley, who also adds, that the Trollops, of Thornley, an ancient catholic family now extinct, were, during the persecuting reigns, a great support to priests; and that it is the tradition of that country, that two priests, whose names he could not learn, having made their escape out of Durham jail, in queen Elizabeth's persecution, and aiming in the night, as it is thought, to get to Thornley, were both of them drowned in attempting to cross a brook that runs betwixt two great hills, the stream of which is sometimes very violent and deep. The place, which is near the common ford, is called Priest's-pool to this day.

Some additions and Amendments to Mr. Knaresborough's account of Mr. Edward Reading, alias Bamber, from a letter of Mr. John Martin, Priest, sent out of Lancashire to the said Mr. Knaresborough, July 1, 1707, *quoting for his author the Rev. Mr. Barlow, and the tradition of the country.*

He was an alumnus of the English college of Douay. Upon his landing at Dover, falling upon his knees, he gave God thanks for his passage over the seas, and safe arrival in his native country; which being observed by the governor of Dover castle, he suspected him to be a priest, and caused him to be apprehended. He did not deny his character, but pleaded he had not been upon English land, the space of time mentioned in the statute; and upon this plea was put on ship board, and sent into banishment.

Some time after his second return, he was again apprehended in the neighbourhood of Standish, in Lancashire, and was to have been committed prisoner to Lancaster castle; but in his way thither, being lodged at a place beyond Preston, he found means in the dead of the night (his keepers being in drink) to make his escape out of a window in his shirt, which adventure, Mr. Knaresborough attributes to Mr. Whitaker. Mr. Martin adds, that upon this occasion, he was met by the master of Broughton Tower, admonished that night in a dream, that he should find him in such a field. He got up fully possessed with the truth of the vision, and met him in that very field, and conducted him to his house, where he took proper care of him.

However, he fell a third time into the hands of the persecutors, and was committed to the county jail, at Lancaster. It is true, he found an opportunity here also to make his escape, but to little purpose; for having travelled all the night, to his great surprise, he found himself in the morning very near the town; so that he concluded it was the will of God he should suffer there, and so surrendered himself to those that sought after him: for as soon as he was missing, hue and cry was immediately raised, in order to take him. He suffered, as we have seen, with admirable constancy, August 6, 1646.

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